INDEXED

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. IX.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

London:
J. R. SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.
1853
MDCCCLIV.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS OF VOL. IX.

		PAGE
On the Church of St. John, Winchester, and the Paintings discovered on the north wall	F. J. Baigent	1
On Newstead Abbey	T. J. Pettigrew	14
On the Architecture of Newstead Abbey	A. Ashpitel	30
On Tradesmen's Signs of London	A. H. Burkitt	40
On British and Roman Urns	J. A. Repton	59
On Celts and their Classification	T. Hugo	63
On the Crypt of Gerard's Hall	A. White	113
On the Origin and Antiquity of Playing Cards	T. J. Pettigrew	121, 308
On Vincula	H. Syer Cuming	155
On the Haydon Square Sarcophagus	T. Hugo	161
Inaugural Address delivered at the Rochester Congress	R. Bernal	201
Historical Sketch of Rochester Castle	W. Beattie	215
Memoir of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester	T. Hugo	231
On Rochester Cathedral	A. Ashpitel	271
Some Account of the Portions of the original Work still remaining at Leeds Castle	C. Wykeham Martin	286
On the Dutch Expedition to the Medway in 1667	Beale Poste	295
Genealogical and Heraldic Notices of the Earls of Kent	J. R. Planché	361
On Romney Marsh	W. Holloway	376

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:—

Notices on Allhallows, Honey Lane	T. Lott	167
——— the Early History of the Family of Carlyle	T. Carlyle	174
Documents relating to the Spanish Armada and the Defences of the Thames & Medway	W. Jerdan	330

Proceedings of the Association	72, 182, 429
Annual General Meeting, Auditors' Report, Election of Officers, etc.	95

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

Notices of Deceased Members . . . T. J. Pettigrew . 100

Proceedings of the Congress held at Rochester and Maidstone 337, 386

Election of Associates . 72, 75, 77, 84, 182, 189, 195, 200, 429

Presents to the Association, 72, 75, 77, 84, 87, 182, 189, 195, 200, 429, 440

Index 447

List of Engravings and Woodcuts 451

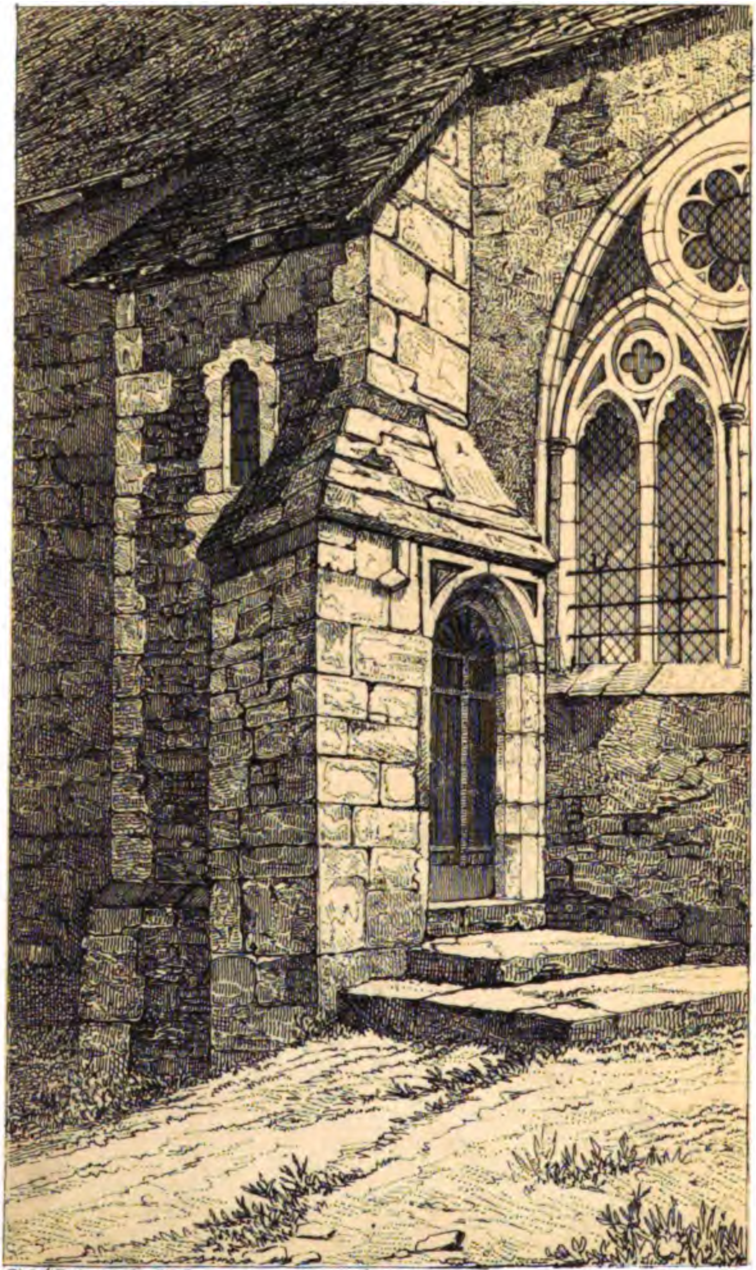
List of Associates, Local Members of Council, Foreign Members and Correspondents 452

Errata 446

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

PLATE 1.



Richd. Baigent Junr. Delt.

J. Brown, Etc.

ENTRANCE TO THE ROOD SCREEN ST. JOHN'S WINCHESTER.

Digitized by Google

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

APRIL 1853.

ON THE

CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, WINCHESTER, AND THE PAINTINGS DISCOVERED ON THE NORTH WALL,

JUNE, JULY, AND AUGUST, 1852.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT, ESQ.

Of the churches, being no fewer in number than seventy, that existed in Winchester during the days of mediæval splendour, six only remain at the present time; and they, like most town churches, have endured various vicissitudes and undergone repairs under zealous churchwardens. The oldest church is that of St. John the Evangelist, known in olden days as St. John-upon-the-Hill (*St. Johannis super montem*). It is not only the largest, but has experienced little beyond the ravages of time, and scarcely ever the hand of a renovating churchwarden. For this we are by no means indebted to the good taste, but to the poverty of the parish, and the smallness of the income of the incumbent (£75 per annum, from queen Anne's Bounty), also to the want of church zeal, and religious indifference on the part of the parishioners. A century since, service was performed on every Sunday, but the congregation, rarely amounting to more than five or six people, at length dwindled to none at all, and the incumbent found it useless to perform service any longer, so that it was discontinued. The parish hereupon prosecuted him, for neglect of duty, in the bishop's court, where a trial soon after took place; but it appear-

Digitized by Google

ing in evidence that the neglect was owing to the want of religious feeling in the parishioners themselves, the prosecution became invalid, and service *once* a fortnight was fixed upon as fully sufficient for this church; which was performed every other Sunday, at three o'clock in the afternoon. This continued till the beginning of the present century. At an even earlier period (viz. in 1672), this parish was in a neglected state, being without a pastor; and Dr. Ken (afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells), with the consent of bishop Morley, undertook the gratuitous cure. To the poor of the parish he devoted his best energies, whilst his eloquence drew crowds to the church.

Previously to the Reformation, the church appears to have been endowed and supported by chantry foundations. The celebrated William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, when establishing his college in 1373, ordered his scholars to attend *this church*, on every Sunday and festival, at vespers, compline, matins, the hours and masses of the day, and bear their part in them. This continued till the 28th of March 1393, when St. Mary's college was completed; and the society, leaving the parish in solemn procession, and chanting hymns of joy, took possession of their new buildings.

One of the aisles, probably the north, belonged to a confraternity, and was called the "Chapel of our Ladye". There is a curious circumstance connected with this, whereby the parish is possessed of nineteen tenements and other small properties. John Thomas, by indenture dated December the 10th, 1527, gave, in trust, to certain feoffees named by him, this property, to the intent that they receive the profits thereof, and deliver them to the warden of the fraternity of the Chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary, in the parish church of St. John, for the celebrating of masses and other divine services in the said chapel. This gift was overlooked at the confiscation of chantry property in the time of Edward VI, and ultimately became the property of the parish.

The earliest notice we meet with of this church, is in the episcopal registers of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester from A.D. 1280 to 1304; but the church itself was evidently built in the time of Richard I, and has, to all appearance, preserved its original size. The side-walls

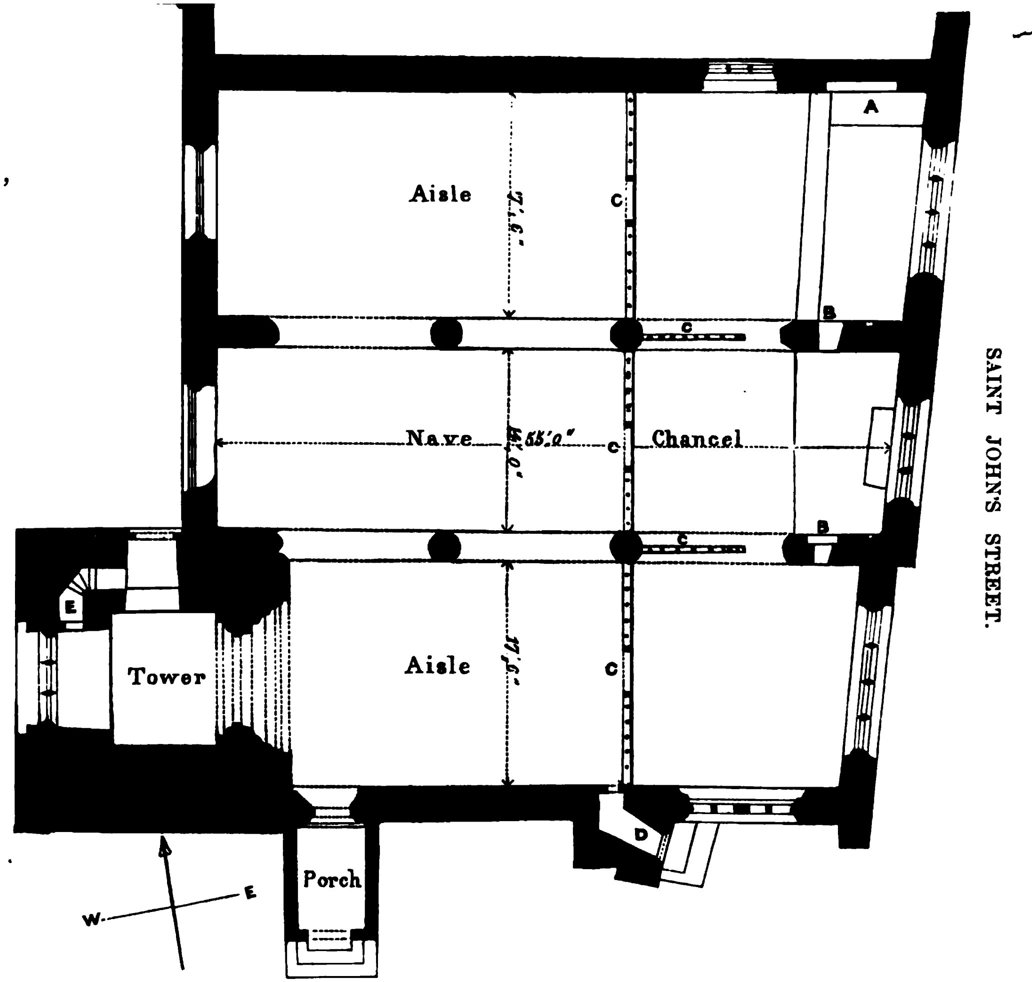
Digitized by Google

THE ASTOR
Digitized by Google

PLATE 2.

GROUND PLAN OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, WINCHESTER.

A. Altar, Tomb, and Sepulchre.
B. Squints.
C. Screens.
D. Entrance to Roodloft.
E. Staircase to Belfry.



Digitized by Google

are early English. In the fifteenth century, perpendicular windows were inserted in the walls, and a tower built at the west end of the south aisle. The church consists of a nave and side aisles, unusually wide, and in plan would be a perfect square, were it not for the eastern wall following the line of the street, which causes the south wall to be about ten feet shorter than the north (see plate 2). The interior of the church measures fifty-five feet east and west, and the same north and south. On either side of the nave are three wide transition arches, resting on circular pillars of the same date, with plain capitals. The church has no chancel arch, but a tall perpendicular wooden screen runs across the nave and aisles, thus forming, as it were, three separate chancels. On the top of this screen was the *rood-loft;* and the openings through the side-walls, that gave access to it, still remain. The entrance to it was on the outside of the south wall, within a buttress or turret. A view of this singular entrance is given in plate 1. The stone staircase has been destroyed, but the upper part of the *newel* is still visible: this is now turned into an entrance to the church, by a second doorway being opened in the side-wall, and forms a sort of priest's entrance. We are inclined to think the side aisles each possessed a rood, as well as the chancel. The chancel is divided from the side aisles by a wooden decorated parclose of the fourteenth century. In the eastern wall of each aisle is a large four-light perpendicular window; in the western wall, one of three lights. Similar windows are also in the middle aisle, or nave, but reversed; that is, the three-light in the eastern wall, and the four-lighted one in the western: another window, of three lights, is in the north wall, on the eastern side of the rood-screen. All these windows are of the same design, and a portion of the last-mentioned one is represented in plate 6. In the south wall, near the east end, is an early English window of a remarkable design. It is a double window, each compartment of which is again subdivided into two lights, with cusps, the space between the heads of each subdivision containing a quatrefoil in a circle, the whole being within an equilateral arch, in the span of which is a large septfoil, placed within a circle also. Half of this curious window is given in plate 1. On each side of the chancel is a square oblique hagioscope, or

Digitized by Google

squint, placed so as to enable the priest at the chancel altar to command a view of those of the side aisles. The one through the south wall is made at the back of a large and wide niche, which might have been a sedile; but one can scarcely suppose that an ecclesiastic would sit exposed to such a draught. Adjoining is a singular piscina, consisting of a wide, pointed-headed niche, divided by a shelf; above this, an elongated niche. In the north aisle is another piscina; and near the east end of the north wall, a recess, probably used for the Easter Sepulchre: under it is an altar-tomb of the time of Henry VIII, with panelled sides. In front are three shields, two having the initials T. S. On the centre one is represented the five wounds of our Lord; and on the shield, at the end, are the emblems of the Passion. The slab is plain; but the edges were once adorned by a fillet of brass, containing the inscription.

The tower is of three stories, terminated by a battlement, and is strongly built, of flint with stone dressings. The tower arch is lofty, and deeply recessed by a succession of bold mouldings continuous to the ground. The first floor has, on three sides, a square-headed window with a single light; but in the western wall is a small splayed opening, which evidently was intended for the sacristan to command a view of the high, or chancel altar, so as to ring the sanctus bell. The belfry windows are also square-headed, but of two lights. It has a peal of five bells, and a sanctus; one of the bells being of the fifteenth century, and inscribed, Sancte Petre ora pro nobis.

A perpendicular doorway in the south wall, beneath a modern porch, forms the entrance to the church: there formerly existed a similar doorway, of earlier date, in the north wall. There are several good bench-ends in the church: one of as early a date as the fourteenth century still remains; and in the chancel, a portion of a stall with *misereres*. The pulpit is of perpendicular woodwork, and is now removed to the *west* end of the nave, and the base of it destroyed. The font is octagonal, with panelled sides, and of the same period. Fragments of painted glass still exist in several of the windows, consisting of portions of cherubim, a few quarry patterns, heads of some canopies (one of which is exceedingly curious), a *very fine* head with

Digitized by Google

a long beard, intended, perhaps, for the Almighty; and a shield containing the symbol of the Blessed Trinity, similar to the one represented occasionally on monumental brasses. All this glass belongs to the perpendicular period. In the centre light of the chancel window is preserved a beautiful piece of decorated glass, which might have been removed from the early English window in the south wall. It consists of the upper portion of a figure of the Saviour, holding his right hand in the attitude of benediction, and in his left, the mundus.

The church appears to have been newly roofed, and had other repairs executed, about the year 1685, which date is mentioned as having been visible on the south wall of the tower.

Among the parish documents is a register-book, commencing about the middle of the sixteenth century, which contains some curious entries respecting payments made by churchwardens, and the price and quantity of wine used for communion on the festivals of All Saints, Christmas, and Easter.

The paintings that have been discovered up to this time, are those that decorated the north wall, reaching from the roof to within seven or eight feet of the ground. It was here the examination was commenced; a piece of plaster having fallen off, and exposed to view a strip of red colour. The whitewash that concealed the paintings varied from an eighth to three-quarters of an inch in thickness; and, on removing this, we met with two pointed arches, about eleven feet apart, measuring, between the jambs, five feet five inches: these are probably the splays of early English windows, such as we generally meet with, having a narrow, lancet-headed light. It has been before remarked the walls are of this period. An attempt was made to examine one of them, but owing to its having been filled up with lumps of chalk and mortar, we were obliged to desist; and all that could be ascertained, was a chamfer of three and a half inches, ornamented with broad curved lines in yellow; next to this a flat soffit, ornamented with a red scroll pattern of the thirteenth century.

The first of these paintings (see plate 3) is of uncommon interest, bearing marks of a noble and grand conception. The subject is frequently met with,—indeed, it

Digitized by Google

was a general favourite; being the Doom or Final Judgment.[1] It conveyed the sternest of moral lessons,—one which mortal man ought never to lose sight of,—for it reminds him, as Chaucer tells us, that—

> "This world n' is but a thoroughfare of woe,
> And we be pilgrims passing to and fro:"

and that his hope and his joy should be all centred in a future life, to which he is every moment approaching.

This painting is divided into three compartments by yellow borders. In the centre of the upper one is a majestic and gracefully-seated figure of our Saviour, exhibiting those testimonies of his sufferings, his five bleeding wounds, whereby he wrought man's redemption; around his person is a loose green garment, with a portion of it hanging over the left shoulder. His features exhibit an attempt to represent mildness and serenity, with almost compassion in the expression of the eyes.[2] On his right side is represented kneeling the virgin mother, imploring his mercy on behalf of mankind. This is indeed a graceful figure, and painted with a good deal of action. The nimbus encircling the head of the Saviour is of a bright pale-blue colour, while the cross on it is left white, and produces great effect in its appearance. On either side of the Saviour is an angel, one holding the cross and scourge, the other the pillar and the spear stained with his blood. We have next on either side six seated figures holding up their hands clasped, being no doubt intended to represent the twelve apostles sitting in judgment. The compartment is terminated at either end with an angel blowing a somewhat large trumpet, the shape of which calls to our mind those represented on the shield of the effigy of sir Roger de Trumpington, in Trumpington church, Cambridgeshire, as well as those on the coffin-lid discovered in 1822 in the

[1] These subjects are generally treated with a deal of talent, and *usually* in accordance with the interpretation of the following passage from the writings of St. John Damascenus: "Nam rogo, ubi repræsentante imagine secundum Christi Dei nostri adventum inspexeris, quando veniat in majestate; angelos item innumera multitudine cum timore et tremore ejus adsistentes throno; Igneum flumen quod de throno; egrediens peccatores devorat, etc."—*Oratio adversus Constantinum Cabalinum*, vol. i, p. 619.

[2] These features are not successfully given, owing to the small size to which these drawings are necessarily reduced.

Digitized by Google

Guildhall chapel, London, now in the City Museum, and engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* Of the next compartment we have to regret the loss of about one half, which causes this very interesting painting to be imperfect. The plaister of this portion of the wall has been destroyed; and we have ascertained that a singing-gallery was once erected against this part of the church, and hence this damage must have occurred. The centre figure that remains is that of St. Michael, the archangel, who is represented in his usual office of soul-weighing: only a portion of the balance, and one of the scales with a figure in it, who weighs down the scale right earnestly, are now to be seen; behind the archangel are a number of naked figures, who, like this one, have been found of full weight, and are represented conducted by a Franciscan monk with a nimbus round his head, who may possibly be intended for St. Francis himself: among these figures we see one with a tonsure, another with a mitre, and a third with a crown.

All that remain in front of St. Michael are slight indications of flames, and a few feet, appearing to be those of the reprobate; and, at the end of the compartment, the lower part of a devil, of somewhat terrible appearance, and with an immense cloven foot; who was no doubt represented, as usual when he figures in this subject, blowing a horn. This is alluded to in an early poem, which begins thus:—

> "Ho, ho, you blind folk, dark'ned in the cloud
> Of ignorant fumes, thick and mystical,
> Take heed of my horne, toting all aloud
> With boystrous sounds, and blasts boreal,
> Giving you warning of the judgment final."

In the lower compartment of this painting are a number of figures represented naked, in allusion to the words of Job: "We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out"; rising out of their coffins, which with their lids are of different colours, and somewhat gaily painted. Here we see mitred and crowned heads, as well as a fat monk, who appears to be making great efforts to rise; some appear astonished, while others are holding up their hands as if in prayer. The crowns,

Digitized by Google

mitres, and tonsures, indicate that all *ranks* are to be included in "the day of wrath, that dreadful day".

Close adjoining this subject of the Last Judgment is one of the pointed blocked-up arches, which have been mentioned as discovered in this wall. (See plate 4.) The entire space of wall above the centre of this arch is occupied by a circle, containing a figure of our Saviour; at the sides are circles half the size, containing the emblems of the four Evangelists. The intervening spaces between the circles are filled with portions of floriated crosses, painted in red: on either side of the arch is an angel incensing. The Saviour is represented seated, his right hand in the act of benediction, his left holding a book. His hair long, hanging over the shoulders, with his beard, is painted yellow. He wears a vest of the same colour with tight sleeves, over this a pale blue tunic, with a red border, and a grey mantle lined with vaire.[1] On the right of the Saviour is painted in red an Eagle for St. John, below is the winged Bull, for St. Luke. On the left of the Saviour is an angel sitting, being the emblem of St. Matthew; and below, the winged Lion, that of St. Mark: all have their faces turned towards the Saviour, and are severally inscribed with the names JOHANNES, LVCAS, MATHEVS, and MARCVS. The side angels are represented in amices and yellow albs (intended to represent cloth of gold), with two apparells at their feet, swinging a thurible in their right and holding the incense-boat in their left hands.

The next compartment, surrounded by a yellow border foliated at the corners (see plate 5), consists of the crucifixion, with a figure on either side of the cross. The Saviour is represented without the crown of thorns, with the wound on his *left* side; the drapery round the waist hangs below the knees: above the border, on either side of the cross, are represented the sun and moon in the *true* mediæval manner. On the left of the cross stands St. Francis of Assisium (A.D. 1226), the celebrated founder of the Friars Minors, or, as they were commonly called in this country, the Grey Friars. He is represented with a

[1] In Didron's *Iconographie Chrétienne* there is engraved a figure of the Saviour, from the psalter of St. Louis (thirteenth century), bearing a strong resemblance to this painting.

Digitized by Google

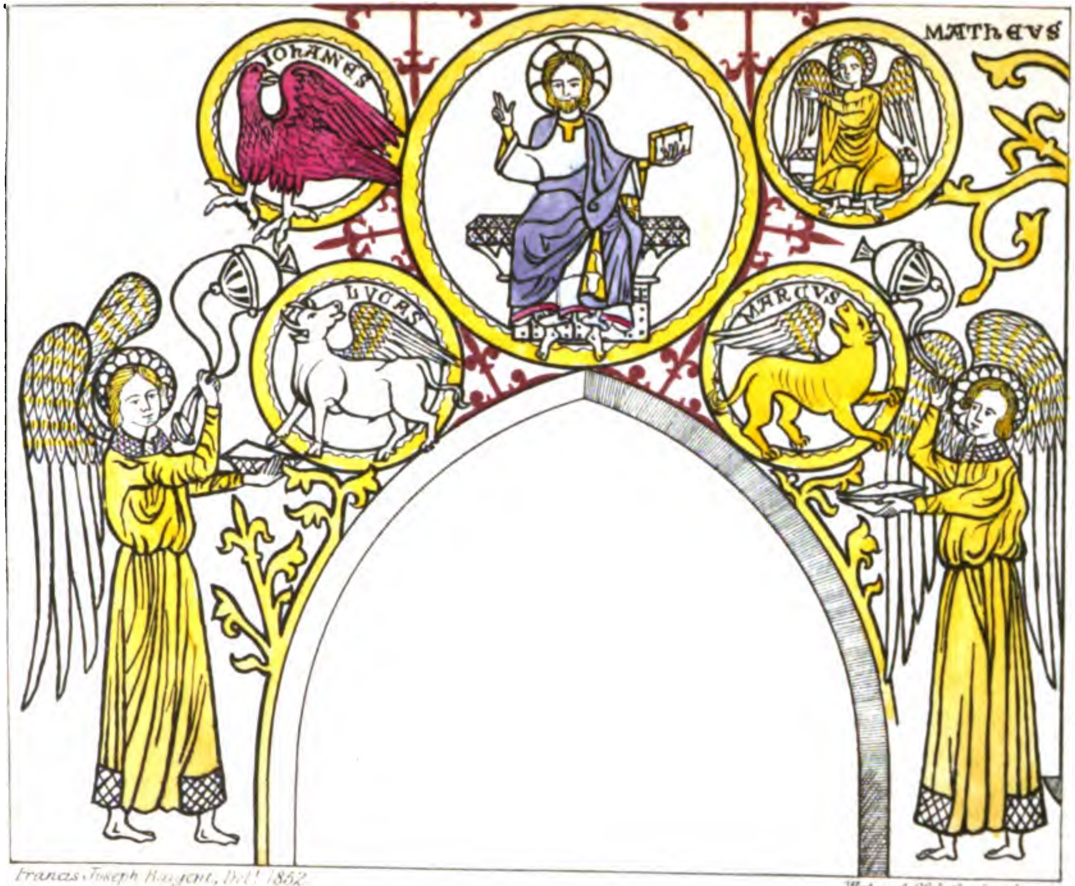
Francis Jose

Digitized by Google

THE ASTOR L

Digitized by Google

PLATE 4



Francis Joseph Baigent, Del.t 1852

Waters & Co Litho London

PAINTING DISCOVERED IN ST JOHNS CHURCH WINCHESTER, JULY 1852

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

large tonsure and a beard, wearing the Franciscan habit, a loose grey tunic, with a hood or capuchon, and confined round the waist with a cord, the ends of which, tied in knots, hang below the knees: sandals are on his feet. He is turned towards the Saviour, and holds in his hands an open book, on which is written in Lombardic characters the following passage from St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, "MIHI AUTEM ABSIT GLORIARI NISI IN CRUCE DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI". (*But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.*) The blood from the Saviour's left hand flows in three streams, two being continued down over the book to the saint's hands, whilst the other might have been represented flowing over his forehead, thus denoting the stigmas, which, as well as the crown of thorns, are emblems of this saint. The nimbus of this figure is distinct from all others of the series, being surrounded by a second line, which no doubt was intended by the painter to indicate St. Francis's extraordinary or double sanctity.

The figure on the other side of the cross wears a red tunic with tight sleeves, and a white hood drawn over his head. The blood from the Saviour's right hand is carried in a line across the forehead. His hair and beard are of a dark brown colour, a singular exception, as *all* the other figures are represented with yellow hair. The figure is holding between his uplifted hands a long scroll, which bears not the trace of a single letter; the same remark will apply to the label on the cross. The lower part of this figure is hidden by a monument erected against the wall.[1] The absence of a nimbus, tells us it is intended for no saintly person, and our learned friend the very rev. Dr. Husenbeth, says, "after much consideration he is inclined to think it merely intended for a Capuchin or Franciscan friar, without being any one in particular. The idea, perhaps, was to represent the children of St. Francis generally, as receiving the blessing of the sacred blood flowing upon them in reward for their devotion to Christ crucified".

Next to the crucifixion is a large figure of St. Andrew the apostle, tied by his hands and feet to a wooden frame,

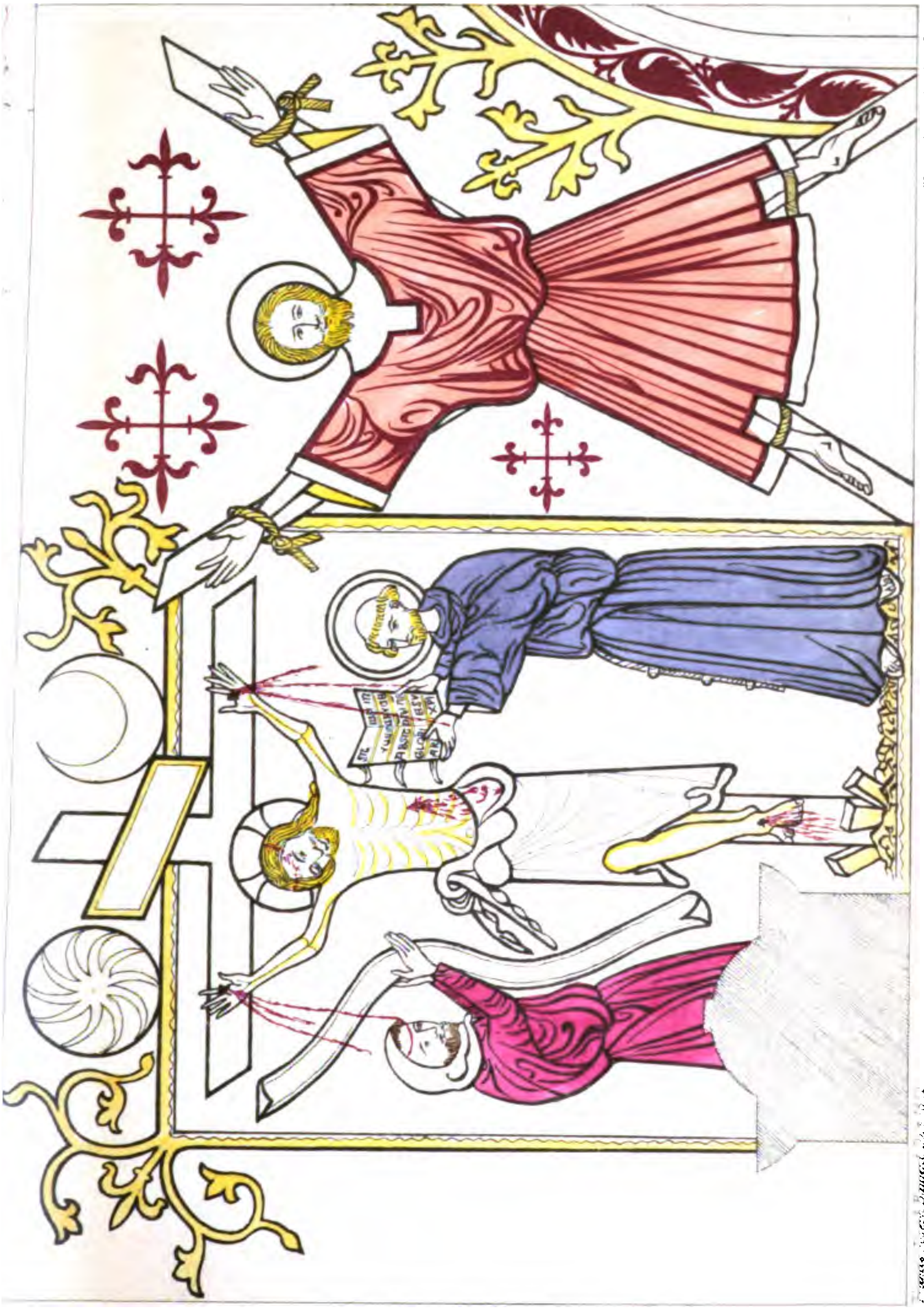
[1] A portion of the painting of the Last Judgment has already been concealed by the erection of a large monument.

Digitized by Google

of the shape known as St. Andrew's cross. He is vested in a loose red tunic, edged with a white border and girded round the waist, and somewhat resembling in shape the ecclesiastical robe known as the Dalmatic, even to the very slits in the sides, so as not to impede the feet when walking. Near this figure are represented three ornamental consecration crosses, painted in red. Adjoining is the second blocked-up arch (see plate 6); this is surrounded by a yellow border, from which spring some graceful foliated crockets, and the space intervening between the arch is painted with a red scroll-pattern and large leaves alternately reversed. Over the centre of this arch is an angel issuing from the clouds, holding a crown in each hand, probably intended for some martyrs represented below. In the *History of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste*, we read that an angel was seen distributing crowns to the holy sufferers for the faith. On each side of this angel is another consecration cross.

We now come to a graceful figure of the Madonna. The blessed Virgin is seated on a chair or stool, ornamented with small crosses, and at her feet is a corresponding footstool. She is represented offering her breast to her divine son, whom she holds in her lap with her left hand. She is represented with long flowing hair hanging over the shoulders, wearing a simple crown terminating in three fleurs-de-lis: a red mantle is thrown over the shoulders, and reaches to the feet in graceful folds: underneath is a yellow super tunic, with loose sleeves edged with a white border, displaying no more than the tight sleeves of the kirtle: on her feet are black pointed shoes or slippers. The Infant Saviour is represented with the crucial nimbus, dressed in a tunic with short sleeves, his right hand in the usual attitude of benediction, whilst his left rests on his mother's arm. Near the head of this figure are three more crosses, smaller than those before noticed and of a different shape, one of them being a sort of cross *bottonée*. Adjoining is the kneeling figure of an angel with a censer, thus filling up the space above the arch of a perpendicular window of three lights, which forms the next object in this wall. The space between this window and the east end of the church is twelve feet. We believe the paintings did not extend to this space, which was

Digitized by Google



PAINTING DISCOVERED IN S^T JOHNS CHURCH WINCHESTER JULY 1852

Digitized by Google

Francis Joseph Baigent Del.t 1852

Waters & C.o Litho London

PAINTING DISCOVERED IN S.T JOHNS CHURCH, WINCHESTER JULY 1852.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

within the rood-screen, and not easily to be seen by the congregation. Moreover, the whole of the plaster appeared bad, and crumbled from the wall at a touch. Three or four attempts were made in different parts to ascertain this point, but without coming to a surface similar to that on which the paintings are executed,—a layer of fine and pure lime.

For the discoveries of late years of mural paintings, which in olden time ornamented even the poorest and most insignificant parish churches, as well as stately cathedrals and magnificent abbeys, we have been chiefly indebted to the zeal for church restoration; and, uncovered as they are by mere labourers, with their ruthless trowels, in endeavouring to bring the walls to a smoother surface, we ought not to express any surprise at there being only a few indistinct fragments left, of what might have been a fine or interesting series, for a zealous archæologist, who makes all haste to the spot on receiving the intelligence. On his arrival he finds the church gutted out, even the very flooring removed, the interior filled with stones, scaffold-poles, and planks of all sizes, together with workmen who appear to delight in making a tremendous dust as well as noise. By the time our *friend* has looked round and produced his sketch-book, he is accosted by the builder or foreman, who tells him the workmen *must not* be interrupted, and to make all the *haste* he can, as they want to make mortar where he is standing, which, by-the-bye, happens to be the only vacant spot left. But, nothing daunted, he endeavours to make a *few* notes, now and then attempting to sketch portions, climbing over heaps of stones, etc., sometimes having his hat knocked off by the end of a scaffold-pole, and numerous lumps of mortar and even stones falling on him from above, where the men are scraping, some inflicting indeed *no* very *gentle* taps: at last he beats a retreat, being almost blinded and stifled with dust. Perhaps he may next day again venture to the church, but it is only to find that the paintings have been destroyed in the interval, and only the few notes and hasty sketches, done under every disadvantage, are thus left on record.

As regards the paintings under discussion, they have had their successive coverings of whitewash carefully re-

Digitized by Google

moved by the hand of one who loves to dwell on these memorials with which the taste and piety of our forefathers enriched their churches, and conveyed instruction to the vulgar; and the more he sees of them, the more he is *convinced* that *every effort* was made in those days to instruct the poor and the ignorant, and to *raise* up a *high* moral and *religious* feeling among the people. In this instance, by the kindness of the incumbent, the rev. Francis Swanton, and the churchwardens, permission was given to examine the walls at leisure. After the removal of the whitewash, tracings were made of the entire paintings as soon as uncovered: from these tracings, reduced drawings of them have carefully been made, and are represented in the accompanying engravings, one-twentieth of the size of the original paintings.

The first portion discovered was the figure of St. Andrew (plate 5). Near the feet of this figure were observed faint traces of letters, which looked at first almost coeval with the figure; but, on a closer examination, proved to be some remains of a text or prayer, not later than the time of Edward VI; and that the defacing of paintings, and the custom of writing Scripture texts, began in this reign, may be seen by the following extracts, under the year 1550, in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary's the Great, Cambridge:[1]

> "For makyng the wall where Saynt
> George stood in the chyrche —— vj^{d}
> It. payd for wythynge ye chyrch xx^{s} iiij^{d}
> It. payd for *wryghtynge of the chyrch*
> walls with Scriptures.....iiij^{lib} iij^{s} iiij^{d}."

Shortly after the accession of queen Mary, in 1553, the following entry occurs:

> "Payd to Barnes for mendyng the rode
> and over the altar in the chapell, and for
> washing oute the Scriptures......4^{s} 4^{d}."

On scraping the wall near the rood-screen, a scroll-pattern border of the time of queen Mary was met with (see annexed cut, which is here given on a scale one-third less than the engravings of the paintings), painted with two

[1] See the interesting paper on this church by the rev. E. Venables, in the *Transactions* of the Cambridge Camden Society.

Digitized by Google

shades of grey colour, and a black outline. This border appears to have had fixed within it a triptych, or moveable painting. The layer of whitewash on which this was painted, as well as the border itself, concealed a portion of the figure of the blessed Virgin. On that portion of the wall occupied by the crucifixion, were found large traces of colour (especially red); but in consequence of its crumbling off almost instantly, the only piece we were enabled to sketch

Rood Screen.

was a small fragment representing a portion of a castle (see woodcut): the turret or tower was painted blue, the roof red, and the rest of a purple colour. This painting did not appear to be older than the end of the fifteenth century. The most interesting discovery was a reparation. On developing the face of the figure holding the scroll,—the right eye not appearing to be painted on the same surface as the rest of the features,—a sketch was taken; a little scraping off brought to light an exact counterpart of the first eye, though greatly faded; indeed, only the stain of the colour remained. It appeared that the eye had been damaged, and that then a thin layer of lime was laid over the part, and on *this* the eye was repainted.

This interesting series of paintings appears to have been executed towards the latter end of the thirteenth century: they shew great boldness in the touches, and a good deal of artistic skill, especially in the folds of the drapery. The subject of the Last Judgment is painted with a great deal of care, and in it a great variety of colours is employed: this,

Digitized by Google

no doubt, was to cause more attention to be paid to it, and to excite in the beholders a fear of that dreadful day. The folds of the drapery of the apostles, and of St. Michael, and the graceful figure of the Blessed Virgin, are worthy of attention: likewise the folds of the loose garment worn by St. Andrew, as well as those in the figures of our Lady and Child.

All this will help to shew that the paintings on the walls of our old churches are worthy of a careful study, and might be made useful in illustrating the manners of past ages, in giving evidence of the religious feelings of our ancestors, and in defending a calumniated clergy against charges which have so often been repeated as to obtain general credence.

ON NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V. P. AND TREASURER.

(Read at the Newark Congress.)

THE monastic houses in Nottinghamshire were numerous, and appertained to various orders, being known as Hospitallers, or the Brothers of St. John of Jerusalem; Minorites, Carmelites, Benedictines, Carthusians, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Gilbertines. There were no less than thirteen priories in Notts, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, none dating earlier than Henry I, nor later than Edward III; and of these, seven were of the order of St. Augustine, namely, Thurgarton, Newstead, Felley, Worksop, Shelford, Welbeck, and Brodham.

NEWSTEAD ABBEY (the name of which appears to be derived from its having originally been erected upon a piece of waste land in the forest,—hence, New Stede, or place) was a priory of Black Canons Regular; so called from wearing a black habit, to commemorate the widowhood of the blessed Virgin. According to the charter by Henry II, it was dedicated to God and the Virgin Mary; and its situation and character have been well and poetically depicted by the late lord Byron:

Digitized by Google

"An old, old monastery once, and now
Still older mansion,—of a rich and rare
Mix'd Gothic, such as artists all allow
Few specimens yet left us can compare
Withal: it lies perhaps a little low,
Because the monks preferr'd a hill behind,
To shelter their devotion from the wind.

"It stood embosom'd in a happy valley,
Crown'd by high woodlands, where the Druid oak
Stood like Caractacus, in act to rally
His host, with broad arms 'gainst the thunderstroke;
And from beneath his boughs were seen to sally
The dappled foresters—as day awoke,
The branching stag swept down with all his herd,
To quaff a brook which murmur'd like a bird.

"Before the mansion lay a lucid lake,
Broad as transparent, deep, and freshly fed
By a river, which its soften'd way did take
In currents through the calmer water spread
Around: the wild-fowl nestled in the brake
And sedges, brooding in their liquid bed:
The woods sloped downwards to its brink, and stood
With their green faces fix'd upon the flood.

"Its outlet dash'd into a deep cascade,
Sparkling with foam, until again subsiding,
Its shriller echoes—like an infant made
Quiet—sank into softer ripples, gliding
Into a rivulet; and thus allay'd,
Pursued its course, now gleaming, and now hiding
Its windings through the woods; now clear, now blue,
According as the skies their shadows threw."

Don Juan, Canto xiii, stanzas 55, 56, 57, 58.

Thus stood Newstead Abbey, which at the dissolution was estimated at the sum of £229. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (vol. iv, p. 109) of 26 Henry VIII, it is placed at £219 : 18 : 8½. In the 31 of the same monarch, homages are entered among the originalia for the site of Newstead, of John Bellone and Richard Manners; but the abbey was granted on the 28th of May, 32 Henry VIII, to sir John Byron, knight of Colewyke (Par. 4, Pat. 32 Hen.

Digitized by Google

VIII). The value of the monastery in the First Fruits Office is put down at £167 : 16 : 11½.

In the reign of Henry II one hundred and sixty-five monasteries, collegiate churches, hospitals, preceptories, alien priories and abbeys, were founded,[1] and on his own express foundation are recorded:—

Witham, in Somersetshire (the first Carthusian House established in England).

Waltham, in Essex
Newstead, in Notts
Ivychurch, in Wilts
Marton, in Yorkshire
} all of the Augustinian order.

Also Newstead, in Lincolnshire, Gilbertine.

Stoneleigh, in Warwickshire, Cistercian.

Alien Priory of Hagh, in Lincolnshire.

Henry II is generally considered by historians as being induced to the foundation of monasteries in repentance for his share in procuring the assassination of Thomas à Becket. Lord Byron appears to have coincided in this opinion, as expressed in his lines in the *Elegy on Newstead Abbey*:

> "Newstead! fast falling, once resplendent, dome!
> Religion's shrine! repentant Henry's pride!"

The foundation of Newstead Abbey by Henry II dates about 1170, and the correctness of this assigned period is supported by the fact that one of the witnesses to the charter was Geoffrey, archdeacon of Canterbury, who in 1174 was promoted to the bishoprick of Ely.

Dugdale (*Monast. Angl.*, vol. vi, p. 473) gives a list of the abbots of Newstead, commencing with

Eustace, 17 Joh.

Richard, in the same year.

Robert, 19 Hen. III.

John de Lexington, upon whose cession

Richard de Halum received the temporalities, 15 Edw. I.

Richard de Grange, who succeeded on Halum's resignation, 21 Edw. I.

[1] Twenty-eight Benedictine, twenty-seven Augustinian, sixteen Premonstratensian, one Carthusian, two Gilbertine, five Cluniac monasteries, two collegiate churches, twenty-nine hospitals, ten preceptories, twenty-six Alien priories, nineteen Cistercian abbeys.

Digitized by Google

William de Thurgarton, who received the temporalities, 3rd Jan., 18 Edw. II.

Hugh de Colingham succeeded on Thurgarton's death, 26th Oct., 23 Edw. III.

John Willesthorp, 7th Nov., 30 Edw. III.

William de Allerton, 12th May, 40 Edw. III.

John de Stokewell, 10th Sept., 7 Henry IV.

William Bakewell, 26th April, 3 Henry V.

Thomas Carleton, 6th July, 10 Henry V.

Robert Cutwolfe, 16th Oct., 2 Henry VI.

William Misterton, 23rd Nov., 34 Henry VI.

John Durham, 17th June, 1 Edw. IV.

Thomas Gounthorp, 11th July, 7 Edw. IV.

William Sandall was confirmed 29th April, 1504.

John Blake, confirmed 19th Sept., 1526, and was consequently the last prior of Newstead.

From the *Register* of Lenton (p. I. 118) we learn that "Henry II gave to Lenton Priory eighty acres of essarts of Curtenhale in Northantesor, and the mill of Blaccliff, in exchange for the land of Papilwick, which he gave to the canons of Newsteade, in Shirewode, which he there founded". And from the *Register* of Newstead, we find that he gave "the town of Papelwick, with the church of the same, and the mill which the canons of Newstede made, with the meadow of Beskewod, along the water, with all the appurtenances, to God and St. Mary, together with the New Stede or Place which he founded in Shirewod for canons regular of the order of St. Augustin, to whom he gave also long and large wastes lying about the said monastery within the forest; which wastes in ancient charters are called Kygell and Ravenshede, and are described by their bounds and the particulars within them. He granted the monks also view of frank-pledge, and many other privileges and freedoms, and a park of ten acres, according to the measure of the foot of the forest, by the site of the said monastery, to be inclosed as they should please, out of the view of the verderers, regarders, foresters, and other officers of the forest, and a field of arable land called Abby-field, lying between the town of Papilwyck and the said monastery, to hold inclosed with hedge and ditch, according to the assize of the forest, upon the head of which the canons made a grange nigh

Digitized by Google

the town of Papilwyck, and ever kept that field severed, and in their own tillage, and out of the covert of the forest, as their proper demesne. Henry II also gave, at the first foundation, land in Shepewyke and Walkingham, to which belonged something in Misterton and Welcreth, and confirmed what Robert de Canz and John Cooke gave in Nottingham."

King John and the following kings confirmed and enlarged their territories and privileges, and they had several other benefactors, amongst whom Robert lord de Lexington has been named.

There is an impression of the common seal, 40 Henry III, appended to an instrument in the British Museum (Cart. Harl. 112, f. 34). It represents the Virgin Mary with a lily in her right hand, and on her left the infant Saviour, seated in her lap. The legend reads, SIGILLUM . SANCTE . MARIE . NOVI . LOCI. (See plate 7, fig. 1.) The title of the charter to which this seal is appended is "Conventio inter Willielmum de Motisfant priorem de Novo Loco in Shyrwod et Willielmum de Furnivall de terr. in Walkeringham et Shepewik." There is also a beautiful but not perfect impression of a different seal,—the common seal of the abbey, or rather priory, appendant to the surrender in the Augmentation Office (see fig. 2).

The priory was surrendered July 1st, 1539.

Henry VIII, by his letters patent dated May 28, 32nd year of his reign, granted Newstead Abbey, with the manor of Papilwick and rectory of the same, and all the closes, by their several names, about the priory and commons in Ravenshede and Kygell, in the forest, and all in Newstede, Paplewyk, and Lindley, etc., to sir John Byron, knt., and his heirs. (Par. 4, Pat. 32, Hen. VIII.)

"Years roll on years; to ages, ages yield;
  Abbots to abbots, in a line succeed:
Religion's charter their protecting shield
  Till royal sacrilege their doom decreed.
One holy Henry rear'd the Gothic walls,
  And bade the pious inmates rest in peace;
Another Henry the kind gift recalls,
  And bids devotion's hallowed echoes cease."

Monastic institutions took their origin in the East, and

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

were introduced into Italy in the fourth century, whence they may be traced into Gaul and other provinces and countries of Europe. With all bodies there is a mixture of good and evil, and in no case perhaps is the use and abuse of things more truly exemplified than in the history of monasteries and priories. The advantages, however, arising from the exercises of piety, charity, and brotherly love, and the preservation and cultivation of literature, have been, I fear, more than counterbalanced by the fanaticism and cruelty and vice that have been manifested in these establishments, and which led ultimately to their suppression and dissolution. The great evil of solitude, in the opinion of the late Dr. Knox, is that reason becomes weak for want of exercise, while the powers of the imagination are invigorated by indulgence. The gloomy ideas of Popish superstition were derived from the cells of the monastery. Fanaticism and bigotry, melancholy and despair, have usually been produced in the cave and the convent.

In the eleventh century, complaints of the ignorance, licentiousness, frauds, debaucheries, dissensions, and enormities, perpetrated by the monastic orders were universal. It was in this century that a distinction arose in regard to secular and regular canons. The canons constituted a kind of middle order between the monks and secular priests, whose establishment dates from the eighth century. The corruption of these, however, was so great, and their profligacy so excessive and notorious, that a reformation was urgently demanded of them under pope Nicolas II, who abrogated the ancient rule of the canons, giving to them another, by which great improvement was effected. Their discipline was considerably amended, and to ensure a continuance of this condition, they were erected into communities and subjected to certain stringent regulations. Yet by these they were not excluded from holding private property, and appropriating the revenue of their benefices to any objects they thought proper. Some however resolved to subject themselves to lives less agreeable, and renounced on their part all worldly possessions, and observed a more austere mode of life. This occasioned the division into secular and regular canons,—the former permitting to themselves certain and prescribed

Digitized by Google

enjoyments,—the latter subjecting themselves to austerities and mortifications in imitation of St. Augustine, whose name they adopted, and became regular canons of his order, as was the case with the establishment at the abbey of Newstead.

The indulgences of the secular clergy attained a great height in the thirteenth century, and many new monastic institutions were introduced and established. A decree to check this on the part of pope Innocent III produced but little effect. The interests of the church were disregarded, whilst worldly advantages, pleasures, and dissipations were profusely indulged in. Multitudes of monks of various descriptions overspread Europe in the sixteenth century, and became the pests and burthens of society. The frauds they everywhere committed called forth the censure of the good and learned, who were in consequence accused of heresy, and the most iniquitous schemes were formed to deprive them of their rights and property. Added to this, the corruption of the church was complete, and the chairs of religion and philosophy were filled by incompetent, ignorant, and bigoted men. In such a state of things reformation was ardently desired, and at length obtained. It became essential to limit the power of the pontiffs, to amend the conduct of the clergy, and check the frauds of the mendicants. Then arose Martin Luther, Melancthon, and other eminent reformers, whose history it is unnecessary for me to pursue. In Great Britain we know the spiritual jurisdiction and supremacy of the pope was renounced, and papal despotism first shaken in England under the reign of Henry VIII, who marvellously became a champion of the Reformation, after having strongly opposed the doctrine and views of Luther. Hence arose the suppression of monasteries in this country,—the abolition of Newstead Priory, and its grant to sir John Byron in 1541.

The success of the Reformation Henry felt to be greatly dependant upon the destruction of the monasteries. Superstitions could not be abolished whilst their existence continued. I enter not into the question of the motives which may be supposed to have chiefly induced the king to this conduct, nor into the question of the rights of property thus seized and diverted from its purposes, nor how

Digitized by Google

far objections to such proceedings were obviated by the giving of pensions to the members of the suppressed convents. The historical evidence of late years, afforded by the publication of MSS. belonging to this period, sufficiently displays the justice of the charges of crime of divers kinds put forth against the monks, and are unquestionably important in the consideration of a religious question.

With the surrender, according to Burnet, a confession was generally made, but very few of these are extant; which is probably to be accounted for by the anxiety that would be felt in queen Mary's time to destroy them. A long and full one has, however, been handed down to us, and printed in Weaver, and is preserved in the Augmentation Office. It is the confession made by the prior of St. Andrews, in Northampton.[1]

In a publication of the Camden Society, edited by Mr. Thos. Wright, of *Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, derived principally from the Cromwell Papers, formerly preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster, but now in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum (MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, E. iv), there are two letters: one from John, bishop of Lincoln, in reference to Newstead "juxta Stanford"—the small priory of Newstead,[2] founded at the commencement of the reign of Henry III, by William de Albini; the other, from Dr. John London, one of the most active commissioners for the visitation of the monastic houses in the southern and south-western counties. He describes the "monkes and chanons" as "yonge lustie men, all ways fatt fedde, lyving in ydlenes and at rest", and "sore perplexide that now, being prestes, they may nott retorn and marye. Most partt of them be no thing lernyd, nor apte therto, and therby in moche warsse case. I have geven as well to sondrie of them, as to their masters, suche power counsell as I mygt do, and have advisede them that wher they be nother lernyd nor apte unto the same, to torne som of ther seremonyns of ydilnes unto som bodely exercise, and nott to sytt all day lurking in the cloister ydellye."

[1] Burnet, vol. i, Part II, p. 236, Oxford edition, 1829, 8vo.

[2] The charters of this priory are given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi, pp. 562-564; Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel's edition. It was granted, in the 31 Hen. VIII, to Richard Manours, and Richard Lynne was the last prior.

Digitized by Google

Dr. London received "a commission for the Charterhowse in Notingam shyer, callyd Bowvale, and for a howse of chanons callyd Newstede. Of Bowvale, sir Johan Hussey hathe the custodi, and sir Johan Beryn, of Newstede. We founde the prior of the Charterhowse in hys shortt gowen and velvytt cappe, redy befor our commyng, and the proctor of that howse, in lyke apparell, the next day following. I think it were harde to geve so manye agen into those howseys I have been att, as I have dispacchyd, ffor in every howse, as well of men as of women, they be in maner all gon that nyȝt, I have taken ther surrendre, and streightway in new apparell. Now I have done in all these howsys according to the kinges highness commissions, and shalbe at all owors redy, to the best of my litell power, to do suche farther service as may lye in me, according to my most bounden dewtie, by the helpe of almyȝtie Jhesus, who with increse of moche honour long preserve your gudde lordeshyppe. Oxon., xxvii Julii.

Your most bounden oratour and servant,

JOHAN. LONDON."[1]

In addition to the Newstead Priory of which we are now speaking, there were three other religious houses bearing the same name. Burnet, in his *Collection of Records* (vol. i, P. II, pp. 228, 233) mentions Newstead in Lincolnshire, a Gilbertine priory,—prior and five monks surrendered Oct. 2, 30 Hen. VIII; N. in Notts, Premonstratensian prior and eleven monks, ditto, July 21, 31 Hen. VIII. The Gilbertines were founded by St. Gilbert of Semperingham; and there were cloisters for both sexes in the houses of this order. The men followed the rule of St. Augustine; the women, the Cistercian regulation of St. Benedict. A Gilbertine priory, in fact, consisted of three classes, or monasteries for nuns, for canons, and for lay brethren. The original intention of Gilbert, the "man venerable, and to be mentioned with the highest honour", according to St. Ældred, was, that every house should have seven canons attached to it, who were to be the directors of the nuns; and to these measures he is supposed to have been driven by refusal of help from the Cistercians. The canons of Gilbert were taken from among his scholars, who had been highly instructed at Paris. By an order of the second Lateran

[1] From MS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iv, fol. 237.

Digitized by Google

Council all canons were obliged to take St. Augustine's rule; and from this time they were called Augustinian.

The Premonstratensians, or Premonstrants, as they are usually called, were canons according to the rule of St. Austin, as reformed by St. Norbert, afterwards archbishop of Magdeburg. They were founded in the early part of the twelfth century, at Premonstratum in Picardy. Their habit consisted of a white cassock, and rochet over it, and were denominated White Canons. They first settled, in England, in Lincolnshire. Burnet also records St. Mary Newstead, Notts, (Augustinian nuns), which was now founded, and preserved from the dissolution of lesser monasteries by the king's letters patent, Jan. 2, 28 Hen. VIII. This is enrolled to be held *in perpetuam eleemosynam.*[1]

Upon sir John Byron's taking possession of Newstead Abbey, he converted a part of the offices into a dwelling-house, and incorporated in the apartments a portion of the south aisle of the church. The abbey was originally decorated by various figures of saints, now wanting, and thus alluded to by lord Byron:

"Within a niche, nigh to its pinnacle,
  Twelve saints had once stood sanctified in stone;
But these had fallen, not when the friars fell,
  But in the war which struck Charles from his throne,
When each house was a fortalice—as tell
  The annals of full many a line undone,—
The gallant cavaliers, who fought in vain
For those who knew not to resign or reign." (*Don Juan*, st. 60.)

A figure of the Virgin and Child, however, still remain:

"But in a higher niche, alone, but crown'd,
  The virgin mother of the God-born child,
With her son in her blessed arms, look'd round,
  Spared by some chance when all beside was spoil'd;
She made the earth below seem holy ground.
  This may be superstition, weak or wild,
But even the faintest relics of a shrine
Of any worship wake some thoughts divine." (61.)

Although the church was allowed to go to decay, there fortunately yet remains the noble and majestic front, with

[1] Burnet, i, P. II, p. 224. There exists in Newstead in Yorkshire a grange belonging to Joreval Abbey—Cistercian. (See Dugdale v, 567-78.)

Digitized by Google

its lofty pinnacles and rich carvings; and this has been, though very inefficiently, pourtrayed in the edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, edited by Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, vol. vi.[1]

To quote from lord Byron again;

"The mansion's self was vast and venerable,
With more of the monastic than has been
Elsewhere preserved: the cloisters still were stable,
The cells too, and refectory, I ween.
An exquisite small chapel had been able,
Still unimpair'd, to decorate the scene:
The rest had been reform'd, replaced, or sunk,
And spoke more of the baron than the monk." (66.)

The late Mr. Rickman—a high authority—considered the remains of the church at Newstead Abbey as preeminently requiring notice, and as affording a specimen of the transition to what, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, has been called the Decorated English style. In a paper on the ecclesiastical architecture of France (*Archæologia*, vol. xxv, p. 171), he alludes to this church as being so elegant as to deserve the closest examination and study, by which its character may be properly known and appreciated. The ruins of St. Mary's Abbey, at York, offer another example of equal interest and beauty.

Family differences, particularly during the time of the fifth lord Byron, of eccentric and unsocial manners, suffered, and even aided, the dilapidations of time. The castellated stables and offices are, however, yet to be seen; and the interior, since the time of the present possessor, has been well maintained. At the sale of the eccentric lord's effects, in 1776-7, a brazen eagle, which a century ago had been found in the lake, together with three candelabra, were purchased by the rev. sir John Kaye, a prebendary of Southwell; and these were, upon the death of sir John, presented by his widow to the collegiate church. The chapter sent the eagle to a watchmaker in Nottingham to be cleaned, who detected in it some concealed manuscripts, one of which has been reported to have been a full pardon, from Henry V, of every possible crime. (See Moore's *Life of*

[1] Buck engraved the western view of Newstead Abbey in 1726; and the priory was engraved by Walker and Angus, after a drawing by Paul Sandby.

Digitized by Google

Byron, vol. i, p. 4, note.) This is, however, an error; the document alluded to being simply a pardon, purchased by the monastery—as one impeached in the previous reign—to furnish Henry V with money to carry on his wars. There is no accurate account of the documents that were contained in the brazen relic: some were lost, others destroyed; some are in colonel Wildman's possession, and they are grants and charters.

The great hall is a fine specimen of antique style. It was the refectory, and the drawing-room the dormitory, being then lighted by small windows, high up, between the spandrils of the roof, looking into the cloisters; the cloisters at that time being probably arched over with stone groins, etc.; but these were cut away by the Byrons, and the present galleries formed over them, to give more convenient access to the chambers.

In the cloister-court stands the old fountain. The Byrons had placed it in a court they made in front, which does not now exist. Thus:

> "Amidst the court a Gothic fountain play'd
> Symmetrical, but deck'd with carvings quaint,—
> Strange faces, like to men in masquerade,
> And here perhaps a monster, there a saint:
> The spring gush'd through grim mouths of granite made,
> And sparkled into basins, where it spent
> Its little torrent in a thousand bubbles,
> Like man's vain glory, and his vainer troubles." (65.)

The cloisters present a most venerable appearance, and resemble those of Magdalen College, Oxford. These were of the ancient abbey; and there are still tenants to be found beneath the pavement, but there are no sepulchral slabs.

The old chapel is a handsome specimen of Gothic style and spring of arches, and, in fact, is the old vaulted chapter-house.

On the family of the Byrons, it is not my intention to enlarge. It is sufficient for my present purpose to notice that it is to be traced from Ralph de Burun, mentioned in *Domesday* as living in the latter part of the reign of William the Conqueror, possessed of considerable lands in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. The chief mansion of the successors of Ralph de Byron, is stated by Thoroton, the

Digitized by Google

historian of Notts, to have been Horseley Castle, of which he reports ruins to be, in his time, still visible, and called Horeston Castle. Hugh, a descendant, was a monk at Lenton, the only one of the family who appears ever to have adopted an ascetic life.

In the reign of Henry VII, a sir John Byron greatly distinguished himself as a soldier, and fought at Bosworth on the side of Richmond. He was made knight, and constable of Nottingham Castle, and porter of the same; also steward and warden of the forest of Shirewood, and of the parks and woods of Billay, Birkeland, Romewood, Ouseland, and Fulwood, with £40 for the said offices. This personage was known by the title of "the little sir John with the great beard", and a portrait of him is now to be seen in the library of this mansion. The great-grandson of sir John, also sir John Byron, was the first lord Byron, of Rochdale in the county of Lancaster, created, in 1643, by Charles I, on account of his faithful services to the monarch.

The abbey sustained a considerable siege in the time of Charles I, in support of the king: thus Byron—

> "An abbey once, a royal fortress now,
> Encircled by insulting rebel powers,
> War's dread machines o'erhang thy threatening brow,
> And dart destruction in sulphureous showers."

Military glory, and the honours bestowed, however deservedly, upon martial achievements, sink into insignificance when put in competition with the exercise of the highest powers of the human mind, and the consequent emanations of genius,—for the honours of genius are eternal.[1] It is, therefore, to George lord Byron, of our time, that the renown of this family will be, in after ages, chiefly attributed. With Newstead, the late lord Byron is indelibly associated; and it is impossible for us, assembled, as we happily are, this day under the roof, and within the walls of that abode in which many of his imperishable writings were composed, without experiencing mingled emotions, arising from admiration of his works, and regret at the early decease of such unrivalled powers.

In the course of this paper, I have already given you

[1] "Ingenio stat morte sine decus." (*Propertius.*) "Natura ipsa valere, et mentis viribus excitari, et quasi quodam divino spiritu afflari." (*Cicero.*)

Digitized by Google

lord Byron's description of the situation of the abbey, and some of its details; much more that is entitled to your consideration, but too long for quotation, may be found in his "Don Juan", his "Lines on leaving Newstead Abbey", and his "Elegy on Newstead Abbey"; and to these works I refer you for the particulars, depicted with the fancy, and power, and genius, of the author. When Byron took possession of his ancestral mansion, a melancholy prevailed over him, and gave birth to his well known "Elegy on Newstead Abbey". He was not blessed with the means of putting it into proper repair, or duly sustaining it; he could only restore a few of the apartments, and render them habitable for himself and his mother. I must be pardoned, if, when upon such a subject, and upon the spot, I recall to your memory, however, the delight with which he clung to this place. In a letter to his mother, dated March 6, 1809, he writes: "Come what may, *Newstead* and I *stand* or fall together. I have now lived on the spot; I have fixed my heart upon it; and no pressure, present or future, shall induce me to barter the last vestige of our inheritance. I have that pride within me, which will enable me to support difficulties; I can endure privations; but could I obtain, in exchange for Newstead Abbey, the first fortune in the country, I would reject the proposition." Stern necessity, however, compelled Byron to dispose of Newstead,—

"No mortal man the cup of surety drinks."[1]

It was put up at auction in 1812, and bought in for £90,000. It was afterwards sold, for £140,000, to Mr. Claughton; but the purchase was not completed. At this time, in his journal, he wrote thus: "It cost me more than words to part with it;—and to *have* parted with it! What matters it what I do, or what becomes of me?"

The purchase, I have said, was not completed, and, in 1817, it most fortunately fell into the hands of the present worthy possessor, who, alike distinguished by his talents, his taste, and his sensibility, has put it into condition, restoring the abbey without adding anything, and presenting it as you see it this day. Colonel Wildman has not gone one inch beyond the original ground-plan, and the walls

[1] Sir Philip Sidney.

Digitized by Google

now stand exactly upon the old foundation. John lord Byron made alterations, colonel Wildman believes, for the reception of king Charles II. He built the present library with the south aisle of the church, and he added the bed-room and dressing-room, called after the monarch, and which will be found to be of that period. The three other bed-rooms, called king Henry VII's lodgings, were, no doubt, formerly *en suite*, and used as apartments for the reception and lodging of guests or travellers of distinction. Colonel Wildman has furnished me with an anecdote connected with the stained glass windows on the dais, which he has laudably endeavoured to restore, from the description given by Thoroton (p. 262). It seems that Henry VII came to Newstead, to hunt with the prior in his grounds at Blidworth. The king was accompanied by sir W. Savage and his brother, Thomas, the archbishop of York, whose arms, with those of the priory, are in the window, and also six coats of principal families of the county, who, no doubt, were with him to meet his majesty. Thoroton is in error in rendering W. S. P., William Savage, prior; William Sandell was the prior.

Lord Byron and colonel Wildman were together at Harrow School, and, upon becoming the purchaser of Newstead, the colonel received a letter from the distinguished poet, which does great credit to Byron, and is, I am sure, most deservedly esteemed by his schoolfellow.[1] Every particular associated with the first classical poet of his age must be interesting, and I therefore make no

"*Venice, Nov.* 18, 1818.

[1] "My dear Wildman,—Mr. Hanson is on the eve of his return, so that I have only time to return a few inadequate thanks for your very kind letter. I should regret to trouble you with any requests of mine, in regard to the preservation of any signs of my family, which may still exist at Newstead, and leave every thing of that kind to your own feelings, present or future, upon the subject. The portrait which you flatter me by desiring, would not be worth to you your trouble and expense of such an expedition; but you may rely upon having the very first that may be painted, and which may seem worth your acceptance. I trust that Newstead will, being yours, remain so, and that it may see you as happy as, I am very sure, you will make your dependants. With regard to myself, you may be sure that whether in the fourth, or fifth, or sixth form at Harrow, or in the fluctuations of after life, I shall always remember with regard my old schoolfellow, fellow-monitor, and friend, and recognize with respect the gallant soldier, who, with all the advantages of fortune, and allurements of youth to a life of pleasure, devoted himself to duties of a nobler order, and will receive his reward in the esteem and admiration of his country.

"Ever yours most truly and affectionately,

"BYRON.

Digitized by Google

apology for trespassing a few minutes further upon your time, by alluding to the manner in which he lived at Newstead Abbey, and the state it was in at his time. We have this day entered it without feeling alarm from the presence of wild or ferocious animals, as described to have been the case by Charles Skinner Matthews, in a letter to his sister, dated May 22, 1809, in which he writes: "Ascend then, with me, the hall steps, that I may introduce you to my lord and his visitants. But have a care how you proceed; be mindful to go there in broad daylight, and with your eyes about you; for should you make any blunders, should you go to the right of the hall steps, you are laid hold of by a bear; and should you go to the left, your case is still worse, for you run full against a wolf! Nor, when you have attained the door, is your danger over; for the hall being decayed, and therefore standing in need of repair, a bevy of inmates are very probably banging at one end of it with their pistols; so that if you enter without giving loud notice of your approach, you have only escaped the wolf and the bear to expire by the pistol-shots of the merry monks of Newstead." In this singular manner, and with many other reckless doings, did Byron pass much of his time at Newstead; and Moore has, in my opinion, depicted him truly by saying that "he combined in his own nature some of the best, and perhaps worst, qualities that lie scattered through the various characters of his predecessors,—the generosity, the love of enterprise, the high-mindedness, of some of the better spirits of his race, with the irregular passions, the eccentricity, and daring recklessness of the world's opinion, that so much characterised others." (*Life*, p. 7.)

In drawing my paper to a close you will, I am sure, express the satisfaction you feel that a place so romantic in its character, associated with so many interesting circumstances, and connected with the history and biography of the greatest of the modern poets of England, should have fallen into the possession of one who has exhibited so true a sense of its value, and whose excellence of nature and sympathies with genius, has induced him religiously to preserve every memorial in his power connected with Lord Byron. Long may he live to contemplate its beauties, enjoy its treasures, and secure for himself the deep respect and regard of the wise, the good, and the great.

Digitized by Google

It was originally intended to have embodied in the foregoing paper the architectural peculiarities of Newstead, and for this purpose I was immediately offered the kind assistance of my excellent friend Mr. Ashpitel, whose skill as an antiquary and an architect are too well known to the members of the British Archæological Association to need any eulogy on my part. His professional engagements would not however permit of his paying a visit to my old and esteemed friend, Colonel Wildman, until on the eve of the meeting of the Congress. I therefore requested him to conduct the members and visitors over the building after the reading of the preceding paper, and he has since obligingly forwarded to me the substance of his observations as far as his present survey of the abbey has extended, which I have the gratification of now adding as an appendix to my paper.

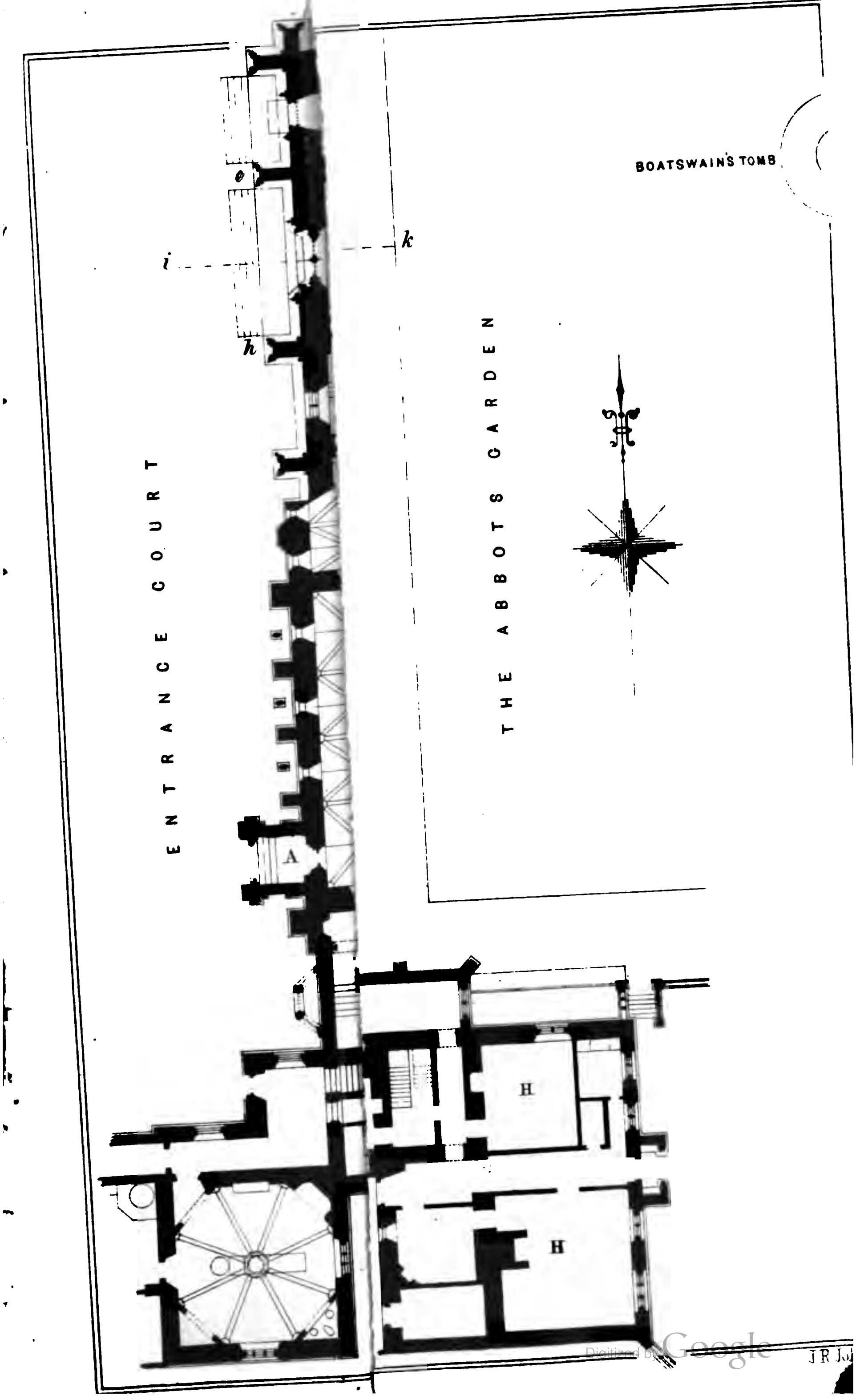
REMARKS ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

BY ARTHUR ASHPITEL, ESQ., F.S.A.

In reviewing the architecture of Newstead, it will be convenient to begin with the oldest part first. This is in the cloister, and is positively Norman. It is clear from a signature to the charter before referred to (see page 16) that of Geoffrey, archdeacon of Canterbury, one of the witnesses, that Newstead must have been founded prior to 1174; for in that year Geoffrey was consecrated bishop of Ely, and it is probable that it was founded, like many others, as an expiation for the murder of sir Thomas à Becket, which took place in 1170. The door leading from the monk's parlour into the cloister (a), and the door leading into the prior's house (b), have plain Norman circular heads; so also has the great arch which formerly covered the lavatory (c) on the south side of the cloisters. These are no doubt coeval with the foundation of the abbey. Their

Digitized by Google

PL. 8



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

architecture is too simple to invite much remark. The chapter-house, however, is of extreme singularity and beauty, and a worthy study for the architect and antiquary. It is of the transition style from Norman to Early English. Most chapter houses in England are either polygonal, and supported by one central column, as at Worcester, Salisbury, York, etc., or are oblong chambers without columns, like that at Chester, Canterbury, etc. In this instance we have a groined roof supported by two columns, giving a very peculiar character to this exquisite little building, which is twenty-four feet square. The foliage on the capitals varies in character; on one it is absolute Early English, on the other as absolutely late Norman. The arcade against the wall is also extremely beautiful; under the passage, called the slype, is a bath constructed by the late lord; over it is a gallery attached to and looking into the chapel. The entrance-door to the chapel is extremely beautiful, and another worthy study; the arch is circular, and was intersected by the floor of the upper part of the cloister, but has been laid open to view by the present proprietor, in a manner which evinces at once his skill and taste. The rest of the cloister is of a later period, as will be shortly described.

The next part in point of age is no doubt the vaulted rooms, now forming the private dining-room, formerly the prior's lodging; the servant's-hall, formerly the guestern-hall, or xenodochium; the entrance-hall and monks' parlour. These are all groined, with pointed arches springing from plain octagon shafts without imposts, and with plain chamfered groin ribs, evidently of the age of those at Chester under the bishop's house, which are known to have been very early English. In fact, at Newstead, the dawn of the pointed style is shewn by the mixture of circular and pointed work in the cloister, and there is no doubt the buildings were erected slowly and progressively through the reigns of Henry II, Richard, John, and the early part of that of Henry III.

The next portion in point of antiquity is the glorious west front, which is all that remains of the abbey church: this is of the geometrical decorated period, and one of the noblest and most beautiful specimens in the kingdom. The centre has been occupied by a vast window, above

Digitized by Google

which is another of smaller proportions, and which perhaps gave light into the roof. On each side are exquisite buttresses, with niches and angle jamb shafts; on each side of these again are two blank windows, containing similar tracery to those of the centre, carved upon the solid ashlar. They never have been perforated, and that at the north seems to have been traversed by the lines of the aisle-roof, and to have been a sort of screen to the clerestory and aisle. That on the north is a blank end to the monk's parlour and north side of the cloister, and seems never to have been anything else. In fact it is in appearance the end to an aisle, which however, as far as we can judge, never existed. It is indeed the greatest possible puzzle to the architect and archæologist. At both fronts of Lincoln cathedral, a sort of wings have been carried up to give artificial extent to the fronts; but these are so managed as not to attract observation. At Newstead is perhaps the only unreality in Gothic architecture.

Within the church, the responds of the north aisle pier remain, showing clearly that here was an aisle, the foundations of the wall of which, and those of the piers between it and the nave, may readily be found by piercing the ground with a crow-bar; but the wall in the south side, where the piers must have stood, supposing there ever has been a south aisle, is, in fact, the wall of the cloister. In other words, the cloister itself stands upon the very spot where the south aisle would have been. Now the door (marked (a), plate 8) is doubtless Norman; and at (d), is a beautiful decorated doorway, with carved capitals of the same period, and in every way resembling the architecture of the west front. This door is now walled up, and, no doubt, once led from the cloister into the church. It seems impossible, therefore, that there could ever have been a south aisle here. On tracing eastward, on the line of the wall of the north aisle, we have clear evidences that there was a north transept; and it seems, in position and dimension, very much to resemble the present orangery, the site of which may have formed a south transept. The choir extended, as was found on digging, very nearly as far as the dog "Boatswain's" tomb. Here the stone coffins were discovered. Whether the choir had a lady chapel or not, cannot as yet be ascertained.

Digitized by Google

It seems probable, therefore, as the matter is as yet known to us, that the abbey church possessed the unique singularity of having only a north aisle. The puzzle seems to be, how the clerestory could be managed on the south side of the nave, as its windows must have been over a wall, and not over arches and piers, as is usual; how the groining could have been carried,—if ever the building has been groined;—and in what way the south transept could have been managed so as to match that on the north. There is no vestige of western towers: the probability is, there must have been a central tower, which would much have increased the difficulty of designing the transepts.

And then comes this question: Why should this singularity, awkward to look at, and difficult to carry out, have ever been attempted? In small country churches, a single aisle only is very common; but even this is where there is no clerestory. I know nothing parallel to it in England. Although the ingenious management of the tracery of the false windows, has made a most beautiful west front, yet the internal appearance of the church must have been extremely strange. There was no difficulty at all in the site. There was plenty of plain ground to the north which could have been occupied. What then could have been the cause of such extreme singularity? It must have been something that would outweigh all other considerations, —it must have been a stern and absolute necessity alone that could have permitted such a "sham", if the expression may be permitted.

I can only account for it thus. There is no doubt the west front is not that of the original Norman church. It is very unlikely, nay impossible, that they would have been one hundred and fifty years without a church, which, in fact, is generally built first. Now, if the original church had been without aisles, it is probable the chancel or choir would also have had no aisles. The nave then would have stood close to the cloister (occupying the spaces, e, f, g, h), and the centre of the choir would have of course been the centre of the nave, and in the line (i, k). This latter fact was ascertained when the coffins were found. Now the whole anomaly may be easily and satisfactorily accounted for, if the following circumstances had occurred. If the nave had been found to be too small, or had

Digitized by Google

become dilapidated; if it had been convenient or necessary to rebuild it on a larger scale, while the choir had been in good condition. If from the beauty of the choir, the sacredness of the altars, tombs, or relics, or if from want of funds, the canons were unwilling or unable to rebuild the choir as well as the nave, they must have been in one of these difficulties;—either they must have built a nave not in the same central line with the choir, and quite destroyed the long vista of the roofs and view of the high altar, or they must have pulled down the north side of the cloister and the monks' parlour, and materially reduced the size of the enclosure. Besides this, had a transept been required, instead of its standing on the site of the orangery, the elegant chapter-house must have been pulled down and the transept have occupied its site. The chapter-house must then have been built on the site of some other monastic building, which must have itself been sacrificed. In fact, the whole original plan would have been deranged. The only other ultimatum would be to build a nave with a north aisle only. The wall on the south side of which might have had piers and arches to carry the clerestory—filled in below, of course, by the wall of the cloister,—and the north transept would then have been longer than the south by the width of the north aisle of the nave. It is a very unusual thing, but at Chester the south limb of the transept is longer than that of the north.

The only way in which the matter could be satisfactorily elucidated, would be to lay bare the foundations of the choir, to find the places of the piers of the nave on its north side, and to cut into the wall of the cloister exactly opposite these, and ascertain whether there are any piers therein. This wall is of very unusual thickness. It has given me much pleasure to hear it is very probable this will be done, as soon as the weather permits, under the supervision of that able antiquary, Mr. Close, of Nottingham. If my conjecture be true, the canons must be acquitted of any intentional deception, or "sham", as they must have been urged on by stern necessity, and could not in any way have otherwise escaped from their difficulty, except at the sacrifice, either of the choir, or of the cloisters and chapter-house. We should remember there is much

Digitized by Google

difference between a necessary expedient by which we ameliorate an awkwardness, and that love of everything unreal and artificial that was such a mania a short time ago, when every house had sham doors, mock windows, false closets, and tricks of all kinds assailed you at every turn. Art must frequently be called in where there are difficulties; in such cases we should bear in mind the maxim "ars est celare artem".

The next parts of the building, in point of antiquity, are the external walls and windows of the lower part of the cloisters. These are of perpendicular character, and probably were erected not long before the dissolution. The upper part of the cloisters, the library and corridors round the east, south, and west sides of the cloisters are of later perpendicular character, and are said, no doubt with truth, to have been erected by the Byrons soon after obtaining possession of the buildings, in fact when they converted them to domestic uses. There is something of great beauty in these cloisters; and in point of utility the design is unmatchable. Cloisters of double height are rare in England. There is one at Magdalen College, Oxford; one at the Cheetham Library, at Manchester;[1] one in the old St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster: but all are of late perpendicular character. The court has an air of tranquil beauty, difficult to explain and convey an adequate idea of to those who have not seen it.

The fountain in the centre has already been described (page 25); the lower part is later in date than the upper. It merits all that has been said of it. Of course the cloisters have their ghosts. The east corridor is the unquiet walk of a lady, whose portrait hangs in one of the adjacent rooms; but the lower cloister is haunted by "the black friar", of whom there is the elegant ballad in *Don Juan.* He slowly perambulates the walks of the cloister, and then ascends the stairs of the abbot's apartments, and enters "the haunted room".

The large drawing-room, formerly the dormitory, is of the same date as the lower part of the cloisters: it has a fine oak roof, which has been filled in between the timbers with stucco, with foliages, and ornaments, apparently of the time of Charles I. The large dining-room, with its

[1] See *Journal,* vol. vi, plate 27.

Digitized by Google

splendid screen, formerly the ancient refectory, is of the same date. The latter is a most noble and interesting chamber. In the windows are the arms of the abbots, the arms of the Byrons, and those of colonel Wildman and his relations; around the walls are weapons and trophies from the time of the Henrys down to those, not the least interesting, brought by the colonel from the field of Waterloo. But I must confine myself to the proper sphere of this paper—the architecture. The abbots' parlour adjoins this grand room. All these have been restored with the most consummate taste, and form a fine suite of apartments. A winding stair conducts to the abbots' lodgings, the first of which is "the haunted room",—gloomy enough, no doubt, with a fine Elizabethan bedstead; this was the lodging of Byron's mysterious page, by some considered the prototype of that of Lara. The next, or abbots' chamber, was the poet's own room. The bed, chairs, pictures, everything, are exactly as left by him: the portrait of Jackson, the pugilist, and that of his old faithful servant, Murray; the drawings of his old college, Trinity, and other favourite views in Cambridge, hang in their former places. You seem walking on ground hallowed by genius and sombred by misfortune, and you feel saddened when you recollect his own expression,—

> "Most men are cradled into poetry by wrong;
> They learn in suffering what they teach in song".

On the west side of the cloister, over the chapter-house, and adjoining the priors' apartments, is a range of buildings of mixed style, evidently commenced in the reign of Charles I, and finished in that of Charles II, the works being probably suspended during the period of the sequestration of the estate during the civil wars. They are now chiefly the private apartments of the family, and communicate with the gardens and pleasaunces of the old abbots. At the north end of this range is the orangery, evidently finished in Charles II's time, and occupying probably the site of the south transept of the abbey church: above are king Charles II's room, or the tapestry bed-room, king Edward III's room, richly panneled, with a carved oak chimney-piece of excessive curiosity; the bed-room, called Henry VII's lodgings, which was used by the late duke of

Digitized by Google

Sussex as his bed-room, and a room adjoining, which was his royal highness's sitting-room. In one of these rooms is a series of very strange carvings, evidently representing the history of some affair of a Christian knight captive among the Saracens, and a fair maiden, between whom and the knight there evidently has been something of a very tender kind. The cast of features is not unlike that of the first owner of the spot, making allowances for age; and the peculiar cut of the beard permits us to speculate that it is intended for "the little sir John Byron with the great beard". No tradition is extant in the family as to such an adventure as the elopement of a Christian slave with a Moorish lady; but as we know such things were as late as the days of Cervantes, there is no doubt such a thing might have well happened in those of Henry VIII. Altogether it is most deserving the inspection of the archæologist.

One most singular circumstance strikes one at Newstead. There are numberless fissures in the stone work. They do not descend in an irregular vertical line, like what we call settlements, but are almost invariably horizontal. They are peculiarly conspicuous, on the southern front, and in the chapter-house and parts adjacent. To those who have read of Lisbon, of Pompeii, and of Cataneo, it may appear strange to be told that these fissures were the result of an earthquake, which occurred between twenty and thirty years ago. Three sharp distinct shocks, as if the ground was upheaved, took place one after the other, and the result was the curious appearance presented throughout the building.

The state of Newstead at the time the poet succeeded to the estate, is not generally known. "The wicked lord" had felled all the noble oaks, destroyed the finest herds of deer, and, in short, had denuded the estate of everything he could. The hirelings of the attorney did the rest; they stripped away all the furniture, and everything the law would permit them to remove; the buildings on the east side were unroofed, the old xenodochium and the grand refectory were full of hay, and the entrance-hall and monks' parlour were a stable for cattle. In the only habitable part of the building, a place then used as a sort of scullery, under the only roof that kept out wet of all this vast pile, the fifth lord Byron breathed his last; and to this

Digitized by Google

inheritance the poet succeeded. Can it be wondered at then, that this mingled scene of majesty and desolation, of beauty and squalidness, of former wealth and power, and of present degradation and ruin, should have so deeply entered into the feelings of perhaps one of the most sensitive minds ever created. When we censure the errors of his lofty intellect, let us remember there are few of us indeed who, with similar trials and temptations, could have stood firm: and what other man could have left on record such noble thoughts, such lofty verse—verse by which he himself says,—

> ———— "I hope to be remembered in my line
> With my line's language."

He seems to have been most feelingly alive, however, to all those beauties which nature and the architects of the old building had joined together. Let those who never saw the place read the glowing descriptions quoted in the foregoing paper, and assure themselves they are strictly correct. The lucid lakes, the softened river, the sparkling cascade, the sloping hills, the green-faced woods, the wild fowl, the sedges, are rigidly, literally, true to nature. But there is something more. Poets seem instinctively to have a keen and deep perception of the points of architectural beauty. Not only has this been the case since Homer described the palaces of Priam and Alcinous,—since Ovid wrote of the palace of the sun, Milton of the pandemonium, and Scott of Melrose; but the faculty seems in some degree convertible. Chaucer was architect to part of Windsor Castle; Michael Angelo was a poet as well as an architect; and in later days Vanbrugh, as well as one lately passed from us, were as famous for their writing as their building. Madame de Staël called architecture "frozen music"; it is rather frozen poetry, if so cold a word can be applied to the science; let us rather call it the poetry of stone. It seems curious that Byron, at a time when the place was in ruins, and when so little was known of the principles of the art, should have caught at such points as—

> ————"more of the monastic than has been
> Elsewhere preserved."

This is strictly correct: but at the period he last saw

Digitized by Google

Newstead there were no archæologists, and little, indeed, known of styles and dates. Again, he speaks of a "mixed Gothic";—no more correct term could be used—and this was at a time when every building was put down arbitrarily as all Saxon, all Norman, or all Gothic; neither could any phrase be selected to describe the chapter-house better than "an exquisite small chapel". But what is all this to the glowing description of the western front of the abbey church?

It was written when all was ruin: all then was dilapidation and neglect, and in this state it came into the hands of the present proprietor; and now how it has changed! The hand of order and of taste pervades every thing. There has been no exaggeration, no amplification, no theoretical vagaries, nor jumbling of parts, perhaps beautiful in themselves, into one incoherent whole: a correct and chaste feeling of restoration has pervaded all that has been done.

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN.

PLATE 8.

A. Entrance porch.

B. Great Entrance Hall: over which is the present dining hall, formerly the refectory.

C. The Monks' Parlor: over which are the Abbots' Parlor and Lodging.

D. The Cloisters: over the north side is the long library built by the Byrons; over the other three sides are corridors.

E. The Orangery,—supposed to be the site of the old southern transept: over which are king Charles II's lodgings.

F. Gallery in chapel, formerly the "slype" or passage between the church and chapter-house }
G. The Chapter-house . . . . . } Over these are king Edward III's and king Henry VII's apartments.

H.H.H. The Prior's Lodging.

I. The Xenodochium, or Guestern Hall, for the reception of strangers. Over this is the Great Drawing Room, formerly the large Dormitory.

---

a. Norman door, from Monks' Parlor.

b. Ditto into prior's house.

c. Norman lavatory.

d. Decorated door into the church.

e. f. g. h. Probable site of the nave of the elder church.

i. k. Line down centre of ditto, which appeared to have also been the centre line of the choir; when the excavations were made, near the dog's tomb, and the coffins were discovered.

Digitized by Google

ON TRADESMEN'S SIGNS OF LONDON.

BY A. H. BURKITT, ESQ., F.S.A.

We glean from Martial, Catullus, Plutarch, and others, that it was the custom of the Roman shopkeepers to decorate the exterior of their shops in various ways; some were distinguished by pillars projecting into the streets. On the booksellers' columns were inscribed the titles of the works they had to sell; others had show-boards over their doors, especially at the places where slaves were exposed for sale, and which Petronius calls the *Venalicium;* and on these the names and qualities of the slaves were inscribed. Terence and others make mention of the sign of the *chequers* in the *Locarium.* This had evident reference to a game there played, similar perhaps to our game of drafts, the board of which, according to Pliny, was of an oblong form. This sign is to be seen at Pompeii, exhibited against the houses of public resort, as well as other devices executed in stone, and fixed in the walls of the shops. The same also occur at Herculaneum, and are clearly proofs of signs being in common use at an early period, as emblems of trades, as well as distinguishing marks of houses. The sign of the *Ansa,* the handle of a pitcher, was usually placed over the houses of accommodation. These were called by Herodotus Σταθμοι, or Αλλαγαι, a sort of national or public house, described also by Suetonius as *Taberna diversoria.* By the *stathmoi* the ancients regulated the stages of their journeys. In the Saxon period, we find, by examining the works of Cædmon, various figures or signs decorated the houses, either fixed on poles, or over the doorways. The same may be seen in the Bayeux tapestry, and in many illustrations of MSS. of the same period, both as decorations of the residence of the noble with his heraldic device, as well as of the artizan.

The rapid strides which have taken place in the form of renovations, to accord with the tastes of the present race of the citizens of London, have conspired to erase almost all traces of the curious signs, which formerly occupied so prominent a place in their streets.

Digitized by Google

These signs may fairly be regarded as a species of heraldry or symbolism, and, as such, are deserving the attention of the antiquary; not only in exhibiting peculiar features in the appearance of the city, but as illustrating the manners and customs of our ancestors. Although, as a rule, these distinguishing marks have been abolished, we have still types of the custom preserved. The goldbeater still exhibits his *golden arm and hammer;* the fishing-rod maker the *trout* dangling from the end of a line; the *black doll* of the rag shops; the *Virginian black* and *roll of tobacco* of the tobacconist; the *barber's pole;* the *three balls*[1] of the pawnbrokers, and a few others, are met with in most streets; neither should we omit mention of the more recent costly, and sometimes elegant and appropriate signs of the insurance offices, which in many cases add greatly to the embellishment of our thoroughfares. But while this is the case, even the lowest description of our public-houses and inns, with their stuccoed renovations, appear to aim at an entire change from their former appearance, and carefully cancel their original sign.

The introduction of devices and signs against the houses in London was probably resorted to as the only means of identification, as it is well known the introduction of numbering houses was not adopted till the middle of the last century, from which period we may date the gradual disappearance of signs.

These distinguishing marks were not only used by tradespeople and places of resort, but by private families; at the same time the practice was not universal, as many were content to describe their houses by the proximity to their neighbours, or to objects of note, as "over against the condyte", "neer to the May pole", "next Paull's cross", etc. Some of these directions appear to us of very inconvenient length, and in some instances as somewhat elaborate. William Faithorne, the engraver, gives his address, in 1691, "at the sign of the *Ship*, next door to the *Drake*,

[1] The pawnbrokers of the present day usually gild their sign. This is a modern innovation, as the arms of the Lombardy merchants and money-lenders were three *blue balls*. By a charter granted to the city in the 7th of Charles I, pawnbrokers had special licence to "expose and hang in and over the streets, and ways, and alleys of the said city, and suburbs of the same, signs, and posts of signs, affixed to their houses and shops, for the better finding out of such citizens' dwellings," etc.

Digitized by Google

opposite to the *Palgrave Head* tavern, without Temple Bar"; and in an advertisement, in 1701, of a public exhibition, "at the *White Head*, near Pall Mall, facing the Haymarket, within two doors of the glass lamps".

In the early part of the last century we find, by different communications to the newspapers, that the state of the streets caused great dissatisfaction to the public, from the encroachments made by the shopkeepers, who vied with each other in trespassing on the public way by their bow windows, and who emulated to thrust each new one beyond its neighbour.[1] Notwithstanding the constant complaints that were made, it was not until 1766 that the subject was entered into by the corporation, who then determined to remove many inconveniences and obstructions. By the evidence then published, it appeared that they chiefly consisted in projections or penthouses, and these, when loaded with flower-pots, often occasioned accidents from their falling into the streets, and were exceedingly unpleasant to the passengers below, when these hanging gardens were over-watered. Beyond these, the signs often swung to and fro; and a writer of the period describes them as very large, very fine, with gilding and carving, but as very absurd. Golden perriwigs, saws, axes, razors, trees, lancets, knives, salmon, cheese, blacks' heads with gilt hair, half moons, sugar loaves, and Westphalia hams, repeated without mercy from the Borough to Clerkenwell, and from Whitechapel to the Haymarket.

It appears that London was not the only city decorated in this manner. In the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV, the inhabitants of Paris made a successful appeal to the king for their removal. At that time their city was in a very sickly condition, and the mortality very great. The report made by the faculty was to the effect, that the signs prevented a free circulation of air through the streets; on which an edict was published, that no sign should be more than 18 inches by 12, and the weight limited to 4 or 5 lbs. At this time many of the iron signs in London weighed 400 or 500 lbs, and some a great deal

[1] By a sort of mutual understanding of opposite neighbours, they often had a bar or chain hanging across the street, on which they hung their signs, after the fashion of the old Paris lamps; but these were abolished by the act of 7th of Charles II, which directs "that in all the streets no sign-posts shall hang across, but that the signs shall be fixed against the balconies, or some convenient part of the side of the house."

Digitized by Google

more. In 1718, the front of a house opposite Bride-lane, Fleet-street, fell down, and killed two young ladies, a cobbler, the king's jeweller, and several others, besides many maimed. This was occasioned by the wind blowing hard against the large sign and its support of iron. The newspapers of the period recount many instances of accidents from the signs becoming detached from their frail supports; and it is even within the memory of many now living that this was the case. Amongst the many objections which were then raised against them and called for their removal, was, that the owners did not always keep them in a proper state of repair, but allowed them to be blown down on the heads of the people. Besides this, those which swung, suspended by projecting poles, or from hooks, kept up, in windy weather especially, a constant grating, creaking, and squeaking, which inharmonious and discordant noises were especial annoyances to strangers sojourning in the neighbourhood. Thus Gay in his Trivia:—

> "But when the swinging signs your ears offend,
> With creaking noise, then rainy floods impend;
> Soon shall the kennel swell with rapid streams,
> And rush, in muddy torrents to the Thames."

And in his "directions to the stranger walking the streets of London":—

> "If drawn by business, to a street unknown,
> Let the sworn porter point thee through the town;
> Be sure observe the signs, for signs remain,
> Like faithful landmarks to the walking train."

In 1718, the Court of Common Council appointed a committee to consider the subject of the removal of these nuisances, which were ordered henceforth to be fixed to the front of the houses, flat against the wall. The spirit of improvement did not stop here; the water spouts, which had served to distribute their contents over the passengers, were removed, the streets were for the first time inscribed at the corners with their names; brass plates were introduced on the doors of the gentry, and the numbering of houses completed this portion of the great work of amendment.

The streets now wore a different aspect. The shops

Digitized by Google

which before had for the most part been little better than cribs for stowing away goods, and in most cases without glass and sashes, now adopted them, and exhibited their different wares. Many of the shopkeepers abandoned their signs altogether; whilst others adopted the plan suggested by the authorities, in having their signs painted on boards or flat pieces of iron, and nailed against the wall. These in their turn vanished, when the front of the old wooden projections decayed; the signs themselves were consigned to the old iron shops, or, in a few cases, were preserved by the owners as relics for the gaze of future generations.

The signs adopted by the tradespeople of London almost set at defiance a hope of achieving anything approaching to a satisfactory classification, and which arises from the totally different motives which actuated those who adopted them; comparatively few appear to have been selected from their having any reference whatever to the trade or occupation of the owner of the house. We find the old sign often retained by a new tenant, selling very different wares to the late one, and often a joint occupation by persons pursuing different callings under one sign, as in the case of Izaac Walton, who sold his goods in the shop of another in Fleet Street, at the sign of the *Harrow*. Many signs were taken from the crest or heraldic bearing of the family owning the business, as in the case of the *Grasshopper* of the Greshams; while others have a reference to that of their patrons, as in the case of William Serres, a bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard, who lived in 1566 at the sign of the *Hedgehog*, the badge of sir Henry Sidney, or the mixed sign of the *Three Nuns and Hare*, which, according to the *Spectator*, originated in the apprentice uniting, when he set up trade, the sign of his master with his own. The crests of various noble families are constantly met with, as, for instance, the *Eagle and Child* of the Stanleys in several parts of Westminster, as well as in the city. And it was a still more common practice to adopt the entire arms or crest of the different companies owning the property, or to which the tradesman belonged. This accounts for the constant recurrence of the *Three Tuns* of the vintners, and the *Queens* or *Maidenheads* which form the crest of the Mercers. These are often to be found in stone inserted

Digitized by Google

in the brickwork. Of the latter, Strype says, that "when any one of this company is chosen mayor, a most beautiful virgin is carried through the streets in a chariot, with all the glory and majesty possible, with her hair all dishevelled about her shoulders, to represent the Maidenhead, which the Company give for their arms".

In the investigation of this subject, it is curious to remark upon the little assistance to be obtained from sources where we might naturally expect the greatest. By the most careful examination of engravings or drawings of the period, the signs are either omitted altogether, or so carelessly drawn, as rather to mislead than guide us in our researches. One of the best sources for information will be found in the tradesmen's tokens, the subject on the obverse being oftentimes chosen from the sign of the house whence they were issued. The majority of these interesting evidences emanated from inns, coffee-houses, and places of public resort.[1]

Another source, and one of considerable value, is from the titles of old books; but this, of course, relates exclusively to the trades of bookselling and stationers.

Of all the motives which induced a selection of subjects for signs, perhaps the most singular one is that of a play upon the names. William Norton, the printer, used the rebus of a *Sweet-William* growing out of a *Tun*, with the word N.O.R upon it. Pelham More, at Moregate, his sign was a *Blackamore's Head and Sun*. John Day, the well known printer, lived by the Little Conduite in Cheapside, at the sign of the *Resurrection*, and which was represented by a boy being aroused from sleep, the rising sun and the motto, "arise, for it is daye". The sign of Grafton, the publisher and chronicler, was a branch or *graft* of a tree issuing from a *Tun*, and which gave rise to a witty remark of his rival, John Stowe, who said, in allusion to his chronicle, that it was "the noise of empty tonnes and unfruitful grafftes"; to which Grafton replied by calling Stowe's work "lyes foolishly stowed together". Numerous others are found. The *Salmon and Bowl*, of John Salmon, in Spitalfields; the *Salmon* of Mrs. Salmon of the well known wax-work in Fleet-street; the *Heart* of Jane

[1] A list of several hundred tokens relating to London, has been published in an admirable work by J. Y. Akerman, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

Digitized by Google

Hart in Southwark; the *Bell* of John Bell in Wood-street: the *Key* of Jane Keye in Bloomsbury-market. The booksellers sometimes appeared to aim at signs having some reference to the class of works which they published. The sign of the *Evangelists* often occurs. Robert Wyer, in 1527, kept a shop in "Saynt Martyns paryshe, at the sign of *Saynt Johan Evangelyste*"; and the signs appropriated to the evangelists were also very common; as the *Eagle* of St. John; the *Lion* of St. Mark; the *Bull* of St. Luke; and the *Angel* of St. Matthew; and others of a similar reference.

Abraham Veal, the printer, in 1548, kept a shop in "Paules Chayne at *John Baptist*, and Henry Smithe at the *Holy Trinity*, without Temple Bar". In 1509 Henry Pepwell kept the *Trinity*, and Michael Lobley the sign of "*Saynte Michell*". Reynold or Reynard Wolfe at the *Brazen Serpent*. This sign was supported by figures of a foxe and wolfe, in allusion to his names; and it may here be worthy of remark, that by his will he bequeathed his sign to his son Robert, a proof of the value of these objects, as well as the estimation in which they were held. In the same locality near Saint Paul's, Gabriel Cawood had for his sign the *Holy Ghost*. The semi-religious character of the foundation of the city companies, accounts in some respects for the selection of their various devices for their crests and quarterings, which they often took from their patron saints. Thus the Fishmongers chose St. Peter, the fisherman; the Drapers, the Virgin Mary, Mother of the Holy Lamb, or fleece; the Goldsmiths' patron was St. Dunstan, the reputed artizan in metals; the Merchant-Tailors, St. John Baptist, the harbinger of the Holy Lamb. Others took their patron saint from the church in which they had their altar: thus St. Anthony of the Grocers, St. Martin's Vintry of the Vintry, and many others. Of a more terrestrial conception and savouring of Romish ascendency, we find the *Mitre*, *Crosier*, *Cardinal's Cap*, and *Golden Cross*. Hewghe Singleton dwelt at the *Dobblehood* in Thames-street; Thomas Hacket, at the *Pope's Head* in Lombard-street and Julian Notary kept his shop, as he tells us by his titles, "juxta Templum-barre, sub intersignio *Trium Regum*, anno Salutis nostre MCCCCCIX"; and another shop in "St. Paule's Chirche yarde, at the west door, besyde my lorde of London's palayse, at the sign of

Digitized by Google

the *Three Kings*". These were doubtless meant for the Three Kings of Cologne, of which tradition we have other indications in London. The sign of the *Keys* and *Cross Keys* was common, and no doubt had reference to the *Keys* of St. Peter. Barnard Lintot had his shop between the Temple-gates, at the latter sign. Titular saints also contributed subjects, as the *Wheel* of St. Catherine, the *Dragon* of St. George, as well as these and other minor saints themselves. "'The Shyp of Folys' of the worlde, imprinted by me, Richard Pynson, in Flete streete, at the sygne of the *George*, MCCCCCVIII.

> "Our shyp here levyth the sees brode,
> By the help of God almyght, and quyetly
> At anker we lye within the rode;
> But who that lysteth of them lye
> In Flete-streete, shall them fynde truly
> At the *George*, in Richard Pynson's place
> Prynter unto the kyngis noble grace."

William Middleton, in 1541, who succeeded Pynson, kept up the same sign, and used as his rebus a *tun* in the middle of a shield, between two angels. The *Gridiron* of St. Laurence, as well as the *Devil* of St. Dunstan, must not be omitted. The latter was the sign of a well-known house in that parish, the resort of the wits of the last two centuries; and in the same parish was the *Little Devil*, where the members of the embryo Society of Antiquaries were wont to meet before they removed to the *Mitre*, a house still in existence.

As a means of identification many tradesmen adopted what could scarcely be called a sign, but a representation of a subject painted on a board. Some of these were done to attract attention, which a swinging sign above might fail in doing. It is related that a barber in Paris, who was desirous of attracting notice to his bag-wigs, caused the history of Absalom to be painted, and which he exhibited over his door. The connexion of the subject of his picture, without explanation, was at first sight somewhat obscure, but which we find fully explained by a Northamptonshire barber, who adopted the same sign, with this enlightening inscription underneath:—

> "O, Absalom! hadst thou worn a perriwig,
> Thou hadst not been hanged."

Digitized by Google

It is somewhere told of another who had the same sign, the death of Absalom, and David weeping, that he wrote up this:—

> "Oh, Absalom! oh, Absalom! oh, Absalom, my son,
> If thou hadst worn a periwig, thou hadst not been undone!"

The sports and pastimes of the people have contributed subjects for signs. The *Maypole* was often to be found in the vicinity of the spots on which they were erected, as well as the objects with which they were decorated. Robert and William Copeland, the former of whom was servant to Winkin de Worde, kept a shop in 1515 at the sign of the *Rose Garland*, in Fleet-street, and the old scrivener, "John Waylande, at the sign of the *Blew Garlande*", in the same street. These objects were not only used as ornaments in May time, but in archery, as mentioned in the "Merry Geste of Robyn Hode, imprynted at London, upon 3 *Crane*-wharfe, by William Copeland, etc."

> "On every side a *Rose Garlande*,
> They shott under the lyne;
> Whoso faileth of the *Rose Garlande*, said Robyn,
> His takyll he shall tyne."

Lilies, *violets*, *sunflowers*, *and marigolds* were not uncommon. The sign of the *Bush* may be here mentioned. We have evidence of its being of chief account in ancient Rome. In England the same sign was adopted in very early times, and at a later period it was suspended by two or three hoops decorated with foliage, sometimes with vine leaves and grapes, carved and gilt, and a *Bacchus* bestriding a *tun*. On the occasion of the execution of Charles I, the owner of one of these signs painted it black, and called it the *Mourning Bush*.

In connexion with sports in the arena, they have contributed *bears*, *bulls*, and *cocks* innumerable. The *falcon* was a favourite sign. Wynkyn de Worde set up a press on the spot now occupied by No. 32, Fleet-street, and afterwards held by Griffith "at the signe of the *Faucon*, in Saincte Dunstones Church Yarde, in the west of London, 1565". These premises have been held to the present time by a succession of well-known publishers, including John Murray, the publisher of Byron's works, and Samuel

Digitized by Google

Highley, the well-known medical bookseller of our own time. The court at the side of the house is still designated by the name of the old sign. John Harrison, who published the first edition of *Venus and Adonis*, and *Rape of Lucrece*, dwelt at the sign of the *White Greyhound*, and the first edition of *Richard II* was published at the sign of the *Fox*.

The celestial bodies furnished subjects; *Suns*, *Moons*, and *Stars* were interminable. De Worde, at the " Signe of the *Sonne*", Richard Tottell and Richard Pynson both lived at the " *Hande and Starre*", which is the house now owned by Butterworth the publisher, the site of the printing-office being now occupied by Dick's Coffee-house. At the *Star*, in Snow-hill, at the house of his friend Mr. Strudwick, the great John Bunyan ended his earthly pilgrimage in 1688.

The different events of history which have furnished subjects, are particularly interesting and were very numerous. The *Roses*, white and red, indicate those of York and Lancaster; the *Boar's Head*, the badge of Richard III; the *White Hart*,[1] of Richard II; the *White Swan*, of Henry V; the *Red Dragon* and the *Greyhound*, of the Tudors; the *Royal Oak*, of Charles; the *White Horse*, of the Brunswick, and many others. Heads also formed a numerous class. Those of royalty often underwent a strange transmutation by the accessions of new sovereigns, who in their turn occupied the place of the late one. In like manner the *Duke's Head*, which in the time of Blenheim implied Marlborough, was changed to his royal highness of York, or his grace of Wellington.

> " Vernon, the butcher, Cumberland, Wolfe, Hawke,
> Prince Ferdinand, Granby, Burgoyne, Keppel, Howe,
> Evil and good have had their tithe of talk,
> And filled their sign-posts then, like Wellesley now."

The heads of *Milton* and *Shakespeare* were occasionally met with. The latter was used by Jacob Tonson, over against Catharine-street, Strand, now No. 141; but the house and shop fell into the hands of Miller, a Scotchman, the first publisher of the works of Fielding, Thomson, Gibbon, etc., and who removed the bard, and set up the sign of the head of *Buchanan*. Booksellers often took the heads of *Homer*,

[1] According to Pliny, Alexander the Great used to decorate the *White Hart* with a gold chain.

Digitized by Google

Horace, and *Cicero*, and it was far from uncommon for publicans and others, not renowned for modesty, to decorate their house fronts by hanging out their own portraits, as in the case of Paul Pinder, in Bishopsgate-street, and which the Society of Antiquaries some years ago considered sufficiently authentic to publish. Nor should we omit here to notice the sign of Taylor, the "water poet", in Phœnix-alley, near Long Acre, and in the evidence of his own words,—

> "There's many a head stands for a sign,
> Then, gentle reader, why not mine?"

And omission must not be made of the *Cokholds* head, as characteristic of the time of Henry VIII:—

> "Here is maryone marchauntes at all gate,
> Her husbōde dwelleth at yᵉ signe of yᵉ Cokeldes pate
> Next house to Robyn renawaye".

It is only within a few years that the head of *Dirty Dick* was to be seen, painted on a metal plate, and exhibited in the shop window of the original, in Leadenhall-street. Of the heathen deities and their attributes, we find *Mercury*, or his *caduceus*, appropriate in trade, as indicating expedition.[1] *Esculapius*, his *Serpent and staff*, or his *cock*, for professors of the healing art; also the head of *Galen*, or the *Phœnix*, rising from the flames. Of nondescripts, *Mermaids*, *Dragons* of all colours, and *Unicorns*, contributed largely to the departed genius of decoration of the old city. John Rastell lived in Cheapside, at the sign of the "*mearmayd* next to Polly's Gate", where he published "The Pastyme of the People"; and in the same locality, at the *Green Dragon*, was published the first edition of the "Merchant of Venice". The sign of alderman Boydell was the *Unicorn*, at the corner of Queen-street, Cheapside. Theatres also had their signs; and for want of better reasons for explaining the motives which prompted the owners in the selection of them, we may conclude that the *Fortune* was appropriate, as in the present day, from the extremely

[1] Hone says: "The 15 day of October was dedicated by 'the merchants to Mercury', and is so noted in the calendar of Julius Cæsar. This name is derived *a mercibus*, because he was the god of merchandize; and, in that quality, he is sometimes represented holding on his wrists a cock, as an emblem of vigilance, and in his hand a purse, as its reward."

Digitized by Google

precarious and blind nature of the speculation. The *Red Bull*, doubtless, referred to the sort of entertainment to be there met with, when bears and bulls were baited to vary the amusements. The *Globe* set up the sign of *Hercules* supporting the *Globe*, under which was written "*Totus mundis agit histrionem*". The *Hope*, *Swan*, and *Rose* theatres also had their signs. And in their immediate vicinity were situated the Stewes, which were under the direction of the lord bishop of Winchester from the time of Henry I. Of the signs of these places, Stow tells us, that those which had special license had signs painted on their front walls, of which he enumerates the *Boar's Head*, the *Cross Keys*, and the *Cardinal's Hat*. Public buildings in many cases adopted various insignia. The old East India house was profusely decorated with representations of their craft. In the Royal Exchange, the *grasshopper* of the founder is to be seen, The Bank of England adopted *Britannia*,[1] of which a very crude representation may be seen on their notes; but another, in stone, of a very superior design, decorates their court-yard entrance.

In many instances, for the adoption of signs already quoted, it must be remembered, that the motives were not arbitrary, as there is every reason to believe that the same sign was used by different people, in totally different trades, and often selected for no other reason than whim or caprice, or possibly only from the subject being large and conspicuous. As an instance of an accidental circumstance which gave a sign, may be stated that of the *Elephant* at Battle-bridge. It is related in a letter from Bayford to Hearne, that in 1714 Mr. Conyers, an apothecary, in Fleet-street, who was a collector of antiquities, was digging in a field near the Fleet, not far from Battle-bridge, and there discovered the body (skeleton?) of an elephant, and which he conjectured to have been killed there by the Britons in a fight with the Romans. This circumstance led to the adoption of the *Elephant and Castle* to a house built near the spot. This sign is a well known one in other localities, the addition of the *Castle* being made probably to add

[1] At a public-house of somewhat less repute, the owner put up a figure of *Britannia*, which was represented in a reeling posture, beneath which was the inscription—"Pray, sup-porter."

Digitized by Google

to the attraction, or in some cases from the arms of the city of Coventry, or of the noble house of Elphinstone.

Having made this rough sketch of this part of the subject, we will now endeavour to collect and point out such remaining signs and ancient decorations, scattered and fragmentary as they are, which are still to be found about our streets, and which may not inappropriately be adopted as detached links in the chain of history, connecting the present with the past. There are few memorials of this sort having any claim upon our attention, either from their antiquity or originality, westward of Temple Bar. In Westminster, at the end of King-street, and near to the Abbey, there exists, above the modern sign, a good carved specimen of a *Boar's Head*, and which is undoubtedly the original one.[1] There is a token of this house, on which is "the bore's head in King-street, Westminster"; on the reverse, and in the field, "IDW". The whole line of the Strand can produce but few examples. At the corner of Catharine-street is a carving, in stone, of a lion supporting a shield; and at No. 166 an antique-looking *lamb* or *fleece*, gilt, and suspended by the body over the doorway. There are several of these decorations still remaining in the neighbourhood of Shoreditch, and other parts eastward, as signs of hosiers and drapers. A very handsome specimen may be seen at a draper's in Long-lane, Smithfield, a district rich in ancient house architecture. At the upper part of the house, No. 46, Strand, is a lion's head, which is deserving notice from its peculiar situation, it being placed at an open aperture in the garret story. The *Lion's Head* was the sign of a well known coffee-house on the south side of Russell-street, Covent Garden, kept by Button, and patronised by Addison, who wrote many of his papers there. The head, which was a wood carving, received into the mouth the correspondence of the *Guardian*, and beneath it were inscribed the lines by Martial:—

> "Servantur magnis isti cervicibus ungues:
> Non nisi delectâ pascitur ille fera."[2]

This sign afterwards found its way to the *Shakspeare*

[1] Since this paper was read at the Association, the house has changed hands, and the old sign been removed.

[2] These lines are taken from two several epigrams: the first line is from lib. i, epig. xxiii, l. 3, "De Leone et Lepore"; the second, the last line of epig. lxi, "De Lepore et Leone".

Digitized by Google

tavern, where it was sold by auction in 1804; and after a smart competition between the duke of Norfolk and Mr. Richardson, the collector of materials for a history of the church and parish, it was knocked down to the latter for £17 : 10. Over an ironmonger's, near St. Clement's church, there remains the old sign of a *Gridiron and Bell.* At the back of these premises is Holywell-street, where exist several decidedly good specimens, if not the best one remaining in London, of its ancient street architecture. Over the doorway of an old book shop is a noble sign, in gilt metal, of a *Half Moon*, with the face of a man on the inner side. Adjoining this house is a fragment of carving on the post of a narrow passage; an old globe lamp still occupies its old post near it, and which, together with an abundance of dirt, forms an exceedingly picturesque group. Respecting the subject of this sign, it was far from uncommon, and sometimes alluded to the legend of the *Man in the Moon.* In that case, it was represented as a man standing in a crescent, as in the case of John Clarke, in Wapping, in 1668, and which appears on his token. It has been suggested also, and possibly with fair grounds, that the crescent may have originally had reference to Diana.

On arriving at the city gate, we enter a new field. Historical associations crowd upon us in connection with the haunts of political spirits, great authors and literati of the last two centuries. The first sign that attracts our notice is that of the *Cock* tavern, which there is reason to believe is the original one that decorated the house when honest Izaac Walton took his morning draught of ale there. From a notice issued by the master in 1665, when the plague was raging, he stated that he should shut up his house for several weeks. He there calls it the *Cock and Bottle*, the latter of which now forms no part of the sign. Few others besides public-houses adopted this sign, which often denoted that the game of throwing at cocks was played there. William Brandon, who kept one of the houses on Dowgate-hill, issued a token, on which was inscribed, "*ye have at it";* and on the other side a man about to throw a stick at a cock. On the opposite side of the way, and adjoining Temple Bar, is Childs' banking house, in the office of which is preserved the original sign of the *Marygold;* this was probably adopted as appropriate, on account of the

Digitized by Google

business formerly carried on being that of a goldsmith, which trade it is well known was the origin of many of the most eminent bankers in London. The business was then carried on by Richard Blanchard and Francis Child. A few doors eastward of this house is that of Gosling and Sharpe's, in the front of which bank, over the centre window, is the sign, the *Three Squirrels*. These are castings in metal, spiritedly executed, and are curious specimens. In reference to the adoption of the squirrel as a sign, a writer in Hone's *Every Day Book*, asks, "What is gone with the cages with the climbing squirrels, and bells to them, which were formerly the indispensable appendage to the outside of a tinman's shop, and were, in fact, the only live signs?"[1] About this date, there was one to be seen in Holborn, but it has long since vanished. At No. 37, Fleet-street, is the banking house of Messrs. Hoare, who still exhibit over their door the sign of the *Leather Bottle*, and which was the sign of a goldsmith in the time of Charles II. It will probably be remembered by many that it was at the *Leather Bottle*, in Garrat-lane, where Foote lays the scene of his farce of the "Mayor of Garrat", and which house was visited by Dr. Ducarel in 1754, at the time of an election, and who traces the custom about sixty-five years before his visit. The *Mitre* tavern, opposite St. Dunstan's church, was formerly resorted to by Evelyn, Pepys, and other notables of the last two centuries. Over their lamp is the sign.

Near Fetter-lane there stood, within a few years, the shop in which Cobbett sold his *Weekly Register*, and exhibited above it an enormous *gridiron*. The old political economist makes singular reference to his sign in his work. In pursuing an eastward course, there are no signs worthy of notice, with perhaps the exception of the large iron plate, with an ornamented *bell*,[1] over the tavern door, near St. Bride's, or Bridget's, church. The *Bolt and Tun* must not be passed without looking for the sign, which is now merely represented by two humble little tubs in relief,

[1] At Grantham, in Lincolnshire, a few years since, was to be seen a live sign, in the shape of a *beehive*, inhabited, with this inscription,—

"Two wonders, Grantham, now are thine,—
The highest spire, and a living sign."

[2] This has disappeared since the reading of this paper before the Association.

Digitized by Google

with bolts through them. The original sign was doubtless adopted by the former owner of the premises, Prior Bolton, of St. Bartholomew's, as a rebus. On Ludgate-hill we find but one, the sign of *Daniel Lambert*, which is a portrait of the great man himself. A few years ago, over the doorway of Rundell and Bridge, the gold and silversmiths, were to be seen two large gilt fish. In St. Paul's Church-yard we find one at the *Goose and Gridiron*, but which can boast of no higher antiquity than the middle of the last century: the adoption of this sign may be traced to the time of Charles II, when many houses of public resort were called "Music Houses", and a rival house, which did not offer the same attraction, set up a sign of a goose striking a gridiron with his foot, in ridicule of harp-playing.

In searching for old signs, the eye is often attracted by projecting heads in stone, peering from the brickwork, which ill-accord with the style of architecture of the building, appearing to belong to another period. These objects may very possibly be mementos of the former old building destroyed by the fire of London. In the neighbourhood in which we have now arrived several may be observed. In St. Paul's Church-yard, within two doors of Cheapside, one may be seen with a large feather projecting and shadowing the brow; and in Paternoster-row is another, evidently of early date. These are not to be confounded with the *Maidenhead* of the mercers, four fine old specimens of which are to be seen in Queen-street, Cheapside, and distinguishable, from the crown on the head and the cloud beneath. In Cheapside, at No. 37, is a very ancient stone sculpture inserted of the *Swan*, ducally gorged with chain, the badge of Henry V. Two doors from this, at No. 39, is an *Unicorn* supporting a child, in stone, inserted, and beneath which is another sign of the *Horns* of a stag. At No. 64 is a stone figure of a *Griffin*, under the architecture of a window, and a few doors down the Old Jewry is a large head of a griffin in stone relief: this may have formed part of the city arms, the supports of which are griffins. Within a few doors of Bucklersbury, there are *Seven* gold stars on a globe. This sign was by no means an uncommon one. The allusion to the number may originally have had reference to those which appeared to St. Hugh of Grenoble, or from symbols of a similar

Digitized by Google

character in connexion with that mystic number. In the Poultry we find against a house the sign of the *Sun*, with the date at the four corners of the stone slab on which it appears—1668. No. 7 in the same street is a very superior elevation, highly decorated, and a good specimen of the better sort of houses which were erected after the great fire. In the shop of this house, which is an old-established chemist's, is preserved the painted sign on copper of a *Dragon*,[1] an example of the kind which was adopted after the order for the removal of the projecting and hanging signs, several large hooks for the suspension of which may be seen on the houses adjoining. At 58 Wood-street, there is a spirited carving in stone against the house, of a *French Horn*, entwined by a wreath of *Flowers*. The house still bears the name of the *Rose and French Horn*.

In Upper Thames-street, adjoining the church of All-hallows Great and Less, is the sign of an enormous *Hour-glass*, unequalled in size perhaps by any in London. Opposite to this, at an old warehouse known by the name of the *Doublet*, is the sign. This specimen is well worthy attention as regards costume. The date is 1720, and a few detached letters are discernible. The similarity in the form of the dress, has given rise to an absurd tradition of the watermen in the neighbourhood, who connect it with the coat and badge of Dogget, but to which it has no reference whatever. In Lower Thames-street there is another *Sun*, similar to the one in the Poultry, and of the same date, with the difference only that the figures are placed below the figure. On the opposite side of the way, near Darkhouse-alley, is a noble relic, in the form of a *Bear* and chain, in high relief, with the date above, 1670, and a curious monogram.

Proceeding to Fenchurch-street, we find at a grocer's, *Three Sugar Loaves* projecting, gilt and surmounted by a crown; and near it, over the door of another of the same trade, is the same, with the exception of a *star* above, in which is the date 1725. In Gracechurch-street, near Fish-street-hill, is the sign of a *Grasshopper*, of gilt metal. From the fact of this shop being very near to the house of sir Thomas Gresham, it has favoured the tradition that this

[1] This relic has recently been removed from its place in the shop.

Digitized by Google

was his identical sign. His shop was near the end of Lombard-street. Near the north end of Gracechurch-street is a fine specimen of a *Black Boy*, of carved wood, over a shop. At No. 36, Leadenhall-street, is the sign of a *Key*, suspended with the handle downwards; it is highly ornamented, and with the date of 1713. Within a few doors of the East India House is a large carved shield, on which are the bearings of *Three Mitres*. At Aldgate is a gilt sign of the head of *Galen* over a chemist's shop, and beneath is the date, 1765. In Clement's-lane, Lombard-street, is a curious stone sign inserted, of *Three Foxes*, with a date of 1668, and the initials T.F.E. This sign is worthy of remark from the attitude of the figures, and the spirited manner in which the subject is treated. The triad are seated in a remarkably upright posture. Its origin is open to speculation. The immediate locality being directly opposite to *Three Kings'*-court, which took its name from a sign, suggests a notion of a satirical allusion to the "Three Kings".[1]

It is worthy also of passing notice, the fact of the number three so often occurring in different signs, and in connexion with subjects which appear to afford no explanation. One, however, may here be offered,—that is, that three objects are often described on the shields of coats of arms, which may first have been used as an armorial bearing, and afterwards retained as a sign. Or it may have reference to the mystic number, as in the case of the *Seven* stars before referred to. In Paternoster-row is the sign of the *Bible and Crown*, inserted in a niche over the windows of a house long famous for the publication of religious works; and the *Head*, *Anchor*, *and Dolphin* of Aldus decorate the Aldine-chambers. In Newgate-street we find the old sign of the *Adam and Eve*, in stone, against the house, and in Pannier-alley, immediately contiguous, is the well-known sculpture of the *Boy and Pannier*, which marks the highest ground in London. We have the authority of Stowe for giving it a place amongst the signs. He tells us that the church of St. Michael ad Bladudum, at the "*corne*", or, corruptly, the "*querne*", stood near the passage adjoining, which "is called (of such a signe) Panyer-alley".

[1] Possibly the three kings of Cologne.

Digitized by Google

In King-street, within a few doors of Snow-hill, is a piece of spirited sculpture, in high relief, representing the figure of *St. George and the Dragon*, with the date, 1668. This is the sign of the *Old George Inn*. With the exception of some of the old inns, Smithfield can boast of few signs. The *Ram* and the *Rose Inn*, both exhibit ancient signs carved in wood; and we must not pass the *Fortune of War* in Giltspur-street, without a glance at the naked boy which is fixed on the front of the house. This relic has the repute of marking the spot at Pye-corner where the great fire in 1666 was arrested, and otherwise interesting as in the immediate vicinity of Cock-lane, of ghost notoriety.

Having traversed most of the oldest streets, and proceeded to the Surrey side, at a short distance from Blackfriars-bridge, at the corner of Charlotte-street, we find the singular sign of a *Dog* eating out of a *three-legged pot*, being the sign of an ironmonger's shop. Of this sign there has been much speculation as to its origin. In Akerman's *List of Tokens*, we find, No. 1442, "the doggs head in the potte in Old-street", and No. 1610, "Oliver Wallis, in Red-cross-street, 1667", each has the device of a dog eating out of a pot. In several towns in the west of England the same sign occurs, and its antiquity is undoubted, from the fact of its being mentioned in the old poem of *Cocke Lorelles Bote*.

> "Here is Saunder Sadeler, of Froge-street corner,
> With Ielyan Ioly, at sygne of the bokeler,
> And Mores, moule taker;
> Also Annys Angry, with the croked buttocke,
> That dwelleth at ye sygne of *ye dogges hede in ye pot*,
> By her crafte a breche maker."

The old sign of the *Dog and Duck* may be seen inserted in the wall of Bethlem Hospital, on the garden side. This relic formerly decorated the well-known place of entertainment near this spot. It represents a dog with a duck in his mouth, with the date 1617. The Borough can boast of few deserving of notice from their antiquity, perhaps the old *Horse Shoe* Inn is the only one with an original sign. This subject is like many others, apocryphal, implying the arms of the family of Ferrers, and of the Farriers' Company, or may have taken its origin in

Digitized by Google

some instances from the charm which such an object was supposed to have in keeping away evil spirits. Forty years ago, it is recorded by Hone, Mr. Ellis counted no less than seventeen *horse-shoes* nailed beneath the doors of houses in Monmouth-street. The library of Guildhall contains the old stone sign which was formerly inserted in the wall of a house in Great Eastcheap, now demolished. The subject is a *Boar's Head*, and marked the spot where stood the *Boar's Head* Tavern, immortalized by Shakespeare.

In concluding these remarks and notices of the old London signs, I cannot but express a regret that a subject, which appears to me to contain materials for a more able paper, should not have fallen into better hands. With respect to my notes of those still existing, it is presumed that there are many interesting examples well worthy of recording, though not here enumerated. These may doubtless be preserved in other parts of the house than meet the eye in a pilgrimage through the streets.

I am not aware that this subject has ever been taken up by any historian of the metropolis, except in desultory and incidental notices. This has probably arisen from its not appearing of sufficient importance; but when we consider that the quaint sign has played its part, and formed a prominent characteristic in the customs of old London—has been used to distinguish and decorate the residences of its most ancient citizens, and is stamped on the title-pages of the choicest treasures of our libraries, there needs, it is hoped, no further apology for offering it to the notice of the Association.

REMARKS ON BRITISH AND ROMAN URNS.

BY JOHN ADEY REPTON, ESQ., F.S.A.

It is now forty years since I opened several barrows at Stowheath and Tuttington, near Aylsham in Norfolk (see *Archæologia*, vol. xvi, p. 354), at a time when the extensive common upon which they were situated presented only a barren, sandy soil. On revisiting the spot lately, I could

Digitized by Google

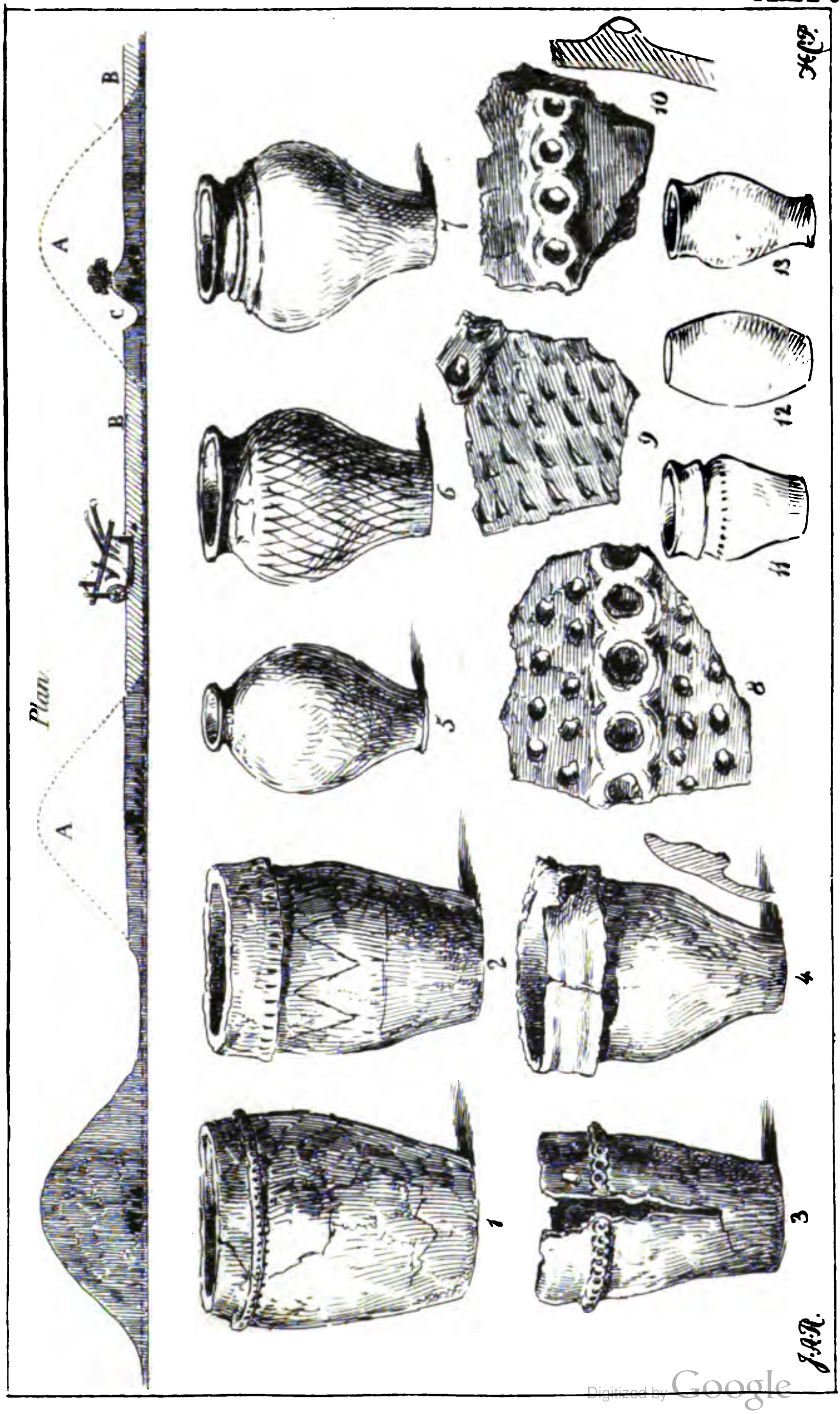
scarcely recognize the situation of the former unproductive tract, in the rich corn land, interspersed with the grass fields and young plantations which now occupy the site. In the progress of agricultural improvements, however, I regretted to observe that all the barrows had been entirely removed, except two, namely, the large one at Stowheath, and the other which marks (as in Saxon days) the boundary of the three parishes of Aylsham, Burgh, and Tuttington.

We frequently hear of British and Roman urns being destroyed by the plough. It appears that on the enclosure of the waste lands, the barrows were generally destroyed, and the upper parts (described by the dotted lines A A, see plan on plate 9), being cleared away, filled up the spaces (B B), leaving the urns untouched, although they were afterwards broken by the plough. Where a hedge had been made (C), the urns would remain undisturbed, and are sometimes discovered thus protected, by labourers when cleaning the ditches. It also frequently happens that by removing a hedge for widening a road fragments of urns are found.

Lately, I have been much occupied in examining various publications, to ascertain the difference between the Celtic or British urns, and those of Roman manufacture. The latter are so well known by their graceful forms, that it is unnecessary to enter into this branch of the subject, particularly so, as several have been figured in the *Journal* of the Association. I have, therefore, confined myself to the study of the general form and character of British or Celtic urns, more especially their outline, and shall give some few specimens of their ornaments.

The Roman urns are well turned on the lathe, while the British are made by the hand, and are often very uneven and badly formed, but are sometimes well executed by an expert workman. In the year 1844, my attention was directed to a large number of fragments of urns discovered in a field belonging to J. H. Pattisson, esq., of Witham, in Essex, situate at the east end of the town. I visited the spot, and found an urn (fig. 1), surrounded by the remains of many others. The bottom of the urn was badly formed, being 10 inches by 9, instead of a perfect circle, that would have been produced had it been turned on a lathe; but the rudest is one noticed in the *Journal* of the

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Association (vol. iv, p. 375). It is of an irregular oval form, the diameters on the top being $6\frac{3}{4}$, and 5 inches, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ at the bottom. The British urns are generally nearly half an inch thick, while those of the Romans are not more than a quarter of an inch. Instead of the light and elegant forms of the rims of the Roman urns, those of British production are in general plain, and often present a broad band, ornamented with net work, zig-zags, etc., made by a small pointed instrument, or by a comb, and sometimes by a few scratches. The British urns are baked by the sun; but in this climate we do not now find the heat sufficient for this purpose. I suspect it may have been sometimes assisted by warming the inside of the urn, by a stove filled with charcoal. The inside of the urn discovered at Buxton Common, Norfolk, appeared as if blackened by smoke. It requires a warmer climate, as in Spain, or the southern part of France, to produce an urn without a kiln.

There may be some difference in the various forms of urns found in the barrows of the southern parts of England, particularly between those found in Dorsetshire, and those from Essex and Cambridgeshire, or those of Derbyshire; some varieties are found in Yorkshire, and, with those from Kent, we may find specimens of urns which have been derived from the opposite coast of France, chiefly near the river Somme. The urns found on the eastern coast may be traced from the opposite parts of Belgium, those of the inhabitants of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire to the Scandinavians, and other nations, long before the invasion of the Romans.

Among the various papers published by the "Société Royale d'Emulation d'Abbeville", we meet with some account of the Celtic or British nation. The people of the coast of Dorsetshire, and great part of the south of England, were derived from the opposite coast of France, and were descended from the Carthaginians, who not only occupied Brittany, but spread over the western coast of Spain, etc. The society of Abbeville has given some engravings of the urns; but the Celtic and Roman are so mixed together, that it is rather difficult to distinguish them; still a correct eye will perceive the distinct characters. We must bear in mind that the Romans were esta-

Digitized by Google

blished in Gaul long before England was invaded by Julius Cæsar; we may, therefore expect to find the general outline of their urns superior to those of England (figs. 11, 12, 13). A French author has described the urn (fig. 12), "a la forme d'un œuf tronqué aux deux extrémités"; it is rather of the shape of a barrel than an egg.[1]

It is well known that the British or Celtic urns (as well as those of the Romans) were often found with the mouth placed downward, and sometimes the reverse. In setting up urns in a museum, or in making drawings of them, if they are not placed as they were found, their original position should always be noticed.

Without entering into the dispute whether the Venta Icenorum be at Caistor or at Norwich, the camp is certainly the work of the Romans, although it may have been in possession of the Saxons after the former had left England. A few words may here be said on the Anglo-Saxon varieties of form:—Those discovered on the Breach Downs, in Kent, are worthy of notice; and from many curious ornaments found with the urns, particularly the runic ornament (see *Archæologia*, vol. xxx, pl. 1, fig. 21), there can be no doubt of these being the work of the Saxons. I am not informed whether any Roman urns have been found in the burial ground at Caistor, in Norfolk; but in 1815, four curious urns were dug up in the parish of Merkshall, at the distance of two or three furlongs N.W. from the great Roman camp at Caistor (see *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, pl. 28). These four urns are so unlike any Roman work, that they may probably be considered as Saxon. In confirmation of this view, we may refer to urns occasionally discovered at the present time, somewhat similar to those found at Merkshall. In the *Journal* of the Association (vol. ii, p. 59) are woodcuts of two urns which, from the various known ornaments used, must be Anglo-Saxon; and, again, in vol. iii, pp. 194 and 195, we have other figures which will satisfy us about the urns near Caistor: the two urns are not so graceful as if they were Roman.

REFERENCES TO PLATE 9.

Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, shew the general character of the British urns, to distinguish them from those of the Romans, represented in figs. 5, 6, 7. The minute details of the British urns found at Witham, are given in figs. 8, 9, 10. The urns found near the river Somme, are shewn in figs. 11, 12, 13.

---

[1] An urn like this is figured in the *Journal*, vol. i, p. 306.

Digitized by Google

ON CELTS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

One of the best and most pleasing features of archæological research in the present day is the increased attention which is paid to our national antiquities. For a long series of years, the exquisite remains of Greek and Roman art, associated as they are with an imperishable literature, *monumenta ære perenniora*, not only commanded the admiration, which they must ever do, but almost engrossed the attention of English antiquaries. Then Egypt and Etruria added their influence to draw away the minds of our countrymen from the study of their own antiquities; and at the present hour the wonderful discoveries of Ninevite skill are doing their utmost to effect the same result. A few years ago, it really seemed doubtful whether the *savans* of continental Europe would not do the work which so peculiarly and primarily belongs to us,—whether strangers would not teach us the antiquities of our own hearths and homes. It has also been a standing subject of foreign ridicule against Englishmen, that they travel over all the world in pursuit of the beautiful in nature and in art, leaving the glories of their own land unvisited, unregarded, and unknown. The same charge might assuredly, till of late years, have been successfully advanced against us in the matter of our national antiquities, and that others were likely to do for us, as was just now remarked, what is clearly our own business and special concern. The danger of this disgrace is, happily, in process of removal; and it seems a duty incumbent on each of us, to do as much as possible towards a consummation so devoutly to be wished. In such a spirit it is that the following remarks are submitted to the members of this society.

I need not, I hope, attempt to prove to you, that, notwithstanding the inherent beauty and suggestive associations of the antiquities of Asia, Egypt, Etruria, Greece, and Rome,—notwithstanding, also, the rude appearance which is an usual characteristic of British remains, the latter have the most natural right to an English antiquary's regard. They are memorials of "his

Digitized by Google

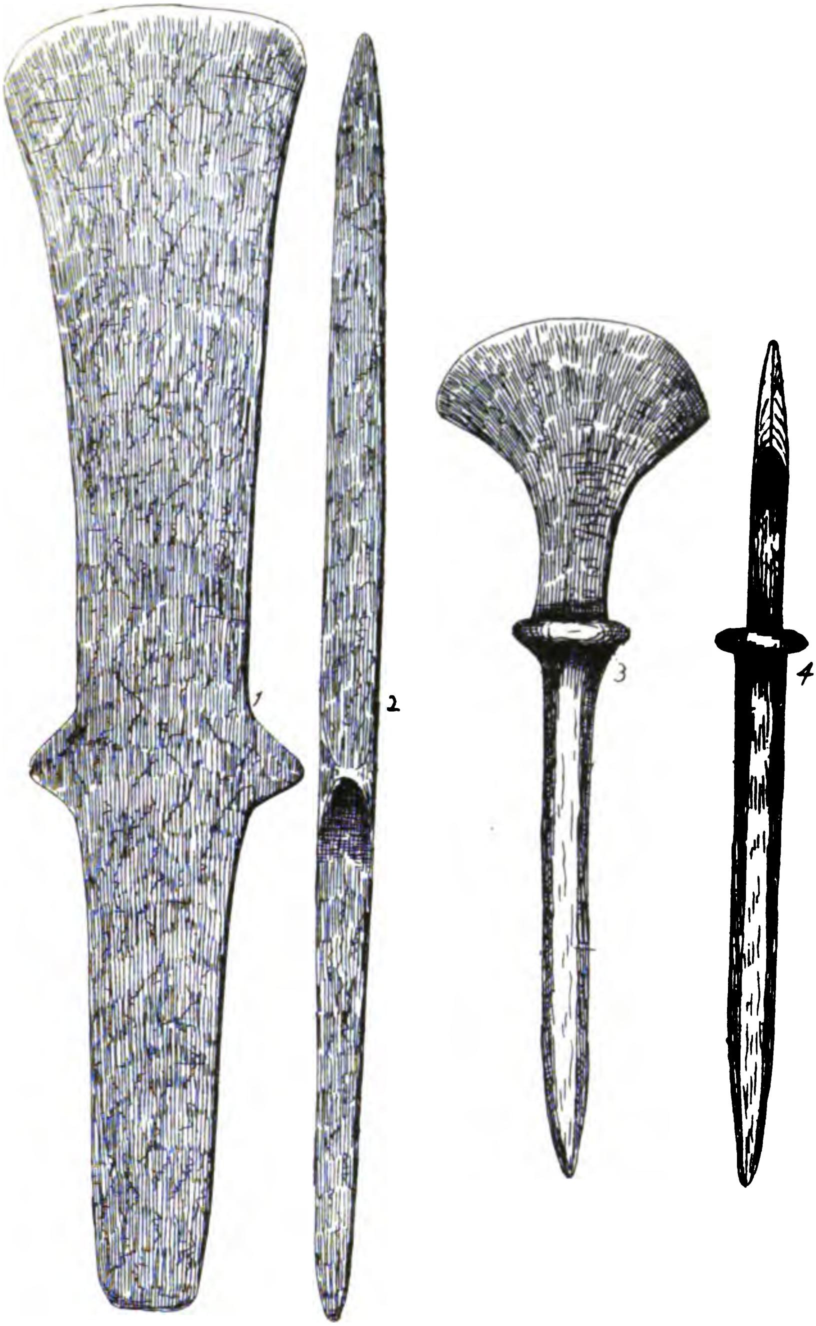
own, his native land". They impart an interest to every-thing around him, and lead him to contrast the cultivated soil and the refined society of his own day with the wild hunting-grounds of the past, and the still wilder community to which these furnished occupation. Rude, also, as the majority of the remains are, they were the parent of much that has scarcely ever been excelled. And their very rudeness is highly significative of that independent, rough, and martial race, which extorted the admiration even of their polished conquerors, whose ancient character was so closely akin to their own. It would be difficult indeed to suggest a point of view in which British antiquities could be other than highly instructive and eminently interesting.

The department on which I am about to offer a few remarks is that of the variously-shaped implements known generally by the name of "celts". I use this appellation, because it is the one by which these objects are usually denominated; and because I have no desire to add another term to the already too capacious lexicon of archæological nomenclature. But I do it under protest: for of all the senseless and unmeaning designations which encumber our studies, not many have greater claims to unenviable precedence than that under review.

Before I proceed to speak of the forms of these objects, one or two words in relation to their use, distribution, composition, and age, will not be out of place.

Whether these implements, then, grasped in the hand or furnished with a handle, were originally intended for use as offensive weapons, for the destruction of buildings, or for employment in agriculture and works of handicraft, is a question which has been the subject of much difference of opinion, and to the full consideration of which the duration of our present meeting would be unequal. Probably, as I think, they were devoted to each of these uses, as their shape would render them to all nearly equally adapted. There is also the less need for further remark on this part of the subject, since the publication of Mr. Yates's interesting, learned, and valuable paper, in the *Archæological Journal* for December 1849, to which I beg to refer you, with the assurance of your consequent gratification and instruction.

Digitized by Google



Drawn & etched by Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. &c. 1853.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

They have been found in most parts of Great Britain and Ireland; though peculiar forms seem identified with particular localities: as, for example, the stone celt of the Scandinavian type, which is almost always found in the Zetland or other high northern barrows; and the flat knobbed celt of Ireland, of which, so far as I am aware, only one specimen, and that very recently, has been found in this country.

The materials of their composition are various. Of the stones of which they have been found composed, have been enumerated clay-stone, indurated clay, red iron-stone, green-stone, sienite, trap green-stone, granular porphyry, yellow horn-stone, quartz, jade, and serpentine. The metallic celts are almost invariably of bronze, differing, however, in the proportion of its component parts.

In point of age, there can be little doubt that, in localities where are found examples both of stone and of metal, those of the former are the earliest. Where, however, celts are found of stone only, as I am informed is the case in the Channel Islands, they may of course be as recent as examples in metal obtained from localities where the use of the latter material had been introduced.

We now come to the most important part of the investigation—the forms which these interesting objects assumed, of which the series is long and well-marked.

The first which shall be mentioned are the celts of stone. Of these, in the first place, there is the Scandinavian type, distinguished by its rectangular form, rough, thick sides, and keen terminal edges.

Secondly, we have specimens nearly cylindrical, with one extremity generally terminating in a cone, and the other in a keen edge.

Thirdly, there is a group, more or less triangular in outline, with flat sides, and edges sharp throughout the circumference.

It is believed that under one or other of these heads, all stone celts hitherto discovered can be arranged without difficulty.

Celts of bronze are very various in form, as was before stated. I propose to divide them after the following arrangement.

1. The first in order are those which approach in form most nearly to the stone celt, since the metallic was nothing

Digitized by Google

more than an imitation of the stone implement. They are simply wedge-shaped, flat, and usually much thinner than those of stone, as the nature of their material admitted of a combination of less thickness with equal strength.

2. Very similar to these occurs a species, usually found in Ireland, furnished both above and below, that is, on the thin sides of the wedge, with a knob or projecting bar, apparently designed to hinder the advance of the handle upon the blade. Occasionally this projection entirely surrounds the wedge. (See plate 10, fig. 1, front view; fig. 2, side ditto; fig. 3, front view of the occasional variety; fig. 4, side ditto, all of the actual size. For the loan of the specimens represented in this plate I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Crofton Croker.)

3. Closely following these, we observe a group differing from them very slightly in outline, but furnished, notwithstanding, with a very important addition. The simple wedge has now two low, upright, lateral ridges, running at a right angle to the edge of the blade, just sufficient to keep a handle in its place, laterally, but permitting the implement to bury itself in such handle if much violence be applied to the front edge.

4. The remedy of this defect is the characteristic of our next division. There is, in addition, a transverse ridge—a low elevation between the blade and wedge—running parallel with the edge of the former, and, of course, therefore, at right angles to the lateral ridges before mentioned.

5. My next group consists of celts having the lateral ridges, which, in sections 3 and 4, are only just raised above the surface, much more produced, and sometimes overlapping. The transverse ridge is not a constant feature in this division, but when present, these lateral ridges usually unite with it, and form on each side a semi-socket. In addition to the development of the lateral and transverse ridges, there is frequently, but by no means invariably, on the upper surface a loop or ear, and occasionally one on both sides, the use of which seems to me to be little understood by some late writers, and to which I will devote a few words presently.

6. Of the next proposed division, I am not aware that more than two or three specimens have been noticed, and these even are not strictly identical with the specimen from

Digitized by Google

my own collection, now on the table (see plate 11, fig. 1, front view, actual size; fig. 2, side ditto; fig. 3, ditto, looking up the semi-sockets). This very curious relic was purchased, together with celts from Clontarf, and other Irish localities, from a collection in Ireland, and I have no reason to doubt that it was found in that island, though I candidly confess that I cannot trace it to any particular locality. Of its real antiquity, no question is entertained by the authorities of the British Museum, to whom I most willingly defer, and of whose uniform courtesy and kindness I am happy to take this public opportunity of recording my grateful sense. The blade and projecting shoulders are very similar to the curious specimen engraved in the *Archæological Journal* for March 1851, belonging to Mr. Brackstone, and also to that in the possession of Mr. Du Noyer, figured in the same number; but these are without a wedge, and perfectly socketed, and are, consequently, referrible to another division. An Irish specimen in the Museum appears in some degree to resemble mine; but a consideration, which, to my mind, greatly enhances the interest of this very interesting object, is, that the nearest approach to its form is presented by some Etruscan implements, also in the Museum, though these latter seem to me to differ considerably in the style of their manufacture. This celt furnishes an instance of the lingering fondness for previous peculiarities, retained at the manifest expense of utility. Here we have an almost perfect socket, and, at the same time, the wedge for insertion into a handle,—two peculiarities apparently incompatible.

7. The next division is founded on a specimen in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, figured in the number of the *Archæological Journal* to which I have previously referred. I have never seen another specimen of this kind, and think it too singular to be considered a mere variety. It combines the projecting knobs of the second division, with the loops of the fifth.

8. The absence of the wedge for insertion into the handle conducts us to our last division, where there is a perfect socket of greater or less depth, usually, but not always, furnished on its upper surface with a loop or ear. Some of you will recollect my mention of a specimen of this class in my paper on the field of Cuerdale. (See vol.

Digitized by Google

viii, plate 37, p. 332.) The bore of the loop is almost always at right angles to the axis of the celt, but has been found in one or two rare instances parallel with it; as in the beautiful example figured in the *Archæological Journal* for December 1849, p. 378.

We are thus led very gradually onwards from a simple wedge of stone, to a metallic, oftentimes highly ornamented, implement, for the production of which considerable ingenuity was required, and some experience in a variety of practical operations.

It will now be proper to present these various groups in a tabular form, which I trust will be found useful.

CELTS.

1. STONE.

1. Rectangular; sides rough and thick. Scandinavian type. (Plate 12, fig. 1.)
2. Cylindrical; sides rounded. (Fig. 2.)
3. More or less triangular; flat; circumference sharp-edged. (Figs. 3, 4.)

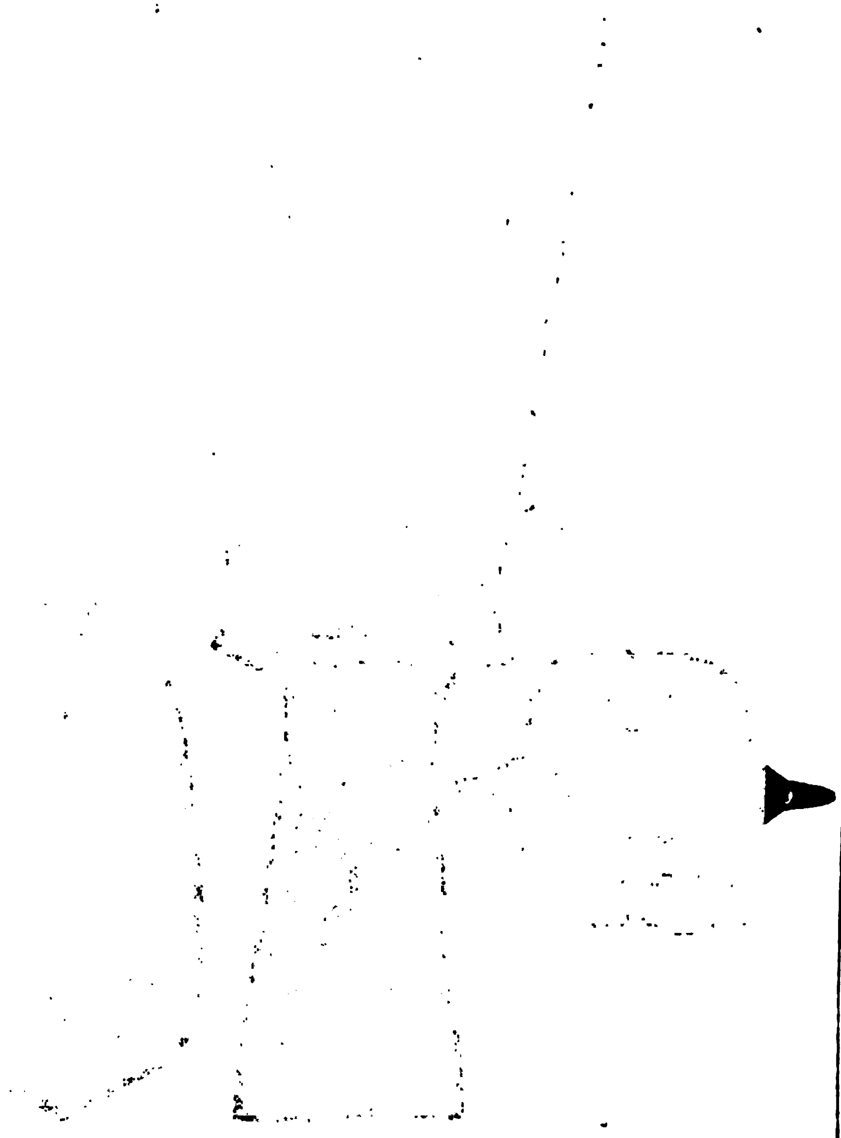
2. METAL.

1. Flat, thin, wedge-shaped, smooth. (Figs. 5, 6.)
2. Ditto, with a projection on each lateral edge. (Fig. 7, and plate 10, figs. 1, 2.)
   β. With the projections surrounding the wedge. (Plate 10, figs. 3, 4.)
3. Flat, thin, wedge-shaped, with a low ridge at the edges. (Figs. 8, 9.)
4. Ditto, with the addition of a transverse ridge between the blade and wedge. (Fig. 10.)
5. Ridges much produced, often overlapping. Frequently furnished with a loop or ear. Called by northern antiquaries a *palstave.* (Fig. 11, 12.)
   β. With two loops. (Fig. 13.)
6. With two high projecting shoulders between the blade and wedge, the latter usually furnished with overlapping ridges. (Figs. 14, 15; and plate 11, figs. 1, 2, 3.)
7. Wedge-shaped, with lateral projections and two loops. (Fig. 16.)
8. Simply socketed, with a loop. (Figs. 17, 18.)
   β. Without a loop. (Fig. 19.)
   γ. With two loops, as seen in the Anglesea and Wiltshire celt-moulds.
9. With projecting shoulders between the blade and socket. (Fig. 20.)

I humbly offer for present use this attempt at an arrangement, willingly admitting the probability that in time to

Digitized by Google

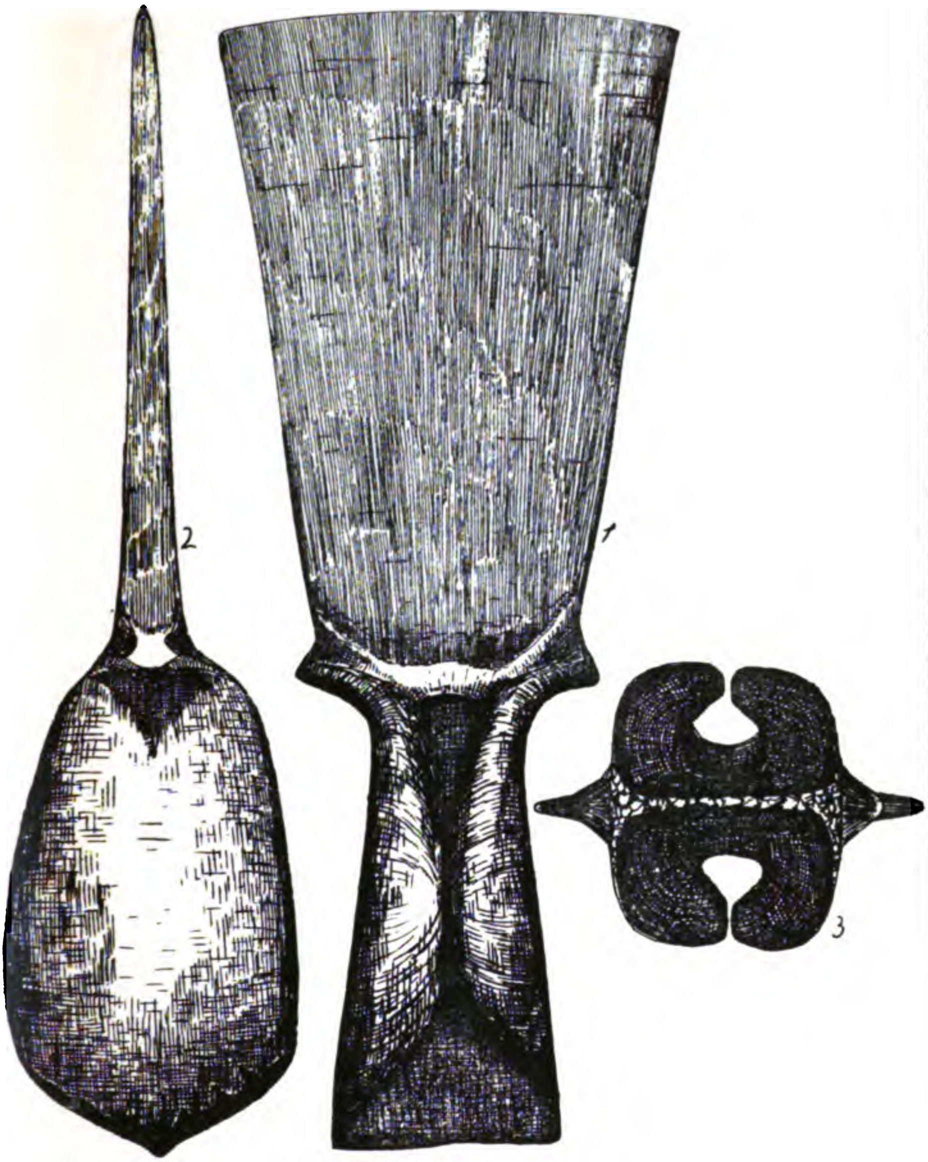
PLATE 11



Drawn & etched by Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. &c 1853.

Digitized by Google

ment, willingly admitting the probability that in time to

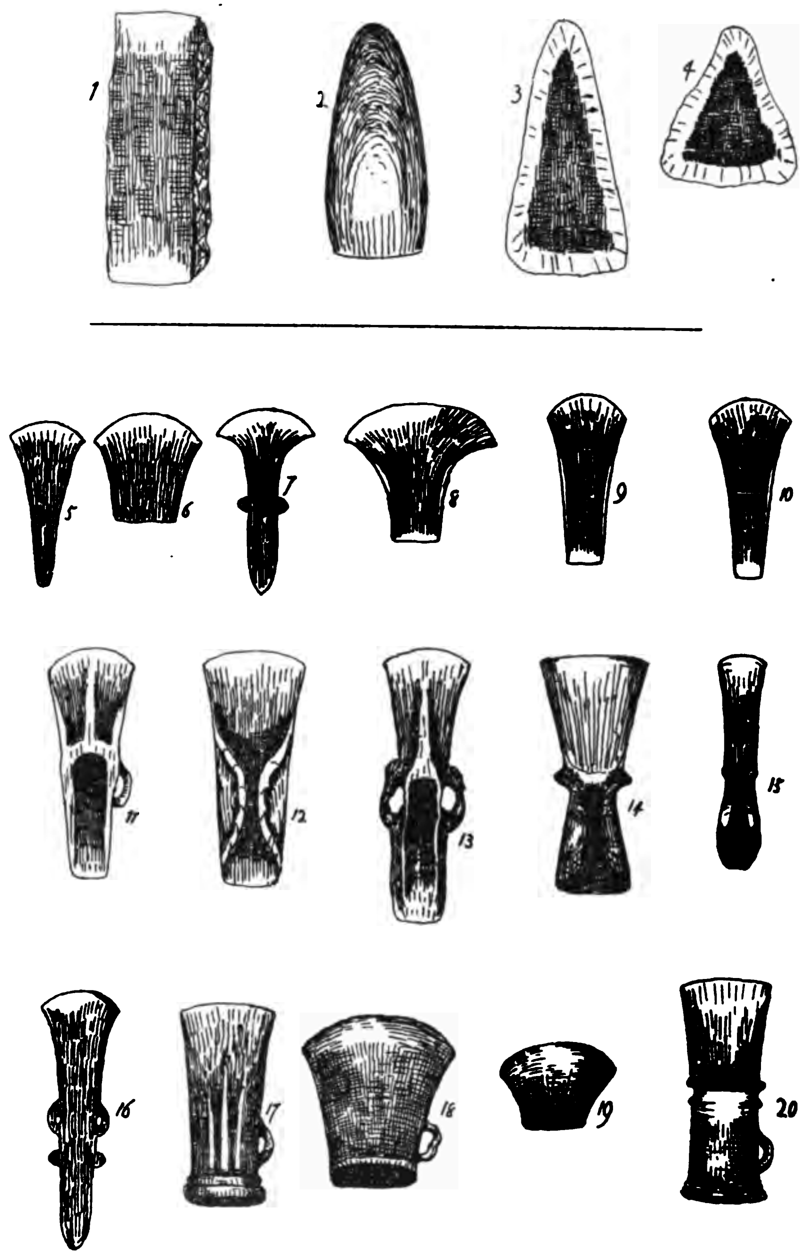


Drawn & etched by Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. &c 1853.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

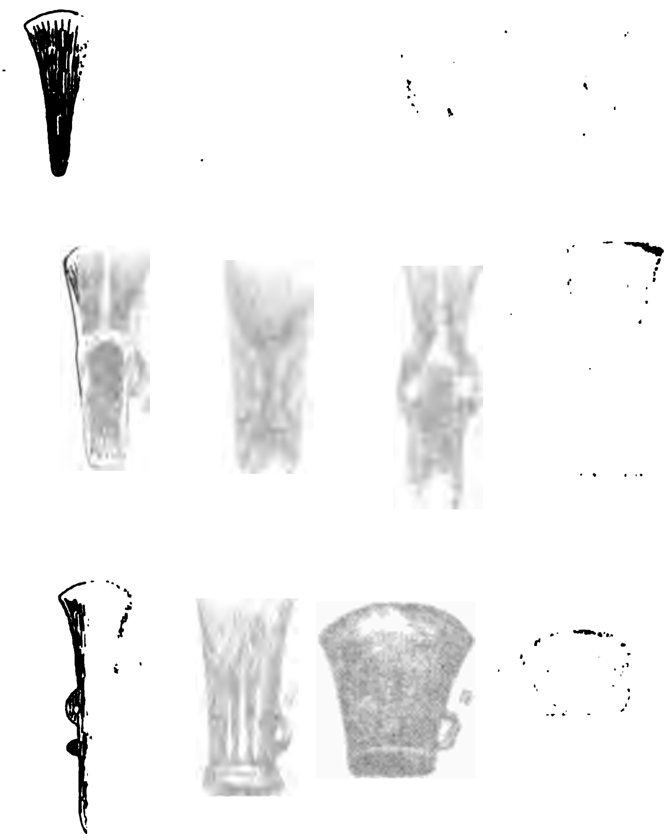


Drawn & etched by Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. &c. 1853.

Digitized by Google

[illegible]

Digitized by Google



Drawn & etched by Thomas Hugo, Esqr. F.S.A. &c. 1853.

Digitized by Google

come some further subdivision may be rendered necessary by the discovery of new forms. I have in my possession a great number of specimens and drawings in illustration of these interesting objects. A good selection of these, embracing not only the normal types, as above tabulated, but also some apparently unique varieties, I hope ere long to etch in fac-simile; and to follow up the series, rendered as complete as possible, with the stone and metal hatchets, hammers, arrow-heads, and other British remains. I entreat the kind assistance, therefore, of those members of the Association who may have it in their power to oblige me, by furnishing me with the loan either of specimens, or of accurate and full-sized drawings, of new or rare varieties; and in return for such assistance I shall be most happy to offer a copy of my etchings as soon as published.

Before I conclude, I wish to add a few remarks on the mode in which these instruments were hafted, and on the use of the loop, present, as we have seen, on specimens of four of our groups, 5, 7, 8, 9. I am of opinion that in the great majority of cases, the handle consisted merely of a straight stick cleft at the end, unless intended for insertion in a socketed celt, in which case it would of course be shaped accordingly. I can see no reason for supposing that the handle was bent either at a greater or less angle, as in those imaginary specimens figured in the *Archæologia*,[1] or in those equally imaginary illustrations of the paper[2] of Mr. Du Noyer, a writer to whom, though I have the unhappiness to differ from him in many of his positions, all who study these subjects are very deeply indebted. A flat, wedge-shaped celt, either of stone or of our first metallic type, was no doubt occasionally inserted at right angles to the cleft stick, being fastened in its place, as was the case with all others of the earlier groups at least, by some kind of ligature. But I am persuaded that, in general, the handle ran throughout its entire length in a right line with the implement to which it was attached. The fastened end did so as a matter of necessity, inasmuch as it occupied the interstice between the parallel ridges, and was stopped by the transverse

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xix, p. 104, plate viii, figs. B. C.
[2] *Arch. Journal* for March 1847, pp. 4, 5, 6.

Digitized by Google

ridge: and that it made a bend afterwards seems to me rather a modern fancy, connected with imaginary notions of utility, than derived from ancient authority. Indeed this most valuable testimony is opposed to the notion of a bent handle. Celts were not used as hatchets, from which they differed essentially, as is evident from an inspection of antique monuments. In the Assyrian bas-reliefs, as figured by Mr. Yates,[1] may be observed soldiers busily employed with these weapons, using them as crow-bars in breaking through a wall. In agricultural labours also, the instrument hafted in the manner already described would form the *dolabella* with which the labourer could stir up the ground about the roots of the vines, or ventilate the soil in rose-beds, or destroy the weeds among the growing corn.[2] Whilst, in respect of its use as an offensive or defensive weapon, if it were flourished about and grasped in the favourite mode of ancient times, by the hand uplifted over the shoulder, which is surely most probable, my position that the handle was straight throughout its entire length, is established almost to a certainty.

Lastly, with regard to the loop, I am equally dissentient from those who consider it intended to assist in the tying of the celt to its handle. It appears to me, that if such had been its use, there would be two most important variations from those peculiarities of form with which we almost invariably meet. First, the loop would have been larger, so as to allow of the passage of a greater number of cords. In many specimens only one could pass through the narrow aperture, and in most only a few, furnishing a very inadequate attachment, which the first blow, coming on so exposed a part, would be likely to fracture. And, secondly, there would have been two loops instead of one, —a form quite as easily produced as that which, with almost unique exceptions, was so constantly adopted,—and furnishing just double the strength, *if* a cord to fasten the celt to the handle ever passed through the loop, —a notion which has been as yet by no means proved, and with which I by no means agree. In my opinion, the use of the loop was to assist in hanging up the celt, when not in use, at home, or to the soldier's girdle whilst on the march. I would have asserted that this was proved to a

[1] *Arch. Journal* for December 1849, p. 368. [2] *Ib.* p. 370.

Digitized by Google

demonstration by the curiously ringed and beaded celt in the British Museum, described in the *Archæologia*,[1] had I not perceived that the very ring with which the celt is furnished is made to do duty, in the illustrations of a modern author, by hanging down an imaginary haft, bent at a right angle, with the two lines of which the said ring is represented as forming a kind of triangle!

There are several other points in connexion with these ancient implements, especially with regard to their more minute varieties, and the peculiarities of their ornamentation, on which I would gladly expatiate, but I must reserve them for future consideration, as I have already engrossed too much of your time. I trust, however, that the interest of the subject will be allowed to constitute a sufficient apology, and to ensure to me your forgiveness.

[1] Vol. xvi, p. 362, plate liv.

Digitized by Google

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 12, 1853.

The following associates were elected:

Thomas Blowen, esq., 132, Long-lane, Bermondsey.
J. R. Clarke, esq., Library, Hull.
Charles Marshall, esq., 7, Whitehall-place.
Rev. Henry Mackarness, Dymchurch, Kent.
Wykeham Wheeler, esq., Shelton, Staffordshire.
Thomas Williams, esq., Hastings.
Alfred J. Jones, esq., Paragon, New Kent-road.
William Curteis Whelan, esq., Herondon Hall, Kent.
Francis J. Baigent, esq., Winchester.
George Thomas Woodrooffe, esq., 1, New-square, Lincoln's Inn.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

From the Royal Society. Abstracts of their Proceedings. Vol. 5. 8vo.

From the Society of Antiquaries of Picardy. Bulletins de la Soc. Nos. 1 to 6. 1852. 8vo.

—— Coutumes Locales du Bailliage d'Amiens. Tom. II. 4to. 1852.

From the Art Union. Their Report for 1852.

From the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society. Their Transactions for 1851-2. 8vo.

From the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition. Reports of the Juries. 8vo. 1852.

From the Archæological Institute. Their Journal for October 1852. No. 35. 8vo.

From the Rev. H. Jenkins. Lecture on Colchester Castle. London, 1853. 8vo.

From the Rev. J. C. Ward. The Jesuits reviewed. Part I. Lond., 1853. 8vo.

From Ll. Jewitt, esq. Impression of the Old Seal of the Tinners of Cornwall.

Mr. Thomas Bateman exhibited a horn-book of the time of King Charles, found in taking down an old house at Middleton, by Youlgrave, Derbyshire, in 1828 (see plates 12 and 13[1]); and Mr. Halliwell favoured the Association with the following observations:—

"Horn-books are, perhaps, the most curious relics of the educational

[1] Kindly presented to the Association by Mr. Bateman.

Digitized by Google

THE ...STOR LI...

Digitized by Google

HORN BOOK,

Found in taking down an Old House at Middleton, by Youlgrave, Derbyshire, in 1828.

Digitized by Google

BACK OF HORN BOOK.

(See Opposite Page.)

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

system pursued by our ancestors that have been preserved to our times; and yet we can scarcely say that, absolutely obsolete as they now are, they belong exclusively to any early period, for they were in current use till the commencement of the present century. They are now, however, so little known, that few persons are aware of their exact character; and on that account, the very curious specimen in the possession of Mr. Bateman, here engraved, is extremely worthy of notice. They were called horn-books, because they were protected by thin sheets of transparent horn. There is generally, first, a large cross, the *criss-cross,* and then the alphabet, in large and small letters. The vowels follow next, and their combinations with the consonants; the whole being usually concluded by the Lord's Prayer, and the Roman numerals. Sometimes, but not always, especially in ancient ones, we find Arabic numerals. Cotgrave, in his *Dictionarie,* fol. 1611, calls it *La Croix de par Dieu;* and Florio, 1598, mentions *Centurvóla,* 'a childes horne-booke hanginge at his girdle.'

"Horn-books of this early period are of the highest degree of rarity, and perhaps the specimen in Mr. Bateman's possession may be considered amongst the most curious known. It is a curious fact, that in after ages the rarity of a book or tract is almost invariably in inverse ratio to the extent of the impression. Thus, in tracts of the Elizabethan period, those which were circulated by thousands, are now either lost, or exist in unique or very rare copies; while books of a serious nature, of which only small numbers were printed, may be easily met with. This bibliographical law is true in our own day, and it is said, on good authority, that it would be more difficult to form a collection of political satirical pamphlets of the reign of George III, than a similar collection belonging to the time of the Commonwealth. The subject is a curious one, and appears worthy of note."

Mr. Joseph Warren, of Ixworth, exhibited a silver ring dug up on the Suffolk side of Thetford, of a spiral form, and considered to be of eastern fabrication.

Mr. Clarke, of Easton, exhibited a Commonwealth sixpence of the unusual weight of sixty-six grains, bearing the date of 1651, and having the usual inscription, "God with us". See Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage,* pl. xxxi, No. 7. Mr. Clarke also exhibited a testoon, in fine silver, lately found at Rochford, in Essex, weighing sixty-seven grains, m.m., on both sides a bolt, one of the counterfeit sterlings of the time of the Edwards (I, II, III), struck in Flanders; a half-guinea of Charles II, 1680, drawn up on a turnip at Mr. Walton's farm, at Wickham Market; a penny of Edward II, of the London mint, found at Easton; an angelet of Henry VI, lately purchased by Mr. C., at Ipswich, and described in Akerman's *Manual,* its weight, thirty-seven grains, m. m., a fleur-de-lis on both sides; and a halfpenny of Henry VIII, four and a half grains;

Digitized by Google

obv., full face, crowned, H. D. G. REX R. S. SPIA. m. m., a bolt: *rev.*, CIVITAS LONDON. cross and pellets.

Mr. L. Jewitt, F.S.A., exhibited a drawing of an oriental hauberk of chain mail, in his possession, weighing, altogether, fourteen pounds, twenty-two ounces of which are composed of silver rings, in a border of about the depth of one inch and three quarters, around the neck, the edges of the sleeves, and the bottom of the vest; the rings are double chain, brazed, not riveted. Those of silver are of the same size as the steel ones, and give a fine finish to the hauberk, which was lately bought at a sale at Plymouth, having been the property of a family of the name of Huxham. It is now in the possession of Mr. Weeks, of Stonehouse.

Mr. Jewitt also exhibited a silver fibula, found in the neighbourhood of Abingdon, Berkshire, having the words JESVS NAZARENVS. It is here engraved of the full size.

Mr. S. I. Tucker exhibited a silver mourning ring of the time of Elizabeth or James I, of Sir Wm. Colepepper, of Aylesford, Kent, knight, forming a seal, with a death's head, and the motto "In Memoriam".

Mr. Charles Ainslie exhibited some specimens of pottery obtained in London, and a portion of Roman glass, apparently the top of a vase, found in an excavation connected with the making of a sewer in Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn.

Mr. F. H. Davis, F.S.A., laid upon the table a large earthen bottle, lately fished up in the Thames, near Battersea. It was of the sixteenth century, and supposed to be of German manufacture.

The Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., exhibited some pieces of tessellated pavement, tesseræ, lead, nails, and fragments of tiles and pottery, taken from the Roman villa at Twerton, near Bath. The Great Western Railway passes over the site.

Dr. W. V. Pettigrew produced a dagger, dug up in the field where, in the time of Charles I, the battle of Edgehill was fought. It was of that period, and apparently served as a weapon for offensive and a knife for domestic purposes.

Mr. John Cullum, of Battersea, exhibited drawings of a variety of Roman antiquities, found at different times in London, consisting chiefly of amphoræ, pateræ, tiles, etc. Also a garnet bead, found in a lump of clay, and a fine seal, with the head of Cæsar, found in a gravel machine in the Thames. These were referred to be arranged with other antiquities found in London, and for future use.

Mr. Syer Cumming read a paper on vincula, in which he historically traced, from the earliest periods, the employment of fetters and other in-

Digitized by Google

struments of confinement. The paper was accompanied by many drawings and specimens, and will be printed with illustrations in the next number of the *Journal*.

Mr. W. H. Black communicated various charters of the first and second Humphrey de Bohun, which, with illustrations of the seals, will appear in the Original Documents in the next number of the *Journal*.

JANUARY 26.

The following were elected associates:

John Matthewes, esq., 23, Cloudesley-terrace, Islington.
Samuel Lepard, esq., 31, Newington-place.
Sir John Harpur Crewe, Bart., Calke Abbey, Derbyshire.
Mrs. Prest, 33, Spring-gardens.
Miss Georgina L. Smith, 10, Maddox-street.
Hilary Nicolas Nissen, esq., Little Heath, Old Charlton, Kent.
James Kendrick, M.D., Warrington.
Jonathan Sills Pidgeon, esq., 8, Chepstow-villas.

The following present was received, and thanks voted to the donor:

From the Publisher. Suggestions on the Ancient Britons. Part I. London, 1852. 8vo. J. R. Smith.

Mr. Charles Ainslie laid before the Association a variety of specimens of pottery, etc., said to have been found in the city of London. These were referred to be reported on at a future meeting.

Mr. Haywood, surveyor of the city sewers, also forwarded some specimens of an interesting nature, which were referred for arrangement and illustration. On portions of red ware the names PVCNI.M and BALBINVS were found, and on the handle of an amphora LVTRO. Mr. W. D. Saull, F.S.A., offered some observations upon them, and directed attention to the structure and course of the Roman wall and of the city boundaries. An iron object, somewhat in the shape of a duck, conjectured to have formed portion of a lamp, found in Bishopsgate, was also exhibited.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited a fragment of pottery found in an excavation made at Mote-hill, Lancashire, which was supposed to have formed part of a sacrificial vessel. It was decidedly Roman. Dr. K. also exhibited what he conjectured might have formed a stopper for an amphora, found at Wildespool.

Mr. H. W. Rolfe exhibited a bronze cup found at Boughton-hill, Kent; also a bronze stirrup, of the time of Henry VII, and a portion of painted glass from Canterbury, containing a rebus. It consisted of a robin in a tree, with the letters R. T. (Robin Tree).

Mr. Moore, of West Coker, Yeovil, forwarded a rubbing from a lectern in Yeovil Church, having the following inscription, as read by Mr. W. H. Black:—

Digitized by Google

Precibus nunc precor cernuis
hinc eya rogate
Frater Martinus Forester,
vita vigilet que beate.

which, perhaps, may be translated, "I now pray (beseech ye hence, alas!) your humble prayers that frère Martin Forester may be awoke in a blessed life." The inscription, which upon a lectern is uncommon, appears to belong to the latter part of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, and it was thought desirable that a drawing of the lectern should be obtained.

The Rev. Thos. Hugo, F.S.A., exhibited some Roman remains found in a sepulchral urn near Thetford, in Norfolk. They consisted principally of beads, and had suffered much from fire.

Mr. F. H. Davis, F.S.A., exhibited an original miniature, in his possession, of Mary queen of Scots, by Zucchero, in which she is represented with a cross, somewhat resembling that exhibited at a former meeting, and supposed to have been worn by the queen. (See vol. viii, p. 372, and plate 40.)

Mr. S. I. Tucker exhibited a singularly interesting pack of engraved cards, of the time of Charles II, supposed to have been executed at the Hague, for the amusement of the royalists there. The pack is complete, fifty-two in number, and represent the principal personages and events that occurred during the time of the Commonwealth. They are the property of Mrs. Prest, a member of the Association, and were purchased more than thirty years since by the late Mr. Prest, at the Hague, for the sum of thirty-five guineas. No other copy, or even portion of them, is known, and Mr. Pettigrew undertook to write a paper for the Association in illustration of them.

Mr. F. A. Carrington communicated the following from rubbings from bells :—

"1. Great bell at Aldbourn, Wilts. ¶ *Intonat de celis vox campane Michaelis* ¶ *Deus propicivs esto aiabvs Ricardi Godard Qvondam de vpham Elizabeth et Elizabeth vxorvm eivs ac aiabvs o'im liberorvm* ¶ *et parentvm svorvm Qvi hanc campanam fieri fecervnt anno dni M ccccc xvi.*

"This Richard Godard is the first person named in a pedigree of the Goddard family, printed by sir Thomas Phillipps, bart., but neither of the wives of Richard Godard is there mentioned; and I was informed by major Goddard, of the Wilts militia, who is the present head of the elder branch of the Goddard family, that he never knew that this Richard Goddard had two wives, or the name of either of them, till I sent him a copy of this inscription on the bell, of the existence of which he had no previous knowledge.

"It appears from this pedigree that the Goddards of Swindon are a younger branch of this family; but at the top of the pedigree is a copy

Digitized by Google

of a deed, dated 1405, to which 'Johannes Goddard' is a party, in which he is described as of 'Hye Swindon',—the place at which the present member of parliament of that name still resides, and in whose possession this deed is.

"2. Bell at the chapel of Sudeley Castle. ¶ *Sancte georgi ora pro nobis. The ladie doratie chandos widdowe made this.*

"Sir John Brydges was, on the 8th of April, 1554, created baron Chandos, of Sudeley; and it has been stated that lady Jane Grey gave him her prayer book on the scaffold; and it is also stated that she gave a book of prayers to sir John Gage, but it is perfectly possible that lady Jane Grey may have given a book to each of them. This nobleman died 4th March, 1558, and was succeeded by Edmund, his eldest son, who was created a knight of the Garter, by queen Elizabeth, in 1572. He married Dorothy, daughter, and ultimately coheiress, of Edward lord Braye, and died 11 Sept., 1573, when she became 'ladie doratie chandos widdowe'.

"3. Great bell at Ogbourn St. Andrew church, Wilts. ¶ *Trinitatem Acoremus*, an evident mistake for *Adoremus*. An inscription in the same style of letters was, and perhaps is, on a bell at Cuxton, or Cockstone, church, Kent, two miles and three quarters from Rochester. It has a date 1589, and is figured in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, Introduction to vol. ii, page ccxc, plate 32.

February 9.

The following associates were elected:

Rev. John White, M.A., Grayingham Rectory, Kirton in Lindsey.
John Baker Hopkins, esq., 15, Mark-lane.
Henry Pemberton, esq., 10, William-street, Lowndes-square.
Thomas Joseph Wiltshire, esq., 126, Piccadilly.
Sir Joseph Paxton, knt., Chatsworth.
Baron Mayer Amabel de Rothschild, Montmore, Bucks.
Edmund Aubertin, esq., Clipstead, Surry.
John Kersley Fowler, esq., Aylesbury.

Mr. Lionel Oliver presented to the Association an interesting large brass medallion, representing Dr. Sacheverell seated, supporting a shield, around which is inscribed, "passive obedience". He is surmounted by a mitre. A figure standing before him, with a dagger in his hand, has the name of "Burges" inscribed, and there are also personifications of Moderation, Fury, etc. The society returned their thanks to Mr. Oliver for his very interesting present.

Mr. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., communicated a letter he had received from Mr. Wansey, F.S.A., from Naples, giving an account of the excavations now being carried on at Cuma by the prince of Syracuse.

"A labourer in a vineyard at Cuma, about two months since, in pre-

Digitized by Google

paring ground for planting, struck with his tool on some stonework, and clearing away, found the ruins of a fine ancient Grecian temple, some houses, and about twenty tombs; for so far the excavations have already proceeded. The king's brother, the count of Syracuse, to whom the ground belongs, has diligently prosecuted the search, and has already uncovered nine or ten columns, with their capitals and bases, all of Cipellino marble, broken, but in pieces so large that they may be easily put together. They were found prostrate, as well as the architrave, cornices, and pediment, also five or six torsos, all of the finest white marble. These he has transported to his palace here, and I have seen them, going there by his permission for that purpose, and having them shewn and explained by himself for an hour or more. I was much struck with the beauty of the torsos, and, indeed, the architectural remains also. The former consist of an almost perfect figure of Diana, so called because the figure of a hound is also part of the torso, and by her side; a most beautiful piece of sculpture of an emperor (so thought because the remains of a curule chair were found near it), or of Jupiter. The head is not yet got at, but great part of the rest of the figure is, the naked body with loose drapery artistically hung round it; a seated female figure, draped, and other figures the same. The proportions and finish of the naked body, and the drapery of all, are of the highest merit, and though it is saying a great deal, reminded me strongly of the torsos in the British Museum. They are of a size larger than life. Of one of the legs, a left one, the prince has given me a cast.[1] Of the architectural portions of sculpture, the execution is equally admirable. For material, elegance of design and high finish they will match with most ancient works of the kind, and are in the highest state of preservation. Under the frieze, in large bold letters of purest Roman form, is the inscription ··LVCCEIVS. (then a blank, a piece probably not yet found), then ETISSP (sua pecunia).

"The private houses opened contained or produced nothing particular, but the tombs did. Next day I went by appointment, and with me a friend here, an Englishman, and the ladies of my party, to meet the prince on the spot, and we spent three or four hours with him there. The particular object of his going, and our being honoured with an invitation, was to be present at the opening of another tomb they conjectured was there. Experience shows them this. While the labourers, above twenty in number, were set to shovelling away, the prince sent a person with us to go the round first; we visited the temple, where blocks were still lying about. It is opened to a depth of say fifteen or twenty feet, and one hundred and forty feet long; and in another place three hundred feet and more from one end of the temple, they have found similar pieces of marble, say ten to fifteen feet long, of the same style, and so

[1] Made by himself. He is a good sculptor, and showed me many of his works; design and execution very good.

Digitized by Google

conclude this front was of that length. The end is circular, and two styles of architecture are met with. We then went to and into the tomb, when a novel object was observed. We found ourselves in an arched vault, constructed of massy pieces of tufo, ten to twelve feet square. On one side a small door of entrance, arched, and built up. On the other side, about six feet above the floor, say half the height, were columbaria, or small niches, in which were cinerary urns of terra cotta, one-third full of burnt human bones. Below them, round all three sides, were built up, of equally strong masonry, partitions or bins of size and shape to fit a human body. In each of them was a skeleton all broken to pieces, and mouldering in the loose plaster that had fallen off from the walls, and in the dry sand which nearly filled the shelves and which they generally found in them. Lachrymals of glass and terra cotta, of different but small sizes, glass beads, ivory combs, pieces of what looks like a flute, penates, in one case an hermaphrodite, broken bits of what seemed an ivory ruler, a tessera mould, etc. These are the objects generally found in the Roman tombs, and a little money; in one case a coin of Diocletian in the mouth, proving the tomb was used as late as that period. Skeletons, and cinerary urns with bones, are frequently found. And in the Greek tombs, which are under the Roman, and to the depth below ground of forty, nay, even sixty feet, besides the objects I have mentioned, articles of value are met with, gold ornaments, necklaces of delicate workmanship, etc. But what is the novelty I have alluded to? *Two skeletons with waxen heads.* The antiquaries are all puzzled at this, and are unable to account for it. One was broken in the moving; the other was taken to the museum, where I have seen it, and really it is a most admirable and natural representation of a fine young man's face, of regular stern features, all perfect, old though it be beyond our reckoning, and discoloured and dark by time. Professor Quaranta is publishing an account of this, and the prince's excavation in general, in numbers, the first to come out this week."

Mr. S. I. Tucker exhibited a silver gilt ring, which was said to have been given by George II to a pilot who saved him from wreck in one of his voyages from visiting his Hanoverian dominions. With this ring also it is said his majesty gave a permission to "vend victuals in Hyde-park," and it is averred that the man's descendants exercise this privilege to the present day. The ring bears the arms of Poland, impaled, with those of Lithuania, surmounted by a royal crown.

Mr. John Rook, of Whitehaven, communicated some drawings of antiquities he had there met with. They consist of a spear-head of bronze, found by a labourer in Eskdale, Cumberland; a seal of cannal coal; a ring of the same material; and a piece of sheet-lead, which was found rolled round the ring with the following inscription on the inside: "DEPOSITED WITH HOLIE FEARE BY PIUS JACOBUS LAPERE GREATE

Digitized by Google

CONSTANTINE THY RINGE LYETH HEARE FOR THY SOUL NEITHE YE CROS I BEARE IN THE 1400 YEARE." All these objects were inclosed in an earthen pot of rude construction, and fixed by cement to a piece of red freestone.

Mr. Thomas Wakeman, of Graig, Monmouth, forwarded a drawing reduced from a rubbing taken of a monumental cross of a peculiar type. (See cut annexed.)

"It was discovered some twenty years ago, buried in the earth, when the church of Langattock-juxta-Usk was under repair, at which time it was much more perfect than at present. Many years exposure to the weather, under the south wall of the churchyard has sadly injured this very beautifully designed cross, which in a few years will probably altogether be obliterated. The inscription (supplying the defaced letters) reads DAVID AP JEVAN LOIT. There was a person of this name and patronymic, whose great grandchildren were living in 1585, therefore by calculation he was probably living in the reign of Henry VII. The length of the stone is five feet seven inches. The width through the centre of the cross two feet, and at six feet from the bottom one foot three inches."

Mr. Thomas Gunston communicated the following rubbings lately taken from bells:—

"1. *Church of St. Nicholas, Great Kimble, Bucks.*—Ave Maria gracia plena H. K. 1587. P. W.; gloria in excelcus deo H. K. 1587; prayse the Lord, 1618; honar God, 1635.

"2. *St. Peter's, Aston Rowant, Oxon.*—Sancta Johannis ora pro nobis; our hope is in the Lord, 1625; this bell was made 1625; prayes ye the Lord, 1625. Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas: William Brookes, Richard Steuens, Churchwardens; Edward Hemins, fecit., 1737.

Digitized by Google

"3. *St. Mary the Virgin, Thame, Oxon.*—I as trebl. begin; I as second sing; I as third will ring; I as forth in my places; I as fift will sovnd; Richard Keene cast me, 1664.

"4. *St. Mary's, Watlington, Oxon.*—Jerem. Ewstes gave this bell in 1587, H. K.; feare God, 1635; feare God, honovr the king, 1660; Thomas Stoner, Esqvier; Symon Bartlet, Thomas Gregory, C. W., 1663. H. K.; Simon Bartlet, Thomas Gregory, W. C., 1663. H. K.; Thos. Iohnson & Wilem. Chaplin, Wardens; C. & Iohn Rudhall, founders, 1785.

"The first two invocations, in black-letter, are frequently met with during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The black-letter inscription on No. 2 is preceded by a shield with letters P. W. R.; the reverse of a coin with plain cross and pellets, corresponding in size and type to groats of Henry IV; and a square, ornamented with quatre-foils, and terminates with the face of an animal intended, probably, as an Evangelistic emblem.

"The inscription on the gift of Jeremy Ewstes is in black-letter, well formed, and in good preservation, with Longobardic initials and cross pattêe.

"The bell cast in 1660 seems to indicate the good wishes of the people upon the restoration of Charles the Second, and doubtless pealed loudly upon that occasion.

"The next is the gift of Thomas Stoner, who also, in 1664, erected in the centre of the town the present Market House; this, and the accompanying bell, has a full length prostrate figure in relief, and a shield, with the letters E. S.

"As founders frequently adopted the system of placing their initials only, I have, when their names appeared in full, taken especial notice, that they may assist in shewing who the various founders were, and have subjoined a list of localities and names:—

"Romford, Essex, Robert Motte, 1578; Lavenham, Suffolk, Richard Bowler, 1603; Chartham, Kent, Joseph Hatch, 1605; Chinnor, Oxon, Henry Knight, 1620; Lavenham, Suffolk, Miles Graye, 1625; Thame, Oxon, Richard Keene, 1664; Lavenham, Suffolk, Henry Pleasant, 1702; London, Richard Phelps, 1716; Watlington, Oxon, C. and J. Rudhall, 1785; Lavenham, Suffolk, W. Dobson, 1811; Uxbridge, Middlesex, Mears and Son, 1838."

Mr. Gunston also communicated the following brass rubbings in connexion with this subject:—

"1. Jeremy Ewstes. South aisle, St. Mary's, Watlington.—'Here lyeth buried the body of Jerem. Ewstes, the eldest sonne of Robert Ewstes, late of this town of Watlyngton, who gave ye trebbll bell that hangeth in this stepplill. He deceased the fyrst day of May. And also here lyeth buried John Ewstes, brother of the said Jerem., who deceased ye last day of May.'

Digitized by Google

"2. Two shrouded effigies. Height twenty-three inches. These figures are without an inscription; but the following, from a manuscript dated 1740, refers to the same. 'In the south aisle of the church at Watlington are two figures in a winding sheet, having under them a plate, inscribed—Ora pro aiabus Willi Gibson et Matilde uxoris ejus qui quidem Willi obit x die Augusti ano Dmni millimo quingentesimo primo quos aiabus ppicietur Deus Amen'."

Mr. F. A. Carrington made the following communications:—

"1. *Ancient die.*—In making the railway through a part of the garden of the Rev. W. Rowlands, about one hundred yards north of the Abbey church, at Shrewsbury, a die, for striking the reverse of crown pieces, was dug up. It is of iron, and exactly resembles one of those mushroom-shaped pins which are to be seen in the splinter bar of a gentleman's carriage, to which the traces are attached, and which, in Long-acre, go by the technical name of roller-bolts. The device on it is a shield of four quarterings. First and fourth quarterly, England and France; second, Scotland; third, Ireland; with the inscription CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO, and the letter V. for five shillings. It must have been used in this way. The die of the obverse must have been fixed on something to answer the purpose of an anvil, and on this was laid a plate of silver of the proper size. The lower end of the roller-bolt, with the reverse die, must then have been put on the piece of silver, and the mushroom top of the roller-bolt struck with a heavy hammer. This well accounts for the irregularity of the edges of some of the coins of Charles the First.

"2. *Ancient brass seal of Worcester.*—I have been favoured with an impression of an ancient brass seal, which bears the inscription, SIGILLVM COMMVNE CIUIVM WIGORNIE, and some marks, or characters, which some have supposed to be the figures 952.

"The date 952 would not exactly coincide with anything remarkable connected with Worcester. The city was fortified by walls by king Edgar; and there is an ancient tower near the cathedral which still bears his name. King Edgar began to reign A.D. 955. This seal was restored to Worcester in a rather singular manner:—

"A few years ago Jabez Allies, esq., then mayor of Worcester, was travelling in France, and when at Rouen he received much polite attention from an old antiquary resident there; who, finding that he was mayor of Worcester, gave him this seal, which this old antiquary had purchased many years before at a sale at Rouen.

"It is supposed at Worcester, that on the occasion of a dispute between the corporation and their town clerk, at the end of the last century, the latter took away this seal to annoy them. It is known that he died at Rouen, and thus the seal might easily have passed into the possession of an antiquary there. It is now deposited in the Museum at Worcester.

"The building on the seal was probably intended to represent Wor-

Digitized by Google

cester Cathedral, which, however, it does not resemble in any one particular. It is very likely that the artist who made the seal never saw the cathedral."

3. "At the sale of the effects of the rev. Thomas Meyler, M.A., head master of king Edward's Grammar School at Marlborough, I bought a glass, a good deal like a soda water glass, but broader, and on it was engraven the figures, etc., of which I send a rubbing.

"The words over the figures are German. That over the left hand figure is 'vnverzogt', which Mr. Keane, the barrister, who is very conversant with German, translates, 'undismayed'. That over the right hand figure is 'mit Gott gewoght', which he literally translates 'with God dared'. He suggests that the right hand figure may represent Gustavus Adolphus, who was killed at the battle of Lutzen, in 1632, and that the other figure may represent Marshal Wallenstein, or some other imperialist general.

"The weapons in their hands have flint locks. The pistols in their holsters have the butts exposed to view, and their boots are like those on the figure of James II at Goodrich-court. The spurs are straight, and the rowels are of six points; and the hat of the right-hand figure appears to bear some resemblance to that of some of the figures in the pictures of Teniers. The glass would contain about a pint.

Mr. Gunston exhibited the following specimens of lamps:—

"1. Black earthen lamp, found amongst fragments of cinerary urns, horns and bones of oxen, tusks of boars, etc., near Walbrook, 1852. 2. Circular lamp beautifully ornamented: on the under part are the letters I. H. 3. Circular lamp of ordinary baked clay, overlapping towards the centre, without handle or external covering. 4. Earthen lamp of rude construction, standing upon a low rim, with small handle, beautifully studded with golden mica. 5. Fragment of an earthen lamp bearing the Christian monogram. This specimen exhibits the symbol adopted by Constantine the Great, on the royal standard and other matters, immediately after his vision, and the defeat of Maxentius; and shews also the general estimation in which this type of Christianity was held."

The same monogram appeared on the reverses of the following coins, exhibited by Mr. Gunston:—

"*Magnentius*—second brass. In the centre a cross, the sign which appeared to the emperor, surmounted by the cipher P between the letters signifying that Jesus Christ is the beginning and the end. *Valens*—second brass. The emperor with his hand on a captive, and in his left the sacred standard: found at Dorchester, Oxon, 1850. *Gratianus*—third brass. The emperor holding in his right hand the labarum, his left supporting a buckler. *Arcadius*—second brass. The emperor in a military habit holding the labarum, and in his left a globe. *Arcadius*—small brass. A plain cross. The cross was afterwards adopted by the

Digitized by Google

Saxons on their sceattæ, stycas, and pennies; and the monogram by Ceolnoth archbishop of Canterbury, king Ethelwulf, and by the early kings of France."

Mr. Syer Cuming read a paper on Christian lamps, which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. To render it more complete the Council solicit the communication of further specimens, which may be known to or in the possession of the associates.

Mr. James, of Aylesbury, read a paper in illustration of a solleret of the fifteenth century, of an unique character, exhibited by him. The paper will be printed in a future *Journal*, accompanied by illustrations, for which the Association are indebted to the liberality of Mr. James.

FEBRUARY 23.

The following were elected associates :—

George Fielding Blandford, esq., 7, Lower-grove, Brompton.
John William Stanbridge, esq., Hoxton.
George Smith Chapman, esq., 1, Birchin-lane.
The venerable archdeacon Smith, Erith, Kent.
Francis Hobler, esq., Bucklersbury.
Thomas Reginald Kemp, esq., 7, Nicholas-lane.

Thanks were given to the respective donors of the following presents :—

Rev. E. Kell, F.S.A. Lectures on the Antiquities of Newport.

C. R. Smith, F.S.A. Report on Excavations at Lymne; London, 1852, 4to.

M. Deschamps des Pas. Essai sur les Pavages de l'Eglise; Paris, 1852, 4to.

S. I. Tucker, esq. Etching of Connoisseurs, from a painting by F. Grose, F.S.A.

The rev. Mr. Hugo having at a previous meeting called the attention of the Association to the numerous frauds now being committed in London, by men professing to have discovered Roman antiquities in the various excavations in progress in the city, Mr. Thomas Gunston made the following communication:—

"In passing Budge-row, Watling-street, in January last, my attention was attracted to a heap of black soil thrown from an excavation made for a new sewer, and by permission I descended into it, and at the depth of fifteen feet distinctly traced the remains of a Roman wall constructed of rubble, layers of tile, and concrete. This led me to inquire whether pottery of any kind had been discovered there, when one of the workmen immediately produced an earthen lamp, a bronze fibula, two brass coins of the emperors Nero and Hadrian, several necks of amphoræ, portions of

Digitized by Google

Samian ware ornamented with animals, birds, vine-leaves, etc.; also a beautiful Etruscan head of Vesta, a fragment of a Venus, and three others in terra-cotta, besides two small bronze Egyptian figures of Osiris Pethempamentes! I was invited shortly afterwards by the same man to inspect a quantity of antiquities discovered, as he then stated, by himself and fellow-workmen, during the last year in various parts of Cannon-street, Wood-street, Bartlett's-buildings, and other branches of the city. They consisted of Mexican idols, Etruscan and Roman pottery, lamps, coins, a bronze spear-head, part of a sword, a portion of tessellated pavement, encaustic tiles, bellarmines, several vessels of modern fabrication, and two marble tablets, the first measuring sixteen inches by nine, and one inch thick, inscribed D·M·ONESIMO·VIX·AN·XIII·DOMITIVS·ELAI·NVS·PATER·FILIO·B·M.; the second twelve inches by four and a quarter, LAV TRONI VRBANI OL II (locality, Basing-lane), the whole having been previously brushed over with London soil. It is probable that some of the foregoing specimens may have been found in the above-mentioned localities, but knowing it to be utterly impossible for such a collection to be discovered in the heart of the city, I watched the excavations, but have only been able to trace at present two men engaged in this system of deceit. I have therefore laid a few of the specimens before the Association, thinking perhaps by their recognition they may assist in supplying the name of the party or parties to whom we are indebted for this degrading system of trafficking in antiquities."

Major Sheppard exhibited a silver seal, with a finely engraved head in cornelian. Around it is the following Leonine verse:—* ETERNIS ANNIS MEMOR EST MARIA JOH'IS. It was probably a present from a husband to a wife. It is much worn, but is of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Mr. Lynch exhibited a cast of the very rare gold noble of Henry VIII. The obverse reads, "Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Hib.", the reverse "Jhesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat", from the last verse of the 8th chapter of St. John. Mr. Lynch also exhibited a specimen of needlework, stated to have been worked by Mary queen of Scots, in one of the prisons in which she was confined. It was worked on both sides on paper, and was undoubtedly of that antiquity.

The rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., exhibited an exquisitely engraved Etruscan mirror, formerly in the possession of the Conde di Milano.

Mr. S. I. Tucker exhibited three charters:—

"1. Without date. Charter of Robert son of Dionysia de Saleton, granting to Ivo, son of Ivo of Saleton, one virgate of land in the town of Saleton, with messuages, mill, and warren, for the yearly rent of twelve pence. (Of the time of Henry III.) Seal in green wax:—✠ SIGITT.[1] ROBERTI.

"2. 41 Edw. III. Quit-claim of Isabella, daughter of John Bry, of

[1] *Sic.*

Digitized by Google

Buton, in her full age, to Agnes her younger sister, of all her right in a house and yard, lands, etc., formerly her father's, in the lordship of Buton. Dated on the Sunday after the feast of St. John, *ante portam Latinam*, 41 Ed. III [1367]. Seal broken, in red wax.

"3. 19 Ric. II. Grant, release, and quit-claim of John Bailly, of Clyfton, and Agnes his wife, to sir Geoffry de Crompe, warden of Tormerton, and sir John, the rector of the parish church of Derham, diocese of Worcester, and their assigns for ever, of all their rights in a messuage with half virgate of land, and a meadow in Coldazston. Dated on Thursday after St. Michael, 19 Ric. II [1395]. Two seals in red wax: one broken away, the other having only a capital G."

Mr. Francis Hobler exhibited a deed of feoffment, of the time of John, in a very perfect state, with the seal attached. It reads thus :—

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Ricardus filius Unfridi de Haverlond concessi et dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Reinero de Burgo militi pro hummagio et serviccio suo duas acras terre jacentes in Mannhowedelle abbuttantes super Mannhowe et extendentes se in longum versus austrum juxta terram predicti Reineri de Burgo ex parte orientali, et omnes peccias prati quos Will. de Askeby frater Ceccyllie uxoris mee habuit et tenuit in villa de Repp. cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et libertatibus, sicuti unquam idem Will's eas melius vel liberius tenuit, Illi et heredibus suis. Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis libere quiete paccifice hereditarie in perpetuum sine aliquo rettenemento reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis xij. denarios scilicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis vi.d. ad Pascha vi.d. pro omni serviccio consuetudine et exaccione. Et ut hec mea donacio et concessio firma et stabilis in perpetuum permaneat presens scriptum sigilli mei appossiccione coroboravi. Hiis testibus Nichollao Buttellario, Will'o de Gimmingeham. Johanne de Fleg. Rogero de Suffeld. Ricardo de Repp. Roberto de Landes. Huberto Hakun. Symone Hauteyn. Will. Fil. Alan. Alexandro filio suo. Unfrido de Gravele. Radulfo fratre suo et multis aliis.

"Know all men, present and to come, that I, Richard, son of Humphrey de Haverlond, have granted and given, and, by this my present charter, confirmed to Reiner de Burgo, knight, for his homage and service, two acres of land lying in Mannhowedelle, abutting on Mannhowe, and extending along towards the south, near land of the aforesaid Reiner de Burgo, on the east, and all the pieces of meadow which William de Askeby, brother of Cecilia, my wife, had and held in the vill of Repp, with all their appurtenances and liberties, as ever the same William held them, better or more freely, to him and his heirs. To have and to hold of me and my heirs, freely, quietly, peaceably, in inheritance for ever, without any re-seisin; rendering therefore yearly to me and my heirs 12 pence, that is to say at the feast of St. Michael 6*d*, at Easter 6*d*, for all service, custom and exaction. And that this my gift and grant may for ever

Digitized by Google

remain firm and stable, I have strengthened the present writing by the setting of my seal. These being witnesses, Nicholas the butler, William de Gimmingeham, John de Fleg, Roger de Suffeld, Richard de Repp, Robert de Landes, Hubert Hakun, Symon Hauteyn, William Fitzalan, Alexander his son, Humphrey de Gravele, Ralph his brother, and many others." Upon comparing this deed with those in the *Formulare Anglicanum,* and the specimens there given of the hands written from the time of William the Conqueror to Edward IV, Mr. Hobler is induced from its character and contents to consider it to be of the time of John or Henry III, and more probably the former. Mr. Hobler adds: "As to the peculiarities of ancient feoffments, see Co. Litt. 6 a, 7 a. This grant to hold by rent *for all services* created a tenancy in Socage Litt. Sec. 117, and the words *pro hummagio et servicio suo,* and *tenendum de me et heredibus meis,* prove it to have been made before the statute Quia Emptores, 18 Edw. I, for after this statute these words, which create a tenancy by the feoffee of the feoffer, were omitted."

Mr. George Vere Irving read an elaborate paper "On the Ancient Camps in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire", and illustrated it by maps, drawings of the several camps, antiquities found within them, etc. This valuable paper will appear entire in a future number of the Journal.

March 9.

The thanks of the Association were voted for the following presents:

From the Archæological Institute. Their Journal for December. No. 36. 8vo.

From the Chester Architectural and Archæological Society. Their Journal. Part II. Chester, 1853. 8vo.

From W. Haywood, esq. A Coloured Plan of the City Sewerage carried up to the present time.

From Thos. Bateman, esq. Casts of a fibula, and ivory carved knife handle, and a bronze Hercules.

Mr. James exhibited a large collection of spurs belonging to different periods, and promised an arranged paper upon them at a future meeting. He also exhibited a beautiful horse muzzle, having various inscriptions in German, and bearing the date 1561.

Mr. Bartlett exhibited specimens of spurs obtained in Berkshire and Wiltshire. He also laid upon the table three specimens of Roman horse shoes, one of which had been engraved by the late Mr. Bracy Clark, in his work on the Shoeing of Horses. Mr. Bartlett likewise exhibited a gisarme of the time of Henry VII.

Mr. W. Meyrick, of Eastbourne-terrace, Hyde-park, exhibited a beautiful specimen of armour, made in imitation of the puffed and slashed dresses

Digitized by Google

which came into fashion in the early part of the sixteenth century. Sir Samuel Meyrick, in his work on ancient arms and armour, says, "the first half of the fifteenth century was the age of splendour in armour, as the preceding fifty years had been of elegance. Fancy seems to have run wild; and" (speaking of a suit of his own), "the suit here given is a proof in point. The puffed armour is, however, very rare, and this specimen, from being engraved, is as fine as any in existence." The piece of armour exhibited by Mr. Meyrick was a tasset, suitable for a boy of about seven or eight years of age, and was not only engraved, but most elaborately inlaid with gold, like a piece of jeweller's work. Mr. Meyrick has merely another small piece for the arm, belonging to the same suit; and there are only two or three detached portions of this kind of armour in the Tower, and those somewhat inferior in workmanship. Mr. Meyrick also exhibited a sword of the time of Elizabeth, which must have once been most magnificent. There are twelve heads set in medallions, and distributed over the hilt and pommel, the latter of which is of very elegant design; the whole has been most minutely inlaid and studded with a small scroll-pattern in gold. It was discovered a few years ago, hidden behind the wainscot of a house in Berkshire, then inhabited by a turner, who broke off about six inches of the blade for the purpose of converting it into a tool for his business. A pass-guard pauldron of the time of Henry VIII, of fine form, russeted and inlaid with gold, representing a battle-piece, also accompanied these interesting specimens.

Mr. Bateman exhibited the casts mentioned above as presented by him to the Association. The brooch or fibula was peculiarly formed, had been gilt, and in the shape of a coronet with six points, on the top of each of which there is a space for the insertion of a portion of painted glass or other ornament. One setting only remains, and that consists of a bit of glass of a blue colour. Mr. Bateman considers the brooch to belong to the later Anglo-Saxon period. A similar brooch found at Maidstone, exhibited by Mr. Ashpitel, and engraved in vol. viii, p. 369, was conjectured to be Roman, though unique as to form. There is also another specimen somewhat like, but upon a much larger scale, figured in the earl of Ellesmere's *Guide to Northern Archæology* (p. 65). The carved ivory knife-handle was of the time of Charles II, a back and front view of a female figure, exceedingly interesting as representing the dress of that period, its execution very beautiful, and it will probably be again more fully brought before the Association, as well as a bronze figure of Hercules with the slain dragon, and one of the apples from the Garden of the Hesperides. It was found last summer at York and is perfectly genuine, having been cleaned by Mr. Bateman himself from a thick coating of hard crust which totally obscured the whole figure, which is slightly hollowed at the back,—decidedly Roman, and in Mr. Bateman's valuable collection.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Thomas Gunston laid upon the table the specimens of antiquities from London mentioned by him at the previous meeting, and Mr. Syer Cuming read the following report upon them and other antiquities obtained from similar localities:—

"*Alleged Discoveries in Walbrook.* At a former meeting, Mr. Ainslie forwarded for exhibition to the Association a number of antiquities in terra-cotta and bronze, *all* of which were affirmed to have been lately discovered in Walbrook; but considerable doubts having arisen as to the truth of this statement, it was felt expedient by the Council that a careful examination of the several specimens should be made, and a short report thereon laid before the Association. From a slight inspection of the articles it was at once perceived that they were capable of division into two distinct groups: the first, those which might have been exhumed in London, the second, those which were palpably discovered abroad.

"The following list comprises all the specimens which are at all likely to have been found in the city.

"1. A *oatinum* or crucible, of a round cup-form, about one inch and a half high, of light coloured terra-cotta.

"2. *Unguentarium*, standing upon a small foot; of grey terra-cotta. *Unguentaria* of glass have frequently been discovered in London, but those of earth are of rare occurrence.

"3. Small *poculum* standing on a short stem-shaped base; of black terra-cotta.

"4. Small wide-mouthed *olla* of grey terra-cotta.

"The last two specimens resemble in material and fabric many of the vessels found in the Kentish marshes.

"5. *Lucerna*, or lamp of rather large size, of pale yellowish terra-cotta. It is round, having the remains of a circular handle at the back; the rostrum is short, and on each side of the lamp is a scroll-formed loop. On the bottom are three slight oblong projections to serve as feet; and on the upper part are three draped sedent figures, which at first sight might be taken for the Matronæ frequently found upon votive altars in this country and on the continent, but they would appear to represent some other triad. The head of the centre deity is adorned with a rayed nimbus, like that occasionally seen around the head of Apollo. The figure on the right hand of the centre one has some object on its head, possibly a bird, and both these figures hold spears with barbed blades. The deity on the left hand supports a cornucopia, and may therefore be regarded as Fortune. The general form of this lamp would indicate an Italian origin and early date, but the figures are executed in such an inferior style of art, that both its place and period of manufacture must remain at present undecided.

"6. Part of a small *fibula* of bronze, the *acus* or tongue of which, when perfect, was formed by an elongation of the convoluted wire spring at its

Digitized by Google

upper part, and bears some resemblance to the example discovered at Hod-hill, near Blandford, Dorset, engraved in the *Journal*, vol. iii, p. 97, fig. 4.

"7. Small pipkin of earthenware, standing upon three legs, and having a strait handle at the opposite side to the lip. It shows evident marks of having been on the fire, but remains of deep green glaze are still visible on some parts of its surface. It would appear to belong to an early medieval period, and is a type of uncommon occurrence; another example however is known to have been found in Wood-street, Cheapside, in 1848.

"8. Corner of the front of an oblong-square vessel of embossed green glazed earthenware. A perfect vessel of this description of the time of Henry VIII, is engraved in the *Gent. Mag.* for Nov. 1831, p. 401, and fragments of similar specimens have been obtained from the river Thames in the years 1847 and 1848.

"Second group, comprising Etruscan antiquities discovered in Italy.

"1. Pair of elegantly wrought loop-handles of bronze, from the rim of a large wide-mouthed vessel, discovered among the ruins of the ancient city of Vitulonia, on the estate of the prince de Canino.

"2. Small wall-hook of bronze, the vertical part wrought in the form of the head and neck of a Chimera.

"3. *Lecythus* or cruet, of light reddish-coloured terra-cotta; the mouth and part of the neck are broken off, and the vessel stands upon a small foot.

"4. *Kypellon* or cup of plain black ware.

"5. *Phiala* of plain black ware.

"6. Imitation of a *phiala*, having a raised umbo in the centre: of bright red terra-cotta. This specimen is of modern fabrication, and closely resembles the work of the Italian potter Mollica, several examples of whose skill had crept into the collection of the late J. R. Steuart, esq., sold at Sotheby's in June 1849.

"To these Italian specimens, are to be added two other antiques discovered abroad, viz.:

"1. A very fine ampulla-shaped vessel of bronze, of early Arabio-Egyptian workmanship.

"2. A Mexican *tepitoton* or idol of terra-cotta. It is flat at the back, the head large, both hands resting on the breast, and the waist encircled by a girdle. This idol was found by Mr. C. B. Young, of the city of Mexico, and formed part of his collection sold at Sotheby's in July 1845; and it is believed to be one of the specimens purchased by the late Mr. Henry Rhodes, whose valuable museum was disposed of by Messrs. Christie and Manson in March 1846.

"In concluding this brief catalogue, we have to congratulate Mr. Ainslie upon the acquirement of the foregoing articles, most of which are good examples of their kind and possess considerable antiquarian interest: and

Digitized by Google

the thanks, not only of this Association, but of the whole body of archæologists throughout the land, are due to that gentleman for becoming the medium of exposing one of the most monstrous, clumsy, and barefaced impositions ever attempted to be practised upon the antiquarian world.

"Mr. Gunston brings before our notice a variety of antiquities which he has lately purchased from an excavator, who assured him that *the whole* had been found within a short period in Cannon-street, Budge-row, and Basing-lane; but most of these specimens have been repeatedly seen at the house of a dealer in antiquities for at least the last three or four years. The objects professed to have been discovered in Cannon-street consist of:—

"1. Small terra-cotta dove: an ornament broken from an Etruscan vase of the black ware of Chiusi.

"2. Small bronze ear of a vessel, decorated with a full-faced mask.

"3. Fragment of a Celtic spear-blade of bronze, four and a quarter inches long, found in Ireland.

"The following are the specimens said to have been found in Budge-row:—

"1. Bronze statuette of Osiris pethempamentes, of which innumerable similar examples are to be met with in Thebes. Although it is not denied that Egyptian antiquities have been discovered in England, it must be observed that this figure is deficient of that rich green ærugo generally seen upon bronzes exhumed in London.

"2. Full-faced head of Proserpine (?) of light red terra-cotta: probably a boss broken from the front of an *ossarium* or ash-chest.

"3. Beautiful female head covered with a veil: broken from an Etruscan or Greek statuette of red terra-cotta.

"4. Youthful head broken from a statuette; of light red terra-cotta. In material and workmanship, this fragment closely resembles the terra-cottas discovered near Tarsus, in Cilicia.

"5. Front of a hollow torso of Venus, of grey terra-cotta. The left arm depends by the side, and the right, which probably upheld a scarf, is broken off at the shoulder.

"A *dupondius* of Nero and a *sestertius* of Hadrian, complete the Budge-row 'find'. Both these coins are in good preservation.

"The Basing-lane specimens consist of two inscribed stones. One is a narrow oblong tablet recording the name L. Autronius Urbanus.

L·AVTRONI
VRBANI·OL·II

"The other is a sepulchral monument raised by Domitius Elainus to the memory of his son Onesimus, who lived thirteen years.

D·M
ONESIMO·VIX·AN·XIII
DOMITIVS·ELAINVS·PATER
FILIO·B·M·

Digitized by Google

"There is nothing in the formula of these inscriptions which calls for any special remark. Neither of these specimens are remembered to have been seen before, and could we be assured that they were found where they were professed to be, they would afford valuable additions to our meagre stock of inscribed monuments brought to light within the area of Roman London."

Since the purchase of the foregoing specimens, Mr. Gunston has paid another visit to the excavator, and procured from him the following articles, which are well known to have formed part of a great hoard lately in the hands of a London dealer:

"1. Etruscan tazza, of black ware, 6½ inches in diameter.

"2. Flat Etruscan tazza, of black ware, 5¼ inches in diameter.

"3. Etruscan *patella*, of light-coloured terra-cotta, 4⅜ inches in diameter.

"4. Part of an Etruscan *antefix*, of light red terra-cotta, adorned with an elegant honeysuckle pattern.

"5. Bust from a statuette of Diana, of red terra-cotta. The hair is dressed in a high conic form,—a fashion called by the Greeks *corymbus*, and known to the Romans under the name of *tutulus*. Figures of this type are frequently found within the limits of the ancient province of Lucania.

"6. Cast, in plaster, of an *oscillum* of the bearded or Indian Bacchus, for suspension in the vineyards. A short time back, this cast was a beautiful imitation of the original terra-cotta; but with the view of rendering it more ancient in its appearance, the fraudulent cheat has immersed it in mud, by which means it has become greatly damaged, and, in fact, all but destroyed.

"7. Small lamp of terra-cotta, identical with the later Roman lamps discovered in Egypt.

"8. Part of a Roman fibula, of bronze.

"9. Fragment of the blade of a Celtic sword, of bronze, 4⅝ long.

"10. Mexican idol, having a high cap, the front decorated with a broad fillet, edged above and below with five bosses. Of light-coloured terra-cotta, four inches high."

Mr. Gunston also obtained nine fragments of the so-called Samian ware. Among them were the mouth of a mortarium, in the form of a lion's head, and the base of a vessel, having the letters MOC scratched on the under side.

Mr. S. I. Tucker exhibited a pint pot of pewter, found in the Thames upon the removal of old London bridge. It was stamped with the letters AR and a crown, proving it to be of the time of queen Anne; and round the body was engraved, "*Richard Smith att yᵉ 3 Neots Tongs On London Bridg.*" This specimen is of interest to those who take delight in London topography, as it adds the name of another sign to the list of those

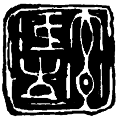
Digitized by Google

previously known to have existed on the old bridge. The other recorded signs are, the Angel, the Black Boy, the Lock of Hair, the Lion, the White Lion, the Roebuck, the Blue Boar, the Bear, the Lamb and Breeches, the Breeches and Glove, the Looking Glass, the Sugar Loaf, the Anchor and Crown, the Golden Globe, the Bible and Star, and the Three Bibles. At the house bearing the last mentioned sign, was published, in 1722, the thirty-ninth edition of the famous "*Cocker's Arithmetick*". It was observed at the council, that, in Aug. 1850, there was fished up from the Thames, near the site of the old bridge, a half gill measure, of pewter, inscribed on the front with the name of *Fleming*, which probably belonged to some dispenser of strong waters, who once dwelt upon the bridge.

Mr. John Moore, of West Coker, exhibited a brass seal found amongst some rubbish of an old house that was taken down within the last twenty years, at Martock, in Somersetshire. It reads,—S'ADE : DE : STODDONE. In the centre is a fleur-de-lis.

Mr. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., read the first part of his paper "On the History and Antiquity of Playing Cards", introductory to a description of a pack engraved in the time of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Sherratt, jun., exhibited to the Association a Chinese stamp or signet, of white porcelain. Though unacquainted with any particulars as to the place where found, it will be instantly recognized as an example of one of those curious objects which have from time to time been exhumed in Antrim, Cork, Dublin, Tipperary, Westmeath, Wexford, and other counties of Ireland. The stamp consists of a cube, rather above half an inch square, surmounted by the figure of the *how-hing*, or monkey; and on the base is impressed an inscription in the *Chuen-tsze* character. In general appearance it resembles the specimen engraved in the *Journal*, vol. i, p. 43; but the inscription differs altogether from the two examples there given, as it also does from the sixty-three varieties published in Getty's *Notices of Chinese Seals found in Ireland.*



This seal has been submitted to the inspection of *He-sing* the mandarin, and *San-shing* the painter, but they have not been able completely to decypher it. They each, however, recognized it as belonging to a Chinese shopkeeper, and state that they are common in Canton, where every shopkeeper has his seal. The figure of the monkey merely serves as a handle to use it by. The first two characters do not appear in the Chinese dictionaries exactly as they are given on this seal, but they serve only to denote the name of the firm or individual employing it. In modern characters it reads "Pĭh chŏ (in his dealings is) most just", or most correct.

Digitized by Google

MARCH 23.

John Pace, esq., of 50 Pall Mall, was elected an asssociate.

Don Antonio Delgado, Member of the Academy of History, Madrid; and Don Joachim Maria Bover, of Minorca, knight of Malta, secretary to H. M. the queen of Spain, were elected foreign members.

Thanks were voted to the donors of the following presents:—

From Lord Londesborough. Catalogue of a Collection of Ancient and Mediæval Rings and Personal Ornaments formed for Lady Londesborough. Lond. 1853, 4to.

From Messrs. Ashpitel and Whichcord. On Baths and Washhouses; with an Account of the Baths of the Ancients. Lond. 1853. 8vo.

From the Editor of the Literary Gazette. The Gazette, Jan., Feb., and March, 1853.

From the Photographic Society. Their Journal. No. I. Lond., 1853. 8vo.

From George Swindells, esq. Three large coloured Lithographs of Paintings discovered in Gawston church, Cheshire.

Mr. Albert Woods, F.S.A., Lancaster herald, exhibited a variety of Roman and English coins, among which were—the half-sovereign of Elizabeth; a false denarius of Marciana,—*rev.*, "consecratio"; a Constantine Tiberius; a small brass struck at Rome, in the age of Constantine the Great; and the cast of a coin of great rarity, Sulpicius Antoninus, a usurper in Syria of the time of Claudius Gothicus. The reverse has the temple and figures of the famous deity of Elagabalus, El Gabal, and reads EMICION, the people of Emicia.

The rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., laid before the Association three stone weapons or celts found in Ireland, and exhibiting the three several types found in that country. He also read a paper "On Celts and their Classification." (See pp. 63-71 *ante.*)

Mr. Charles Warne exhibited a portion of panel from wainscoat of the time of Elizabeth, taken out of an old house in Dorsetshire. The subject, stencilled, consisted of a man having an ass's head, and carrying a long stick over his shoulder from which was suspended a fish. With the exception of a few panels, representing vases and flowers, the same subject was repeated throughout the whole series. It was referred for inquiry as to any legend or probable rebus to give an explanation of its meaning.

Mr. S. I. Tucker exhibited the pedigree of the family of Newcomen of Salt-Fletby, signed by Cooke Clarencieux, and Cotgrave Richmond herald.

Mr. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., read a further portion of his paper descriptive of the cards of the Commonwealth, and illustrated them by biographical and historical anecdotes derived from various authorities, among others of much importance the ballads and broadsides contained in the British Museum, presented to the national collection by his majesty George III.

Digitized by Google

April 13.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

S. R. Solly, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Vice-President,

in the chair.

The following Report and Statement from the Auditors for 1852 were read and approved:—

Auditors' Report.

We, the Auditors of the British Archæological Association, having examined the Accounts of the Treasurer, and inspected the Receipts and Vouchers for the same, for the year 1852, declare them to be correct, and accurately kept. The Receipts during the year have amounted to the sum of £455 : 16, whilst the Expenditure during the same period has reached that of £487 : 8 : 9. There is, consequently, a balance due to the Treasurer to the amount of £31 : 12 : 9; which, added to the balances in the two former years, makes the Society debtor to the Treasurer in the sum of £145 : 14 : 6. It is necessary, however, to state, that the expenditure embraces some amounts paid on account of illustrations not yet used in the *Journal*, but intended for future numbers, which will, therefore, lessen the amount in the current year's audit.

The anxious desire of the Council to do justice, by proper illustrations, to the several papers laid before the Association, and the vast number which have been contributed, cannot have failed to be satisfactorily remembered by the Members; and the high character of its *Journal* is thereby maintained: still we would desire to take this opportunity of expressing our anxious wish that the Members at large would individually exercise their influence to increase the number of Associates, by which the same expenditure might be entailed, without lying under obligation to the Treasurer.

It will be satisfactory to know, that besides the amount due to this officer, there is not a single outstanding debt on the part of the Society, and the subscriptions received during the past year have, by a small amount, exceeded those of any one of the five preceding years. Yet, in some respects, it has been an unfortunate one, the Society having lost by death no less than sixteen Associates, and two Correspondents, and by resignation, twenty-eight Associates. In addition to these, there have also been removed from the list sixteen Members for non-payment

Digitized by Google

of their subscriptions, amounting to £66 : 3; which, though repeatedly applied for, have failed to be obtained. The measure of expulsion has, doubtless, been one exceedingly painful to the Council, but absolutely necessary towards maintaining a healthy condition of the Association. There are still many Members in arrear, amounting to 105 subscriptions, and we hope they will embrace the earliest opportunity of discharging their obligations to the Association. We strongly recommend that the rule of not delivering the *Journal* to Members in arrear be strictly enforced, and that the same may be made generally known to the Association.

To counterbalance these losses, we have the satisfaction to report, that there have been added forty-four new Associates during the year 1852; and that during the three months of the present year, no less than thirty-eight others,—a number unprecedented in the Society at so early a period. The Association, therefore, notwithstanding the great expenditure on its *Journal*, compared with its means, must be regarded as in a very satisfactory and steadily improving condition. The sale of the Society's publications will be observed to be also gradually increasing, and measures are now in progress more effectually to render that source of income of greater amount than has hitherto been afforded.

JOHN WHICHCORD, F.S.A.
STEPHEN I. TUCKER. } *Auditors.*

April 11*th*, 1853.

Digitized by Google

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
1852.			
Life and Annual Subscriptions	361	4	0
Donations in aid of Illustration of Journal:			
James Heywood, esq., M.P., V.P.	10	0	0
Plate of early church windows, by J. A. Repton, esq.			
Eight plates of ancient Chinese Zodiac and vases, by T. J. Pettigrew, esq.			
Five plates of bronze Roman lamps; discovery of bishop Lyndewode; slab at Runwell; gold Saxon cross; Roman remains at Tower-hill; by A. H. Burkitt, esq.			
Plate of Roman remains found in the Isle of Wight; plan and other illustrations; by the rev. E. Kell, M.A.			
Two plates of remains found at Cuerdale; "the "Ranglet", etc.; by the rev. Thos. Hugo, M.A.			
Fac-simile lithograph of receipt of money, by Margaret queen of Edward I; by F. H. Davis, esq.			
Plate of jewel of Mary queen of Scots, by Christopher Lynch, esq.			
Balance of Newark Congress	28	4	6
Dinner on occasion of inspecting City antiquities	14	7	6
Sale of Journals, etc.	42	0	0
	£455	16	0
To Balance due to the Treasurer	31	12	9
	£487	8	9

	£	s.	d.
Balance due 1850	£67	1	11
Ditto 1851	46	19	10
Ditto 1852	31	12	9
	£145	14	6

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
1852.			
Printing and publishing Journal, Nos. XXVIII to XXXI inclusive	229	13	6
Binding 250 copies of vols. VI and VII, wrappers, etc.	23	18	6
Miscellaneous printing, of circulars, cards, lists of Associates, etc.	8	19	6
Illustrations (copper-plates, lithographs, and wood-cuts) to Journal	124	2	6
Rent of rooms for public meetings	13	13	0
Collector's commission, payments to agent for the delivery of the Journals, and gratuities to servants	33	0	7
On account of dinner upon inspection of City antiquities	18	11	0
Postage of letters, circulars, advertisements, advertisement duty, etc.	16	17	0
Stationery	2	5	3
Purchase of books, inspection and carriage of antiquities	7	10	0
Petty expenses of Treasurer, Curator, Secretaries, and Collector	8	17	11
	£487	8	9

Examined April 11th, 1853.

JOHN WHICHCORD
STEPHEN I. TUCKER } *Auditors.*

The treasurer then submitted to the general meeting the following list of associates and correspondents deceased, withdrawn, elected, and removed from the list for non-payment of their subscriptions:—

Members deceased:—

1. Rt. Hon. Lord Rendlesham
2. Edward Stock, esq.
3. Rev. William Bennett, M.A.
4. Edward Bedford Price, esq., F.S.A.
5. George Curtis Rawlence, esq.
6. Henry Vint, esq., F.S.A.
7. Thomas Alex. Boswell, esq., M.A.
8. Henry Adams, esq.
9. Thomas Baker, esq.
10. George Milner, esq., F.S.A.
11. Rev. Edward Duke, M.A., F.S.A.
12. Rev. E. Neville Rolfe, M.A.
13. James Ruddell Todd, esq.
14. John Just, esq.
15. W. Eaton Mousley, esq.
16. James Silburn, esq.

Correspondents deceased:—

1. John Dennett, esq.
2. Clement Taylor Smythe, esq., F.S.A.

Resignations:—

1. W. Bland, esq.
2. George Burns, esq.
3. W. Chaffers, jun., esq., F.S.A.
4. W. F. Fairholt, esq., F.S.A.
5. Rev. A. Hume, F.S.A.
6. A. W. Ingpen, esq.
7. Jesse King, esq.
8. John Laurie, esq.
9. James Macdonald, esq.
10. C. J. Major, esq.
11. Colonel Meyrick
12. Rev. George Rashleigh
13. Robert Richardson, esq.
14. C. Roach Smith, esq., F.S.A.
15. H. Ecroyd Smith, esq.
16. John Taylor, jun., esq.
17. Eric Windus, esq.
18. Rev. T. T. Lewis
19. Samuel Woods, esq., F.S.A.
20. Frederick Barker, esq.
21. Rev. Charles Penny
22. Humphrey Wickham, esq.
23. Henry J. Norris, esq.
24. John Flower, esq.
25. Edward Kynaston Bridger, esq.
26. William Henry Barlow, esq.
27. Rev. Joseph Deans
28. Zadoc Jessel, esq.

Elections 1852:—

1. John Wood, esq., Falcon-square
2. Thomas Gunston, esq., Upper-strt., Islington
3. George Hopcroft, esq., Billiter-st.
4. G. Vere Irving, esq., Ampthill-sq.
5. Lionel Oliver, esq., Fitzroy-square
6. Mrs. Herbert Rice, Western-lodge, Hammersmith-road
7. Rev. S. T. Pettigrew, M.A., Attleborough
8. Rev. A. F. Pettigrew, M.A., Brompton
9. Henry N. Scaife, esq., R.N., Portsmouth
10. Capt. G. W. Oakes, Gloucester-ter.
11. Anthony Evans, esq., Tavistock-pl.
12. S. Blore Swindell, esq., Ashbourne
13. Charles Lee, esq., Golden-square
14. R. Woodcock, esq., Clapton-square
15. Fred. R. Pickersgill, esq., A.R.A., Mornington-crescent
16. Robert Hannah, esq., Alfred-place, West Brompton
17. J. Turner, esq., Lower Belgrave-st.
18. Patrick Allan Fraser, esq., Arbroath, N.B.
19. Edward Porter, esq., St. James's-pl.
20. R. Curling, esq., Cambridge-terrace
21. W. Henry Robinson, esq., Air-st.
22. Joseph Bernard Davis, esq., F.S.A., Shelton, Staffordshire
23. Edward Salomons, esq., Manchester
24. Edward Matthew Ward, esq., A.R.A., Inverness-road
25. Rev. J. C. Ward, Great Russell-st.
26. George Mounsey Gray, esq., Upper Bedford-place
27. Thomas Close, esq., Nottingham
28. H. Curling, esq., Westbourne-lodge
29. William Newton, esq., Newark
30. The Earl of Scarborough, Rufford Abbey
31. Granville Edw. Harcourt Vernon, esq., M.P., East Retford
32. W. Hodgson Barrow, esq., M.P., Southwell

Digitized by Google

33. J. H. Manners Sutton, esq., M.P., Albany
34. W. Wills, esq., Edgbaston
35. W. N. Nicholson, esq., Newark
36. Lord A. Edwin Hill, Southwell
37. R. Milward, esq., Thurgarton-priory
38. Colonel Thomas Wildman, Newstead Abbey
39. Godfrey Tallents, esq., Newark
40. Charles Pidgeon, esq., Reading
41. Miss Bicknell, Sydney-place, Bath
42. John Bartlett, esq., West Brompton
43. Rev. Henry Blane, M.A., Rectory, Wormley
44. Charles Baily, esq., Newark

Correspondents elected:—

1. Rev. R. J. Hodgkinson, Newark
2. Rev. J. F. Dimock, Southwell
3. J. Adkins Barton, esq., Newport

Erased from the list of Associates, 1852.

1. Thomas Baylis, esq., Addison-road
2. Francis Beetham, esq., Tanfield-court, Temple
3. T. C. Buckmaster, esq., Parkhurst, Isle of Wight
4. David Ward Chapman, esq., King-street, St. James's
5. G. M. Crawford, esq., Lincoln's Inn
6. E. Watkin Edwards, esq., Cleveland-row
7. Mr. W. Edwards, Red Cross-st., City
8. R. S. Evans, esq., Admiralty
9. Charles Garner, esq., Corry-place, Old Kent-road
10. John G. Hudson, esq., Essex-court, Temple
11. Joseph Messenger, esq., Bridge-st., Canterbury
12. John Purdue, esq., Hemingford-terrace, Islington
13. Charles Reed, esq., F.S.A., Lovell's-court, Paternoster-row
14. Charles Sandys, esq., F.S.A., Canterbury
15. A. F. Sprague, esq., Upper John-street, Commercial-road
16. W. Burke Williams, jun., esq., Earl's-terrace, Kensington

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the Auditors for their services, and acknowledged by Mr. S. I. Tucker.

The thanks of the Association were voted to the Treasurer for his most valuable services to the society, and attention to its interests.

The thanks were also voted to the President, his grace the duke of Newcastle for his obliging and effective services during the year, and especially for his attention to the Association at the Newark Congress, and his most liberal reception of the members and visitors on that occasion.

The thanks were also voted to James Heywood, esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., Vice-president, for his great assistance at the Congress, and his continued liberality to the Association.

The thanks of the meeting were also voted to the Vice-Presidents, the Secretaries, the Registrar, Curator, and Librarian, for their uniform attention to the interests of the Association.

The thanks were also voted to the Council of the past year for their services.

Also to the Authors of Papers read, and to the Exhibitors of Antiquities to the Association, and to the Donors of Illustrations to the *Journal*.

The meeting then unanimously adopted the following recommendations of the Council.

Digitized by Google

1. To appoint an additional secretary in the Home Department.
2. To substitute the second Wednesday in April in lieu of the second Wednesday in March, as hitherto had been the case, for the holding of the General Meeting.

The election of Officers and Council was then proceeded with, and the Chairman nominated G. N. Wright, esq., and John Bartlett, esq., Scrutators, who, after examination of the balloting-lists, delivered in the following Report:

Officers and Council for 1853-54.

PRESIDENT.[1]

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

F. H. Davis, F.S.A.
Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, F.R.S. F.S.A.
James Heywood, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
John Lee, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A.
S. R. Solly, F.R.S., F.S.A.
G. E. Harcourt Vernon, M.P.
Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

Charles Baily, F.S.A.
Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A.
J. R. Planché.

Hydrographical Secretary—Capt. Bullock, R.N.
Secretary for Foreign Correspondence—W. Beattie, M.D., Mem. Hist. Inst. France.
Registrar, Curator, and Librarian.—Alfred White.
Draughtsman.—Henry Clarke Pidgeon.

COUNCIL.

Charles Ainslie
Arthur Ashpitel, F.S.A.
W. H. Black
Alexander H. Burkitt, F.S.A.
H. Syer Cuming
Henry Duesbury
George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Nathaniel Gould, F.S.A.
W. D. Haggard, F.S.A.
James O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Roger Horman-Fisher
George Vere Irving
Thomas Lott, F.S.A.
Christopher Lynch
W. Calder Marshall, R.A.
John Whichcord, F.S.A.
William Yewd

AUDITORS.

Charles Bridger
Charles Warne

Thanks having been voted to the Scrutators, the Treasurer read the following notices of the members deceased during 1852:

It cannot but be a matter of deep regret to observe in the list of deceased Associates for the past year, the names of so many who have early fostered this Association, and contributed so largely to its transactions. To enumerate them in the order of their connexion with our body they stand thus:

[1] Prior to the ballot, it was resolved to leave to the Council the selection of a president, as the Annual Congress will this year be held in the county of Kent, and of which full particulars will appear in the next number of the *Journal.*

Digitized by Google

Members in 1845, at which period subscriptions were first established: lord Rendlesham, Edward Stock, esq.; rev. W. Bennett, M.A.; Edward Bedford Price, esq., F.S.A.; George C. Rawlence, esq.; Henry Vint, esq., F.S.A.

In 1846: Thomas Alexander Boswell, esq., M.A.; Henry Adams, esq.; Thomas Baker, esq.

In 1847: George Milner, esq., F.S.A.

In 1849: Rev. Edward Duke, M.A., F.S.A.; rev. E. Neville Rolfe, M.A.

In 1850: J. Ruddell Todd, esq.; John Just, esq.

In 1851: William Eaton Mousley, esq.

In 1852: James Silburn, esq.

From this list of deceased Associates, it will be found that one-half were contributors to our *Journal*, and to those are to be added the loss of two Corresponding Members, Mr. Smythe, and Mr. Dennett.

The Rt. Hon. Frederick Thelluson, fourth Lord Rendlesham in the peerage of Ireland, and M.P. for the Eastern division of Suffolk, was born in 1798, and died on the 6th April, 1852, being in his fifty-fifth year. A long residence in Italy gave to his lordship a taste for Archæology and the Fine Arts, and he joined the Association at the commencement, and became one of the earliest Subscribers. He was much esteemed for his upright and honourable conduct in all the affairs of life; but was prevented from taking any very prominent position by an unfortunate hesitation of speech, which incapacitated him for public business. He was, however, a man of excellent judgment, and gave the benefit of his knowledge and experience to the county he represented, where his memory is cherished with great respect.

Edward Stock, esq., late of Poplar, was a Justice of the Peace of Middlesex, and died in August last, at the age of fifty-three. He made two communications to the Association, relating to the discovery of Roman coins, urns, and a bronze seal, at Old Ford, Essex; and to the course of the Roman road at the same place. (*Journal*, vol. i, 327, iv, 392.)

The Rev. W. Bennett, M.A., joined the Association at its first Congress, held at Canterbury. He was of Trinity College, Cambridge, vicar of Milton, near Sittingbourne, and a minor canon of Canterbury Cathedral. He died in June last, at the advanced age of eighty-seven.

Edward Bedford Price, esq., F.S.A., died of consumption, the 9th of November last, at the early age of forty-five. He lost his father early in life, but had the good fortune to receive his education at Christ's

Digitized by Google

Hospital. He paid great attention to London antiquities, and was particularly delighted to explore the neighbourhood of the school from which he had acquired a fair classical knowledge. He made many contributions on the subject of London antiquities to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and to our Association, of which he was a Member from the commencement. For a short time he was upon the Council, and eleven papers from his pen are to be found in the *Journal*. In vol. i. (pp. 247, 253, 329,) are three communications, consisting of a description of a piece of Roman sculpture found in the city stone yard, giving the representation of three female figures seated, which he conjectured to be Pomona and two attendants. Mr. Price took this opportunity of calling the attention of the citizens to various antiquities contained in their stone yard, and which were deserving of a place in a Museum, since happily established, and principally through the active agency of our respected Associate, Mr. Deputy Lott. The other communications were on a Roman arch, very perfect in its form, found in Little Knight Rider Street, in August 1845, and a torso of white marble, fifteen inches in height, discovered in Petticoat Lane in the same year. The second vol. of the *Journal* contains an account of a font and a brass in All Saints Church, Hastings, (p. 267) and of a Roman sepulchral stone, of Purbeck marble, found in Cloak-lane (p. 351.) In vol. iii are accounts of an incised slab in Chippenham Church (p. 323); and observations on a Roman pavement found in Lad-lane (p. 335.) In vol. iv, account of a British bronze sword found at Tiverton, in 1847 (p. 146); and observations on the Roman antiquities of Bath, particularly on the representation of a Roman warrior in a room belonging to the Corporation of that city. He also submitted the results of an examination of Roman remains in the marshes and creeks south of the Medway (p. 379.) In vol. v (p. 346) there is an account of two earthenware vessels, found in King's Arms Yard, Moorgate-street, perforated with holes, and probably answering with our ancestors to the office of a shower bath, or that of a watering pot. Vol. vi (p. 441) contains the last communication received from him, and was relating to two bosses from the cloisters of the priory of St. Bartholomew the Great, in West Smithfield. Had life been longer spared to our associate, there would doubtless have been much more to record. An unfortunate irritability of temper, in his latter days, attributable, probably, to the disease which lurked within him, displeased many of his friends, among others, of this Association; but those who were most intimate with him, and consequently may be considered as having known him best, speak highly of his integrity and his benevolence.

George Curtis Rawlence, esq., was a resident at Fordingbridge, and also one of the early members of the Association. He made one communication to the Journal (vol. iv, p. 404), on a silver seal, with an

Digitized by Google

antique gem of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and probably from Smyrna.

Henry Vint, esq., F.S.A., was one of the earliest life members of the Association, and has deservedly obtained the respect of antiquaries by his assiduity in the formation of a collection at Colchester, where he resided; and which he has bequeathed to the Corporation on the condition of their erecting a fire-proof building for its reception within three years from the time of his decease, which took place on the 22nd of June, 1852, at the age of seventy-two. As connected with the history of Colchester his collection is of much value. He contributed to our Journal (vol. iii, p. 57) an account of some Roman remains found in the precincts of his own house, St. Mary's Lodge, Colchester. They consisted of urns, with burnt bones, enclosed in a cist, or Roman chamber, made of tiles, which are preserved in his museum.

Thomas Alexander Boswell, esq., M.A., of Oxford, resided at Crawley Grange, and was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Bucks. He died March 24, 1852.

Henry Adams, esq., a solicitor of Portsea, who died January 3, 1852, at the age of forty-seven.

Thomas Baker, esq., of Bisley, was an associate from 1846. He communicated (vol. i, 44) an account of the discovery, near Bisley, of vestiges of Roman buildings of considerable extent, consisting of an extensive range of chambers, containing a variety of antiquities, and no less than 1,223 coins, of which an account is given in the Journal. Among them was a new variety of the reverse of a coin of Allectus, which has been figured (vol. ii, 324.) Mr. Baker's researches were continued, and he further communicated a plan of the entire Roman villa, engraved in the Journal, and by which it appears that it consisted of not fewer than twenty-nine rooms.

George Milner, esq., F.S.A., of Hull, was a zealous member of our Association, and contributed various papers up to the time of his decease, which occurred at the early age of forty-five. In vol. iii (p. 252), he gave an account of the ancient Company of Merchant Adventurers of Kingston upon Hull. In vol. iv (p. 149), on the ancient custom of blowing a horn at Ripon, and on a brooch of the fifteenth century found at Driffield (p. 405). In vol. v (p. 160), he detailed the particulars relating to an urn found at Mansfield, containing between three and four hundred Roman silver coins. In vol. vi (p. 85), he described two seals belonging to Worcester and Lincoln, and also (p. 147) a sculptured font at Kirkburn,

Digitized by Google

near Driffield, figured in the *Journal*, with observations also by Mr. J. G. Waller and Dr. Bell. (See vol. vii, p. 38.) Mr. Milner attended our last Congress held at Newark, and then exhibited some antiquities discovered at that place, which are figured in the last volume of the *Journal* (viii, 192).

The rev. EDWARD DUKE, M.A., F.S.A., is a name well known in archæology. He died in August last, at Lake-house, in the county of Wilts, at the age of seventy-three. He was of an ancient family. Residing in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, it is not surprising that he should have directed his attention to antiquarian subjects. He had also the happiness to enjoy intimacy with a kindred spirit, the late sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart., and his leisure hours were principally devoted to inquiries connected with the tumuli so numerous on his estate. The part Mr. Duke took in these investigations is shewn in the work on *Ancient Wiltshire*, by sir R. C. Hoare, bart., and several of the subjects discovered and represented in this splendid publication are in the museum at Lake-house, illustrative of the history of the county. Sir R. Hoare mentions (vol. i, p. 212) Mr. Duke's opening five tumuli in 1806, at Amesbury-station, as the first of his antiquarian researches. The reward of his labours on this occasion must have operated favourably to the continuance of them, if we are to judge by the value of the articles he was so fortunate as to meet with, and which are engraved in the *Ancient Wiltshire* (plate xxxi), consisting of very curious bone ornaments for the playing of some game, gold objects, earthen cups, amber beads, etc., etc. Mr. Duke also opened some barrows in 1811, a group of seven, the particulars of which have been described by sir R. C. Hoare (vol. i, p. 221).

Hearing that it was the intention of the archæologists to visit Salisbury and hold a Congress there, Mr. Duke addressed a letter to us, offering a paper on a subject to which he had long devoted his attention, and respecting which he entertained some peculiar opinions; but as the place of meeting had been selected by the Archæological Institute, Mr. Duke was recommended to lay it before that body, which he did, and it is printed in the volume detailing the proceedings of that Congress. To the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1849, Mr. Duke addressed a letter in allusion to this communication. In this he details what he calls his matured theory upon the subject of Stonehenge. His opinion is that it was originally constructed as a temple of worship, and at the same time rendered a calendar for the computation of time. Three years previously, Mr. Duke printed a little volume, entitled *The Druidical Temples of the County of Wilts*, in which the train of inquiry that led him to form his opinion on "the Wonder of the West" is given, and in which he first stated that he looked upon it as a "stone almanack". This volume was

Digitized by Google

inscribed to the Society of Antiquaries, the British Archæological Association, and the Archæological Institute. Of the validity of his theory I profess not to form a judgment, and it is a subject on which antiquaries are still much divided in opinion. In 1837, Mr. Duke also published a little work respecting an ancient refectory, then recently restored, at Salisbury, and the building of which he may be said to have successfully traced to John Halle, an ancient merchant of the fifteenth century.

The rev. E. Neville Rolfe, M.A., was rector of Morningthorpe, Norfolk.

J. Ruddell Todd, esq., was a gentleman of good attainments, and highly respected by all who knew him. I had the pleasure of his acquaintance for many years. He represented Horsham in parliament.

John Just, esq., of Bury, Lancashire. The loss of this gentleman may probably be considered the greatest we have sustained during the past year. He was the eldest son of a respectable farmer of Natland, in Westmoreland, and born on the 3rd December, 1797. After obtaining the rudiments of an English education at the endowed school of the village, he was, at the age of fourteen, sent to the grammar-school at Kendal, and when nearly fifteen, he manifested such extraordinary aptitude for acquiring various knowledge, that the late Carus Wilson, esq., of Casterton Hall, near Kirkby Lonsdale, sent him to the grammar-school of that town for five years, and there he completed his education, and was subsequently classical assistant for two or three years in the school. He afterwards engaged in private tuition, and in 1831 removed to Bury, and in 1832 was elected to the second mastership of the Bury grammar-school, in which situation he continued to the time of his decease. In public and private tuition he was usually engaged for twelve or fourteen hours daily; he also lectured on botany at the Royal Manchester School of Medicine and Surgery, and filled the honorary appointment of Professor of Botany at the Royal Manchester Institution. The life of one spent in the acquisition of knowledge, and in the laborious and almost unremitting toil of public and private tuition, can be expected to present but few vicissitudes or points of stirring interest to the biographer. But it must not thence be supposed that Mr. Just was other than a man remarkable for the extraordinary extent and variety of his acquirements, and I am indebted to our associate, Mr. Harland, the intimate friend of Mr. Just, for information that he was an excellent botanist and botanical teacher; a sound and scientific agriculturist; on both which branches of science he delivered various courses of lectures and read papers, several of which have been printed, separately, or in the journals and transactions of societies. From the same authority, I learn that he was a good mathematician, a classical

Digitized by Google

scholar, and an able linguist. The rev. Mr. Hugo also acquaints me, that he was a most expert angler, and could fill his basket when others of considerable skill in that art failed of success. When quite a youth, he made several barometers, which his friends highly value. For thirteen years he registered a series of daily meteorological observations at his residence Chesham Green, near Bury. He was also a fair geologist, and knew enough of chemistry to analyse many varieties of lime, and to test their qualities for the purposes of manure. These, and other scientific acquirements, are necessarily glanced at here in a very brief manner, in order to notice more in detail his studies and labours in various departments of antiquarian philology, and Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian archæology.

Philology. Besides being a good Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar, he knew the principal modern languages of Europe, and had studied Anglo-Saxon, and its kindred tongues of the old Teutonic class; he was also well versed in both the ancient and modern languages of Scandinavia, especially the old Norse and Dansk, the language of the Eddas and the Sagas. He knew much of the various branches of the Gaelic and Celtic stock of languages; as well as the Anglo-Norman and old French, and was thus qualified to comprehend much of the ancient life and character of the several peoples to whom the modern English owe their descent, and many of their most valuable and peculiar national characteristics. He was conversant with the labours of Adelung, and Grimm, and Rask, and Bopp; and extensively applied in his own investigations the rule of Rask as to the changes and conversions of words in cognate and kindred languages. His familiarity from childhood with the singular dialect of Westmoreland, combined with his close acquaintance with the old Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon languages, enabled him to detect in many a seemingly uncouth provincialism, a genuine Norse or Saxon origin; and to perceive many unsuspected affinities to those tongues in the existing local names of men and places in the neighbourhood, and indeed over a wide district of the North of England. He had some considerable knowledge of upwards of twenty languages, seventeen of which, Mr. Harland tells me, he knew structurally, and of these he could both read and write many. To retain his knowledge of these, he was accustomed to read them in rotation, allotting probably a week to each; always taking his Sunday reading in the Hebrew Bible. In 1843, he read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, a paper, entitled "A brief history of certain Anglo-Saxon roots nearly obsolete in the English language," which is printed in their *Transactions*, (new series, vol. vii, p. 391); and in the following year, he read a "Dissertation on Anglo-Saxon Patronymics," (vol. vii, p. 440.) In 1850, he also read a paper (not published) "On the Self-Acquirement of Languages," a subject on which, from his vast experience, he was well qualified to write. His latest philological essay was con-

Digitized by Google

tributed to a local Society of Antiquaries in Manchester, called "The Rosicrucians," and in 1852, another paper, which consisted chiefly of brief explanations of the origin and derivation of local names, especially those common within the hundred of Salford, Lancashire. But his greatest philological work was the compilation of a sort of lexicon of English words, with their derivations and words of similar meaning, and apparently from the same roots, in various kindred dialects and tongues. For many years his little leisure was chiefly occupied in making a collection of words, and tracing them through various languages to one common root. In this work he had made some progress, having collected several thousand words in four quarto volumes, MS., when he died; but it still is of course very far from complete. In connection with and subordinate to this work, he was also engaged in compiling a "Glossary of the Westmoreland dialect as spoken in the neighbourhood of Kendal." This also is in an imperfect state, but occupies two quarto volumes, MS., alphabetically arranged; to each archaic word there is annexed a short illustrative phrase or sentence in the Westmoreland dialect; followed by the derivation of the word from some Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon root. Referring to these two works in a letter to a friend, he says that they have satisfied him, from the superabundance of pure Danish words in the Vale of Lune, that the people must have long and extensively occupied the district; and he briefly enunciates his views on this subject, in a paper entitled the "Danes in Lancashire," read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, at Liverpool, May 6th, 1852, and posthumously printed in its last volume (iv, 121).

Roman Roads and Remains. Near to his native village, in a bend of the river Kent, is a Roman station, supposed to be the site of the ancient Concangium, where the ramparts of the square fort are still visible; and this it is which probably first gave that bent or direction to his useful studies, which have proved so fruitful in after years. While yet a grammar-school pupil, he walked one winter's day to Borrow Bridge on the Lune, sixteen or seventeen miles, to examine the Roman remains there, and back again the same evening; the road being very rough and hilly. On his going to reside at Bury, he there again found traces of the Roman road, which traverses Lancashire from south to north, and thus was his interest renewed, and his ardent and inquiring mind stimulated to further investigations in the same direction. Having at various periods, chiefly in his school vacations, traced portions of the great military roads traversing Lancashire from north to south, and from east to west, his investigations on the Roman roads of that county made his services so valuable to the officers of the Ordnance in their survey, that he was officially engaged for a time in conducting them over the ground, and laying down the course of these roads; and here the results of his labours are permanently and authoritatively made available in the Ordnance maps

Digitized by Google

of that part of England, especially in those on the larger scale of six inches to the mile. It was in connexion with this subject that Mr. Just first made his archæological acquirements known to the public. In 1839 he read to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester "An Essay on the Roman Road in the vicinity of Bury, Lancashire", printed in the *Transactions* (N.S. vol. vi, p. 409). This was accompanied with a sketch of the line, which not only illustrates the paper, but is a valuable guide for future investigators. In 1842, he also read a paper "On the Roman Military Road between Manchester and Ribchester (vol. vii, p. 1), illustrated by an engraved map of the line and remains, from Castle Field, Manchester, to a quarter of a mile east of Ribchester. In 1849, Mr. Just read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, the first part of a paper "On the Roman Roads in Lancashire", with a particular account of the tenth iter of Antoninus; tracing the Roman military road from the Old Ford over the Mersey, in Stretford, to Manchester, Bury, Blackburn, Ribchester, Longridge Hill, and so to the boundary between Lancashire and Westmoreland. In 1850,. Mr. Just read the second part of this paper, treating of the seventh iter of Richard of Cirencester, the military road traversing Lancashire from west to east, from the Portus Sistuntiorum (on the Wyre?) to York. Our Association having fixed its seventh Annual Congress to be held in Manchester and Lancaster in August 1850, under the presidency of our most highly valued associate, James Heywood, esq., M.P., Mr. Just undertook the task of making excavations for the discovery of Roman remains at Ribchester, the results of which investigations have appeared in our *Journal* (vol. vi, p. 229). They were exhibited to the Association and to the visitors upon their assembling at Ribchester, and consisted of the foundation of the outer wall of the station being laid bare; a quantity of Roman pottery, chiefly fragments of Samian ware, many marked with the potter's name; an ampulla, etc. Five Roman coins, being three of Vespasian, Titus, and Vitellius, in silver, and two of copper, with other remains, all of which have been presented to the Association by the lord of the manor the right hon. lord de Tabley. At the Congress in Manchester, a paper on Roman Ribchester, the joint production of Mr. Just and his friend Mr. Harland, was read, and is printed in the *Journal*, with various illustrations of Roman altars and inscribed stones found at Ribchester. With some friends, Mr. Just visited and examined the Roman station of Melandra Castle, south of Mottram, Derbyshire, and copied the inscribed centurional stone discovered by the rev. Holland Watson, and described by him in the *Archæologia* (vol. iii, p. 236), and an account of the latter investigation will be found in the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper. In the eighth volume of our *Journal* (p. 35), there is a paper by Mr. Just on the tenth iter of Antoninus; and in a letter I received from him relating to this subject, he proposed to make the examination of the Roman

Digitized by Google

road within Westmoreland. His decease has prevented this most interesting research; but he had long been engaged in a thorough investigation of the line of Antoninus' tenth iter, and the Roman stations on it, at present so obscure and undetermined. Its length is upwards of two hundred Roman miles; and Mr. Just had made himself intimately acquainted with upwards of one hundred and twenty. His intention was to follow up and complete this survey, and give it to the Association. The portion he achieved will be found in the *Journal* (vol. viii, pp. 35-43).

Runic Inscriptions. Mr. Just's first essay in the deciphering of Runes and the translation of their characters, was upon a number of plaster casts taken by Mr. W. Bally in the summer of 1839, of all the Runic inscriptions or crosses in various parts of the Isle of Man. Mr. Just first saw the casts in the autumn of 1842, and he sent copies of the inscriptions, with translations, in January 1843, to Joseph Wain, esq., which are published in that gentleman's *History of the Isle of Man* (vol. ii, pp. 32-36), in juxtaposition with various previous attempts at deciphering and translation in Gough's edition of *Camden*, and by Mr. Beauford, sir John Prestwich, and professor Torkelin of Copenhagen. Formerly a stone cross, bearing a Runic inscription, stood in St. Mary's church-yard, Lancaster. It became the property of the late Dr. Edward Holme, of Manchester, and at his death was presented by his residuary legatees (the Council of University College, London) to the Manchester Natural History Society, and a few plaster casts having been taken of the inscription, the cross was placed in a glass case in the society's museum at Manchester. This Runic inscription had been repeatedly engraved, and had long been the subject of examination by antiquaries. The late Dr. Dunham Whitaker held it to be Danish; Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*, pronounced it Russo-Danish. In 1836 the late professor Finn Magnerson, of Copenhagen, offered an interpretation, regarding it as Scandinavian. In 1847 a fifth was given by Mr. J. Mitchell Kemble, who pronounced it Anglo-Saxon. In August or September 1848, Mr. Just obtained a cast of this inscription, and in January 1849 he published his deciphering and translation, agreeing with Mr. Kemble that the language of the inscription was Anglo-Saxon, but differing from that scholar as to some of the characters and their signification. In April and May 1849, Mr. Just read a paper on the reading of the Lancaster Runic inscriptions before the Historic Society at Liverpool, and the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, which is printed in the *Transactions* of the former society (vol. i, p. 121), accompanied by an engraving of the cross and another of the inscription, and giving the various readings of previous investigations. The last labour of this description undertaken by Mr. Just, was during his last illness in September 1852. A friend having deciphered, from an engraving in the *Illustrated News*, of August 28th, some Runes on an ancient slab found that summer in excavations on the

Digitized by Google

south side of St. Paul's church-yard, transmitted his reading of the characters to Mr. Just, who approved of it and returned it with a translation of the fragmentary inscription. These were published in a joint letter in the *Manchester Guardian*, of September 1852, and they formed the substance of a communication to the Society of Antiquaries by our associate, Mr. W. D. Saull, in January last. This translation was made by Mr. Just when scarcely able to hold the pen, and six weeks only before his death; and it is believed to be his last contribution to archæology, or, indeed, to any branch of science.

His incessant toil in the drudgery of tuition, with his keen and unsated appetite for such vast and various knowledge, as seemed to form the very mental nutriment of his life—these for long years continually sapping the originally strong and vigorous trunk, brought it at length to decay. His over-wrought brain and over-sedentary labours gave rise to disorder and a complication of diseases, which, after confining him for some months to the house, terminated his life on the 14th of October, 1852, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. It is gratifying to know that every mark of respect was paid to his obsequies; his funeral was of a public character; some of his most intimate friends are placing a monument to his memory within one of the churches of Bury, and his classical, mathematical, and botanical pupils there and in Manchester, have subscribed liberally to erect a memorial tomb over the spot where his remains are deposited. Mr. Harland has justly observed, that his friend's natural gifts were an extraordinary memory and a wonderful power of assimilating and arranging in order every fact once acquired, so as to be able to produce it when needed. Add to these a vigour and energy rarely paralleled, combined with a resolute and unrelaxing industry, which nothing could subdue, and with these an acquired economy of time which enabled him to use moments as others could only employ hours;—then suppose these qualifications to be all brought to bear on studies pursued with all the avidity of a passion, and these considerations will supply the key to the enigma which has perplexed many of his friends, how, when, and where he found time and opportunity for anything beyond the long hours and weary avocations of his profession. Then he never rested in mere acquisition, but excelled as much in giving practical value to the knowledge he was ever storing up, only to pour it forth in a rich stream wherever it seemed needed to fertilize the arid tracts of ignorance, and to make the wilderness of untilled mind "bloom and blossom as the rose". His nature was simple and manly; reserved amongst strangers, he was a delightful companion to those who knew him; caring little for fame but much for opportunities of serving others, he was ever ready to communicate what he knew to all who sought the information. To sum up this tribute to his memory, and in acknowledgment of the assistance rendered by him to our Association, and in the expression of our deep regret at his loss, in the words of his

Digitized by Google

friend and fellow-labourer Mr. Harland, "his life was pure and stainless; his discharge of the duties of all his social and domestic relations most exemplary. As son, brother, husband, and father, instructor and friend, he will long be revered in the memories of all who knew and loved him."

William Eaton Mousley, esq., the steward of the Great Barmote Court, Derbyshire, joined us only at the Congress held in that county in 1851. We must all entertain a lively sense of the spirit he manifested on that occasion, when he favoured us with his observations on that court, and exhibited the standard dish kept at the Moot Hall, Wirksworth, which has been figured in the *Journal* (vol. vii, p. 330).

James Silburn, esq., of Manchester, joined us only last year, and died at the expiration of three months from his admission.

The corresponding members lost to us during the past year were John Dennett, esq., and Clement Taylor Smythe, esq.

John Dennett, esq., died in July last, at the age of 62. He was keeper of Carisbrook Castle, which situation he had not long filled, and to which he was promoted as an acknowledgment, though tardily made, of his ingenuity in the invention of rockets for the saving of human life in cases of shipwreck. He was a good practical antiquary, and gave evidence of this at the Archæological Congress we held at Winchester in 1845, when he read an extremely interesting paper "On the Barrows of the Isle of Wight", printed in the Congress volume (p. 148). He was also a contributor of a variety of short notices on different subjects of antiquity, which will be found scattered throughout the volumes of our *Journal*. They consist of a portion of curious needlework of the date of 1616 (vol. i, p. 54); a rubbing from a sepulchral brass, a figure in plate armour, about 1430 (*ib.*); a steel prick-spur embossed with silver, dug up at Newport (ii, 197); a copy of a record of the time of Richard II, relating to the French and Spanish invaders (*ib.*); a large brass coin of Lucius Ælius Cæsar, dug up in the Isle of Wight (iii, 120); and a collection of mediæval antiquities, consisting of a spur, spear-head, cross-bow bolts, and arrow-heads, found at Carisbrook Castle (v, 347). An attack of paralysis prevented Mr. Dennett making any further communications.

Clement Taylor Smythe, esq., F.S.A., was a resident at Maidstone, of the corporation of which he was for a short time town clerk. He died in June last, at the age of sixty. He practised the law, and was deeply versed in genealogical matters, and other subjects of antiquity. He made very extensive collections connected with his favourite researches, but printed little. He, however, described a Roman villa discovered at

Digitized by Google

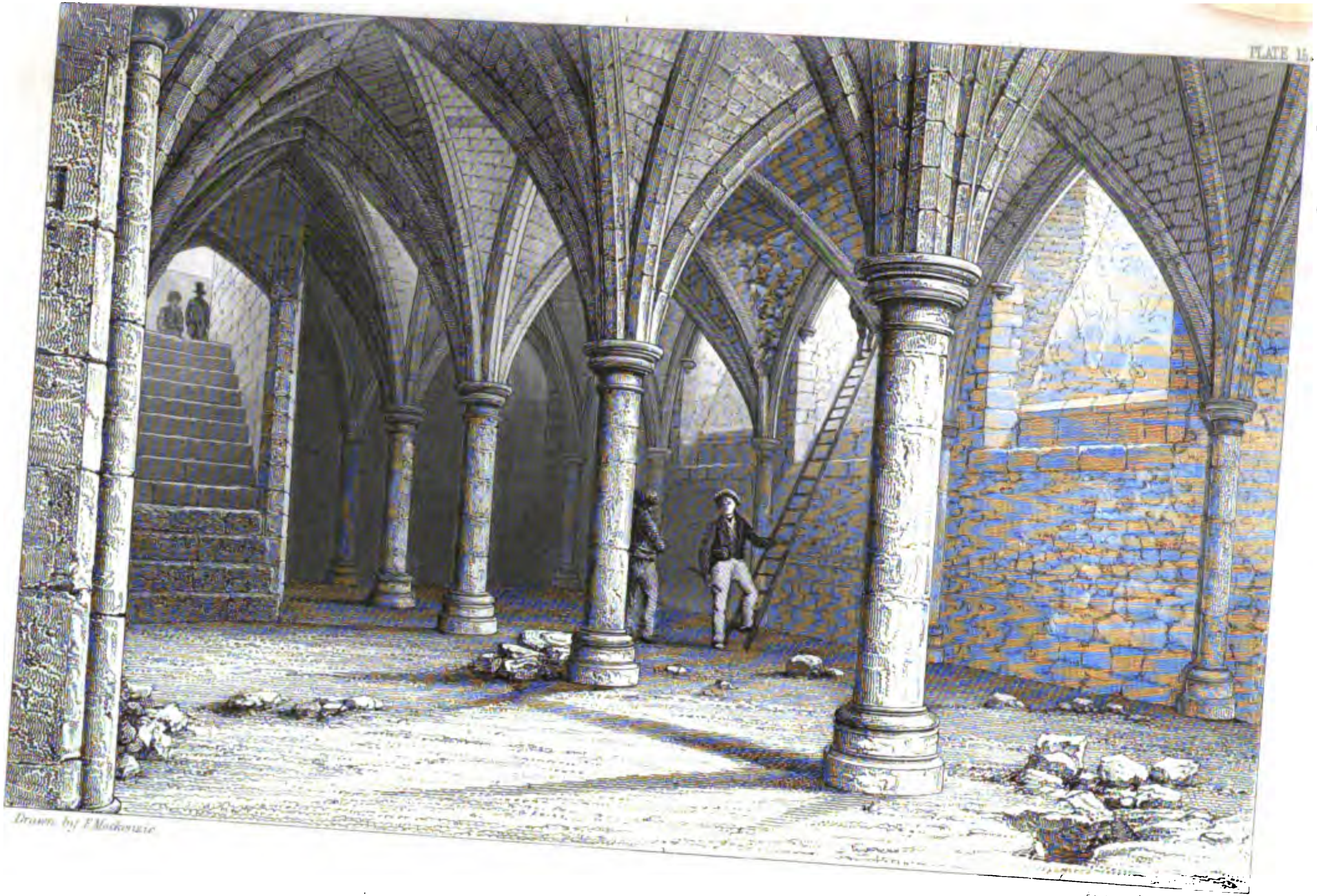
Brishing, near Maidstone, and also some antiquities found at Sutton Valence, near the same place. These are published in the twenty-ninth volume of the *Archæologia*. He also gave to the *Numismatic Chronicle* an account of Simon the celebrated die engraver, and communicated some information to the *Gentleman's Magazine* respecting the families of Tuke, Filmer, and Wyat. The principal objects of Mr. Smythe's research related to the county of Kent, and he is said to have left a very large collection, which may be found of much value in the publication of any future history of the county. As one of the moral advantages resulting from antiquarian research it may be remarked, that he was enabled by the course of his inquiries to regain for Maidstone some funds which had been left to a public charity, but had been diverted from the original purpose for which they had been bequeathed.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the Treasurer for his valuable biographical sketches, and it was proposed and carried by acclamation that they be printed in the next number of the *Journal*. This vote having been duly acknowledged by the Treasurer, the thanks of the meeting were then given to S. R. Solly, esq., Vice-President, for his conduct in the chair, and the members adjourned to dine together and celebrate the anniversary of the Association.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE 15.



Drawn by F. Mackenzie.

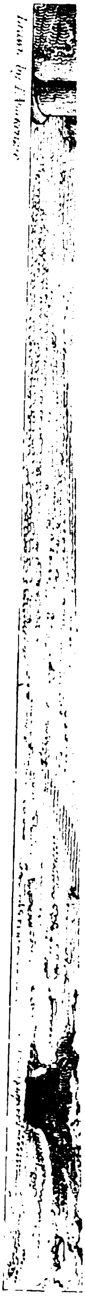
Engraved by J. Le Keux.

Digitized by Google

British [illegible]

[illegible]

Digitized by Google



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JULY 1853.

ON THE CRYPT OF GERARD'S HALL. √

BY ALFRED WHITE, ESQ.

THE fire of London, in 1666, having destroyed the greater part of the buildings of the city above ground, and the necessary alterations, after this calamity, causing many of the substantial remains to be taken down, for widening streets and other improvements, there is left, in many districts of the city, little but what was beneath the surface of the streets; and this is more particularly the case in that portion of the city which is south of Cheapside, or West Cheap. In this district the fire appears to have been so intense, that but small portions even of the walls of the old churches above ground remain; and of private houses only a few cellars are to be found, consisting principally of long vaults with transverse ribs, as in Little St. Thomas Apostle, Bow churchyard, and some of less importance in a few other localities. Only one crypt of more complex construction now exists in this part, viz. that under Bow church, since the one under what was called Gerard's Hall has been destroyed by the formation of the new Cannon-street, in 1852. The object of the present communication is to give a description of this latter crypt; to endeavour to make the elegant structure exist on paper—a structure which we have viewed and admired, and whose demolition we have lamented; likewise, to review its history, and to offer a few suggestions to the consideration of the members of the Association, which, should they prove correct, may throw some light upon the early occupation of this part of London, and would tend to prove that London was then the principal seat of our manufactures as well as of our trade.

Digitized by Google

For the historical part we are, as in most other cases, dependent on our good old historian, John Stowe, who mentions this crypt, with the superstructure then in existence, although evidently altered, in the following terms:

"Out of this Bredstreet, on the same east side, is Basing lane, a part whereof (as is aforeshewed) is of this warde; but howe it tooke the name I have not read, other than that in the 20 yeare of Richard the second, the same was called the Bakehouse: whether ment for the kings bakehouse, or of bakers dwelling there, and baking bread to serve the market in Bredstreete, where the bread was solde, I knowe not; but sure I am I have not reade yet of any Basing, or of Gerrarde the Gyant, to have any thing there to doo.

"On the south side of this lane is one great house, of old time builded upon arched vaultes of stone, and with arched gates, now a common ostrey for receit of travellers, commonly and corruptly called Gerards Hall, of a gyaunt saide to have dwelled there. In the high rooffed hall of this house sometime stood a large firre pole, which reached to the roofe thereof, and was said to be one of the staves that Gerarde the Gyant used in the warres to runne withall. There stoode also a ladder of the same length, which (as they say) served to ascende to the toppe of the staffe. Of later yeares, this hall is altered in building, and divers roomes are made in it. Notwithstanding the pole is removed to one corner of the hall, and the ladder hanged, broken up, on a wall in the yarde. The hostelar of that house saide to me the pole lacked halfe a foote of fortie in length: I measured the compasse, and founde it to bee fifteene inches. Reason of the pole, coulde the maister of the hostrey give me none, but badde me reade the great Chronicles, for there he had heard of it; which aunswere seemed to me insufficient, for hee meant the description of Brittaine before Reinwoolfes Chronicle, wherein the authour, writing a chapter of gyaunts, and having beene deceived by some authours, too much crediting their smoothe speeche, hath set downe more matter than troth, as partly (and also against my will) I am enforced to touch. R. G., in this briefe collection of histories, hath these wordes: I, the writer thereof, did see, the tenth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1564, and had the same in my hande, the toothe of a man, which waighed tenne ounces of troy weight. And the skull of the same man is extant, and to be seene, which will holde five peckes of wheate; and the shinne bone of the same man is sixe foote in length, and of a marvellous greatnesse. Thus farre of R. G. Whereunto is added, in the saide description, that, by conjecturall simetrie of those partes, the bodie to be twentie eight foote long or more. From this hee goeth to an other matter, and so to Gerard the Gyant and his staffe. But to leave these fictions, and to return where I left, I will note what myselfe have observed concerning that house.

Digitized by Google

"I reade that John Gisors, mayor of London, in the yeare 1245, was owner thereof; and that sir John Gisors, knight, mayor of London, and constable of the Tower, one thousand three hundreth and eleven; and divers others of that name and family, since that time, owned it. For I reade that William Gisors was one of the sheriffes, one thousand three hundreth twentie nine. Moreover, that John Gisors had issue, Henry and John; which John had issue, Thomas; which Thomas, deceasing in the yeare one thousand three hundreth and fiftie, left unto his sonne Thomas his messuage, called Gysors Hall, in the parish of Saint Mildred, in Bredstreete. John Gisors made a feofment thereof, one thousand three hundreth eightie sixe, etc. So that it appeareth that this Gisors Hall, of late time, by corruption, hath bin called Gerard's Hall, for Gisors Hall, as Bosomes Inne, for Blossoms In.; Bevis Markes, for Buries Marke; Marke Lane, for Marte Lane; Belliter Lane, for Belsetters Lane; Gutter Lane, for Guthuruns Lane; Cry Church, for Christes Church; S. Mihell in the Querne, for Saint Mihell at Corne; and sundrie such others. Out of this Gisors Hall, at the first building thereof, were made divers arched doores, yet to be seene, which seeme not sufficient for any great monsture, or other then men of common stature to pass through. The pole in the hall might be used of olde time (as then the custome was in every parish) to be set up in the streete, in the summer, as a maypole, before the principall hall or house in the parish or streete, and to stand in the hall, before the scrine, decked with holme and ivie, all the feast of Christmas. The ladder served for decking of the maypole and roofe of the hall. Thus much for Gisors Hall and for ye side of Bredstreet, may suffice." (p. 282, 1st edition.)

To this account, as recorded by Stowe, there is but little to be added, and we cannot but regret that he did not give some description of the hall itself, which was standing in his time, although much altered to suit the purposes of an inn. All we can gather is, that it had a high roof, probably of timber, open to the hall, which was entirely destroyed by the fire of 1666, together with everything above ground, except a small portion of the east and south walls, which remained in the inn yard until the destruction of the crypt. We can, therefore, only judge of the character of the hall by its crypt; and this, I must say, has always to me appeared of an unusual character for the crypt of a private house,—even such an one as would have been erected by sir John Gisors, or any one in his station, for their own occupation. That he and his descendants lived in this house, or in one in the parish of St. Mildred, Bread-street, we must not for a moment doubt; for we cannot suppose that Stowe would

Digitized by Google

have stated this without the best evidence being found for such an assertion; but the curious corruption of Gysor's into Gerard's, is not easily to be seen, nor, I think, very easy of belief.

Let us then see if, in our ancient tongue, the Anglo-Saxon, we have any words which may help us to solve this difficulty. First, we have *Ge-reord*, a feast or repast, and *Ge-reord-heal*, a dining-room or hall. This, perhaps, might be considered rather near to Gerard; but I would call the attention of the reader to the verb *Ge-rian*, to clothe, and let us see if any part of this verb does not suggest that this hall may have been the cloth hall,—a structure very important, in early times, in every city. *Gearod* (clothed) appears to be much nearer the mark than Gisors; and perhaps it will be well to see how far this idea is supported by the names of places and streets in this ward and neighbourhood. First, we have Distaff-lane; and the distaff, be it remembered, was essential in the process of spinning either wool or flax. May not the long street in this ward, called Knight Rider-street, be a combination of the two Anglo-Saxon words, "*cnyt*" (knitted), and "*wryhta*" (a wright, or workman)? *Cnyt-wryhta stræt*, would be "the street of knitters". Carter-lane would not be very far from Carder lane, and carding was a necessary process, preceding that of spinning; but for this I cannot find an Anglo-Saxon word nearer than "*cemban*", to comb. And Bread-street, formerly written Bred-streete, would easily be derived from "*bredan*", to weave. Stowe says it was so called, "of bread sold there"; but, in his time, it was "wholely inhabited by rich marchants". He suggests that Basing-lane (in which Gerard's Hall was situate) was so called from a bakehouse existing there in the time of Richard II. This is not the only street bearing the name of Basing. Basingshall-street gives the name to a small ward near Guildhall; and Stowe says the street took its name from a building called the Bay, or Bassinges, Hall; which hall was sold to the corporation of London in the twentieth of Richard II, and was used as a weekly market for woollen cloths. May not both of these streets have taken their names from the baizes sold in the halls situate in them,—namely, Gerard's Hall in Basing-lane, and Bassinges Hall in Basinghall-street?

Digitized by Google

The crypt of Gerard's Hall (see plan on plate 17) was 48 feet 2 inches in length, and 21 feet 2 inches broad, the length being nearly in the direction of north and south. Four columns were placed along the centre of the length, which, with thirteen smaller ones along the walls, supported the stone vaulting. Two of the small columns were placed against the north wall, next Basing-lane (the place of the third being occupied by the entrance); four against the east wall; the same number against the west wall; and at the south end, three. The crypt was thus divided into two compartments, each consisting of five bays; the two at each end measured, from the walls to the centre of the central columns, from north to south, 9 feet 10 inches, and from east to west, 10 feet 7 inches; while the remaining six measured, from north to south, 9 feet six inches, and from east to west, 10 feet 7 inches. No remains of pavement were found at any part of the crypt; but, in the foundations of the columns, pieces of rough Purbeck marble and ragstone were discovered, cemented together with mortar; and this extended to some distance, in places, as a concrete.

The central columns were 12 inches in diameter, and stood on bases,—the section of each, being nearly similar, is represented in fig. 7, plate 16; the shafts at the angles, and along the walls, were 7 inches in diameter, and stood on bases (fig. 6, plate 16). The caps of these smaller columns were nearly alike, the section being given at fig. 1, plate 16, but each one of those of the central detached columns differed; and this was the case, not only in the measurement of the details, but in that of the entire cap. The four sections (figs. 2, 3, 4, and 5, plate 16) represent these varieties; fig. 2 is the most southern column, and so to fig. 5, that at the north. The central columns were, in height, from the top of the base to the top of the caps, 6 feet 5 inches, the cap and necking being about 12 inches out of this measurement; the shafts of the wall-columns were 5 feet 9 inches from the top of the base to the necking, and from thence to the top of the caps, 8½ inches.

The groining (see the section on plate 17) consisted of three series of arches; the span of those running from north to south was 8 feet, except at the north and south ends, where they were 8 feet 3 inches in span; the arches,

Digitized by Google

from east to west, were 8 feet 11 inches in span; and the diagonal arches, 12 feet 8 inches. The sections of the groining-ribs of these three series of arches were nearly similar, and are represented at fig. 8, pl. 16. The height of the groining at the intersection of the arches, was 7 feet 3 inches above the top of the caps of the columns. The groining was filled in with chalk, and had a bond-course of ragstone in each gusset, the position of which is well shown in the view of the crypt (plate 15). The whole of the columns and the ribs of the groining were of Caen stone; the central columns of unusual height of bed, some being full 2 feet. The work was well executed, the joints being close, and the arches true. The walls were rough, and not covered with ashlar.

The principal entrance appears to have been always from Basing-lane, in the western part of the north end; and the descent was by a flight of steps, separated from the crypt by a wall running to the vaulting. The head of the external doorway was taken down after the fire of 1666; the arched head of the internal door was about the middle of the flight of steps, and can be seen in the view. There was likewise an arch between the inner and outer doors, against which the groining-ribs of the north-western bay were discharged. On the west side of the east wall of this doorcase, were a variety of merchants' marks; some were well cut complicated combinations of several letters; others, of a rougher and more usual character. There were likewise two coats of arms, over one of which was the commencement of an inscription, the letters G. H., and a cross, all figured in plate 16, one-sixth real size. The whole of these appear to belong to persons connected with this building, about the time (perhaps a little before) of the fire of 1666. The only other entrance to the crypt was in the west wall, near the south-west angle. This was smaller than the entrance from Basing-lane, the opening being only 3 feet, while the opening of the latter was 5 feet 7 inches. This door appears to have led into a passage provided with steps in its northern end, which served to ascend either to the hall above, or into Basing-lane. Immediately opposite, or on the western side of this passage, was an arch of the same span and height, apparently leading into another passage or crypt. There was nothing to make us suppose

Digitized by Google

that the passage extended in a southerly direction beyond the wall of the crypt.

An abundant supply of light was admitted through six elegantly-proportioned windows, three being situate on the eastern side, one in each of the three middle bays; while those at the ends were lighted by similar windows in the north and south walls, also one in the western bay of the south end; the corresponding bay at the north end was occupied by the entrance from Basing-lane. The internal arches of the windows were supported by very elegant corbels, the section of which is shown in plate 16, fig. 9; the section of the rib of the window-arch was similar, though smaller, to that of the groining. The external sill of these windows was upon a level with the top of the interior of the vaulting, and at about the present level of the street, proving pretty clearly that the level was not much altered here after the fire. These windows were filled up externally with brickwork, and were much injured; an external view of that one in the western bay of the south end, is here given, this being the most perfect of the whole.

There is every reason to believe that this crypt was erected during the latter part of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth, century; but as the style in which it is built was in use for a considerable period, it is impossible to fix the date of its construction with exactness; and the form of rib used for the vaulting may be found in buildings of a much later period. The depressed arch at the entrance from Basing-lane has induced some persons to suppose that this belonged to the fifteenth or sixteenth century; but it was only in height that this arch differed from the others; the section of the rib was the same as those used in other parts, and the stopping of the lower part of the chamfer (pl. 16, fig. 10) of the pier of this door-case is similar to that at the south-western angle, and is well known to belong to about A.D. 1300; the ribs also

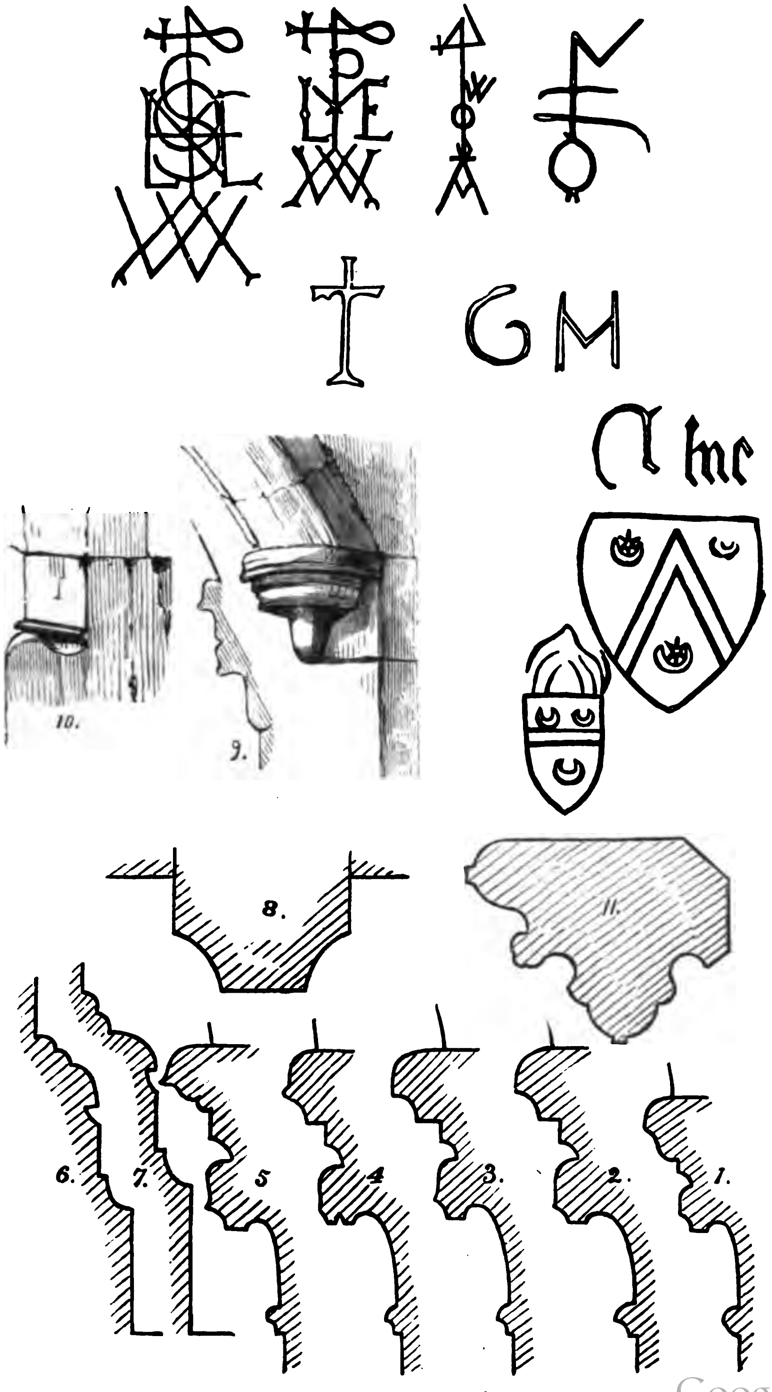
Digitized by Google

which supported the steps leading from Basing-lane, were of the same period. It has been supposed by some that this crypt was beneath a church, or some building devoted to religious purposes; but for the support of this idea there is not a single fact—even its direction (north and south) would appear to weaken such a theory; and the total absence of the usual appendages of the crypt of a church, and of the mention of any dedication, must destroy it; while the similar construction of the crypts under many of the larger buildings, of a public as well as domestic character, in this and other cities, would strengthen the idea of the building above it being always used as a hall.

For many years this crypt was filled, to a considerable depth, with rubbish, and was used as the wine-cellar to the inn above. At the time immediately preceding its destruction, this accumulation amounted to more than three feet, which altered the appearance of the building very much, as may be judged by the view of the entrance from Basing-lane, taken when the crypt was in this state (see pl. 18). The whole of the rubbish, together with the brickwork which stopped the windows, was removed by direction of Mr. Bunning, the architect to the corporation of London; and this afforded an opportunity for many hundreds to inspect this interesting structure before its destruction. The only thing to be regretted, in connexion with this building, is, that the suggestion of Mr. deputy Lott (our active associate, and a member of the corporation), to remove this crypt to Guildhall, and place it under the western end of that building, was not carried out, more especially as it could have been done without much expense, and it would have displaced some unsightly vaults, now filled with lumber, used at the city feasts.

While the workmen were clearing away the rubbish between the top of the vaulting of the crypt and the flooring of the inn, search was made for remains of the old hall, but, with the exception of a large stone, apparently belonging to a pier, and a section of which is given on plate 16, fig. 11, it was without success. The mouldings cut on this stone belong to the same period as the crypt. There was likewise the lower part of an upper doorway found in the west wall, with which, perhaps, the steps in the passage along the west side of the crypt may have communicated.

Digitized by Google



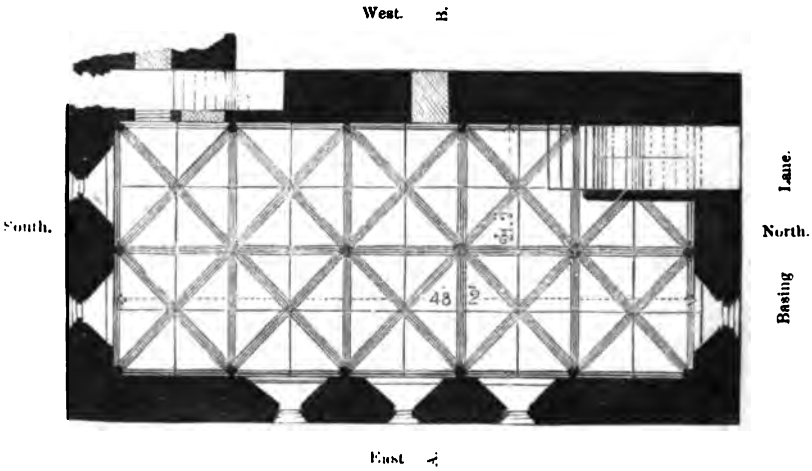
SECTIONS, DETAILS, ETC., IN GERARD'S HALL CRYPT.

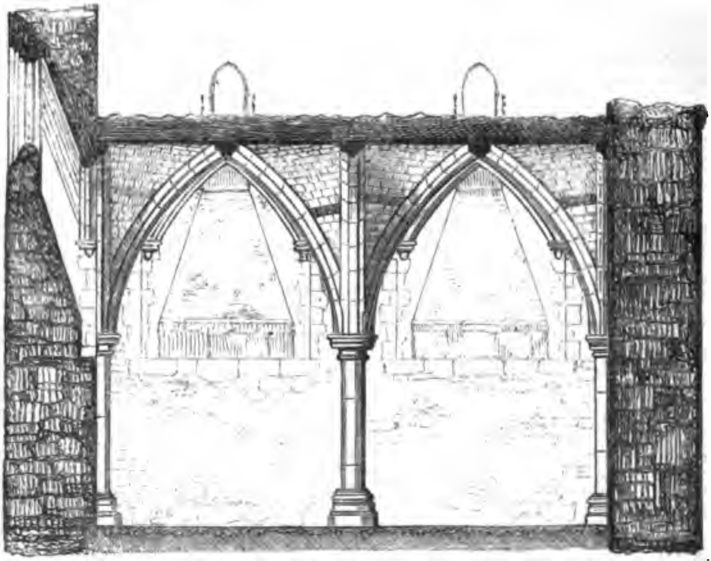
Digitized by Google

THE ASTOR L

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google





GERARD'S HALL CRYPT.

Section from A. to B. looking South.

Digitized by Google

GERARD'S HALL CRYPT.

The Original Entrance from Basing Lane.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

ON THE ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF PLAYING CARDS,

AND DESCRIPTION OF A PACK OF THE TIME OF THE COMMONWEALTH, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHIEF PERSONAGES AND EVENTS OF THAT PERIOD.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE history of playing cards has not hitherto been satisfactorily demonstrated. The opinion generally entertained is, that they date their origin from the East, and that they primarily formed a symbolic and moral game.

Chess has been regarded as deriving its origin from India. Such was the opinion of sir W. Jones and other competent authorities, and the beginning of the fifth century has been given as the period; but for this early date no adequate proof has been put forth. The similarity of some of the pieces in chess to the characters of the cards, would appear to denote the one as influencing the formation of the other; and Breitkopf[1] thinks that, as the military groundwork of the game of cards, and its similarity to chess, cannot be denied, so a closer examination of this affinity may readily lead to the origin of the change in their figures and colours.

It is not a little singular that, in the oriental game of chess of the earliest known time, and continued down to the present day in the East, no queen is introduced; but if the game itself is to be looked upon in a military point of view, that cannot be deemed surprising. The game of war was not a female pursuit, nor one at all consistent with oriental ideas of propriety as regarded the sex; and the introduction, in Europe, of the queen into the more modern game of chess, would seem to have originated in a singular manner. The second piece, in the old oriental game, is a general, called *pherz*, or *fares* (knight); this was carried down as *fierce*, or *fierche*, or *fierge*, which at length

[1] Breitkopf (J. G. I.), Versuch den Ursprung der Spielkarten. Leipzig, 1784. 4to. s. 30. This author was a printer, letter-founder, and bookseller, at Leipsic, and died there Jan. 28, 1794. The first part of his work was published in 1784; the second was in manuscript at the time of his decease.

Digitized by Google

resolved itself into *vierge*, which was soon changed to *dame*, and thus, in Europe, converted into *queen*. A change of sex, therefore, as well as of character, has been thus effected. Mr. Chatto[1] has happily pointed out a similar use in the second principal figure in French and English cards:—"Among the oldest numeral cards that have yet been discovered," he observes, "no queen is to be found—the three principal figures, or coat-cards, being the king, the knight, and the valet or knave. There was no queen in the old Spanish pack of cards; nor was there usually in the German, in the time of Heinecken and Breitkopf. In the Spanish, the coat-cards of each suit were, the king (*rèy*), the knight (*caballero*), and the knave, groom, or attendant (*sóta*); in the German, the king (*könig*), a chief officer (*ober*), and a subaltern (*unter*)."

Breitkopf[2] considers cards as of Eastern invention; Heinecken[3] regards them as German; Bullet[4] declares them to be French; and the abbé Rive[5] pronounces them Spanish, in which he is followed by the hon. Daines Barrington and the rev. John Bowle;[6] so that upon the origin of cards there exists no little diversity of opinion.

It would appear that, although cards may have been known in Europe as early as the beginning, they were yet not generally used until the end, of the fourteenth century. Packs of cards are entered as "jeux de cartes" in the *Book of Accounts* of Charles Poupart, the treasurer of the household of Charles VI of France; the price of three packs, for the diversion of the king, being therein marked at fifty-six sols of Paris. Towards the end of the fourteenth, or at the commencement of the fifteenth century, there is good reason for believing that the principle of wood-engraving was applied to the making of playing-cards, by drawing the outline of the figures, and afterwards filling them by what is commonly known as stencilling. They were known in France in 1340, and also in Spain; and John I, king

[1] On the Origin of Playing Cards. Lond., 1848. 8vo. p. 15.

[2] Ueber den Ursprung der Spielkarten, s. 15. One circumstance tending to corroborate the opinion as to the Eastern origin of cards, may perhaps be found in the very general employment of them by gypsies, for the telling of fortunes, from a very early period.

[3] Idée générale d'une complète Collection des Estampes. Leip., 1771. p. 240.

[4] Recherches Hist. sur les Cartes à jouer. Paris, 1757.

[5] Eclaircissements Hist. et Crit. sur l'Invention des Cartes à jouer. Paris, 1780.

[6] Archæologia, vol. viii.

Digitized by Google

of Castile, issued an edict in 1387, prohibiting the game of cards; and cards were also interdicted to working-people at Paris, in 1397, by the provost. Early in the fifteenth century, card-making was a regularly-established trade in Germany and in Italy; and this occupation was chiefly carried on by women, at Nuremberg. This city, and those of Augsburg and Ulm, were the principal ones in which this pursuit was followed. The German card-makers, or card-printers (*briefdrucker*) sent large quantities of playing-cards into Italy; and the painters of Venice obtained an order from the magistracy of Venice, in 1441, rendering such articles forfeit, and subject also to a penalty. Heinecken states that they were sent in small barrels. Cards were well known in England in the middle of the fifteenth century; and an act of parliament prohibiting their importation was passed in the third of Edward IV (1463), upon a petition from the male and female artificers of London, not on account of evils arising from their use, but on account of the injury they sustained by the importation of certain foreign articles, as interfering with the interests of the home-market for their formation.[1]

The earliest cards used for play were either stencilled, or engraved on wood. The earliest woodcut known, with a date, is of 1423. It represents St. Christopher, and is in the earl of Spencer's library. It was obtained by the founder of that library from a convent within fifty miles of the city of Augsburg. The British Museum contains some specimens of the earliest known cards. The oldest examples, as to suits, are—

1. Hearts, bells, leaves, and acorns, used in Germany.
2. Swords, cups, batons, and money, which are still retained on Spanish cards.
3. Cœur, trèfle, pique, and carreau, French; corresponding to our hearts, clubs, spades, and diamonds.

The court, or, more properly, coat-cards, have been distinguished by various names. Père Daniel acquaints us[2] that the king of hearts was, by the French, designated Charlemagne; of diamonds, Cæsar; of clubs, Alexander;

[1] Macpherson (*Annals of Commerce*, i, 676) says that Charles, in 1631, created a monopoly of playing-cards, purchasing all of the company, and selling them out again at a much higher price.

[2] Mémoire sur l'Origine du Jeu de Piquet, trouvé dans l'Histoire de France, sous le règne de Charles VII. (*Journal de Trévoux*, Mai, 1720.)

Digitized by Google

and of spades, David. The queens corresponding to these were denominated, Judith, Rachel, Argine, and Pallas; and the valets, or knaves, La Hire, Hector, Lancelot, and Hogier. These were the earliest; but in the reign of Henri IV, Solomon, Augustus, Clovis, and Constantine, were selected for the kings; Elizabeth, Dido, Clotilde, and Pantalisca, for the queens; whilst the knaves retained no proper names, but were distinguished by their costume. The original names and costume were, however, restored in the reign of Louis XIV. At the time of the Revolution in France (1793-4), cards were engraved, on which were substituted, for the four kings, Molière, La Fontaine, Voltaire, and Rousseau; for the queens, Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude; whilst the knaves were represented by four republicans, one of whom is a grim-looking ruffian, with a *bonnet-rouge* on his head, and his shirt-sleeves turned up, to adapt him to the butchery he is ready to execute with a pike which he is brandishing in his hand. The second knave is designated by a soldier armed with a musket; the third, by an artilleryman; and the fourth, by a young man, also carrying a musket, but arrayed in a fancy costume. Another pack, described, as well as the former, in the *Jeux de Cartes Tarots et de Cartes Numérales du* XIV *et* XV*ième* *Siècle* (published by the Society of Bibliophiles Français, Paris, 1844,—both engraved by Chansonnerie and Gayant), give, for the four kings, Solon, M. P. Cato, J. J. Rousseau, and J. J. Brutus; for the queens, Prudence, Justice, Union, and Fortitude; and for the four knaves, Annibal, Horatius, P. Decius Mus. and M. Scævola. Peignot also describes[1] a republican pack, where Genii are substituted for the kings; Liberties, for the queens; and Equalities for the valets or knaves. The Genii are those of war, the arts, peace, and commerce; the Liberties are, religious, the press, marriage, and trades; the Equalities are, duties, ranks, rights, and colours. These several coat-cards are fully represented by their appropriate illustrations. The aces of this pack are surrounded by four fasces, placed lozenge-wise, and carrying the words, "La Loi, Rép. Franç.", and the whole coloured blue.

The Americans have followed the example of the French; and Mr. Chatto possesses a pack of cards sent to him from

[1] Analyse de Recherches sur les Cartes à jouer. Paris, 1826.

Digitized by Google

New York, and probably of French invention, as the name of the maker is inscribed, R. Sauzade, on the ace of spades; and in which the kings of hearts, diamonds, clubs, and spades, are represented by Washington, John Adams, Franklin, and La Fayette; the queens of the same by Venus, Fortune, Ceres, and Minerva; and the knaves, by four Indian chiefs. They are engraved on copper, and coloured.

Card-making flourished to a vast extent in the reign of Charles II; and they were adopted as a means of communicating information and instruction. They also became agents for conveying satire. They were applied to matters relating to heraldry, geography,[1] history, grammar, natural history, politics, morality, astronomy, mathematics, and the art of carving. A pack of heraldic cards was invented by Mons. de Brianville, of Lyons, about the year 1660.[2] Mr. Chatto has given a description of a pack of heraldic cards engraved in England, and accompanied his account with some illustrations. The arms of the pope representing the king of clubs, are those of Clement IX, who was elected in 1667, and died in 1669: thus the period of their execution is ascertained.

The following is given by Mr. Chatto as the title of a pack of geographical cards, which appear to have been en-

[1] A curious and perfect pack of these cards has, since the reading of this paper, been presented to the Association by Thomas Wakeman, esq., of Graig, Monmouth. The king of hearts is represented by Charles II. These cards have been in Mr. Wakeman's family, probably, from the period of their execution; they came to Mr. Wakeman upon the death of his father, twenty years since, at the advanced age of ninety-six.

[2] Mr. Hudson Gurney has kindly shown me a small book (16mo.), in his possession, evidently the companion of a pack of these cards: "Jeu d'Armoiries des Souverains et Estats d'Europe, pour apprendre le Blason, la Géographie, et l'Histoire ancienne. Dedié à son Altesse Royale de Savoye, par C. Oronce Finé, dit de Brianville, Conseiller et Armoirier du Roy. 3ième édition. A Lyon, 1665." After a description of the "principes du Blason" is an advertisement, giving instructions for the playing of the game; from which it appears that it is played according to the fashion of ordinary games at cards, there being the same number, and that a change only is required as regards "le valet et l'as en prince et chevalier, pour éviter tout équivoque." The players are seated round a table upon which is spread out a geographical map of Europe, and the cards are dealt. The first, or leader in the game, then explains the heraldry of the card which has been given to him; and if he commits an error, he pays a mark to the one who corrects him. The next player then proceeds with his card; and so on till the cards are exhausted. Each one is, in the second place, then required to point out on the map of Europe the states having arms, and to detail any geographical particulars relating to them; and to pay a mark for every error he commits. The history of the several states then follows, and forms the third part of the game. To attain the ability to do these several things, is the object of this little volume.

Digitized by Google

graved in the reign of Charles II: "The fifty-two counties of England and Wales geographically described in a pack of cards, whereunto is added the length, breadth, and circuit of each county; the latitude, situation, and distance from London of the principal cities, towns, and rivers, with other remarks; as plaine, and ready for the playing of all our English games, as any of the common cards." The heads of the kings (he remarks) are shown at the top of the maps of Hereford, Monmouth, Middlesex, and Yorkshire; of the queens, at the top of the maps of Durham, Huntingdon, Radnor, and Worcestershire; and of the knaves, at the top of the maps of Anglesey, Gloucester, Leicester, and Scotland. The motives which occasioned such a selection are not very apparent.

Gough[1] mentions that the Italians have a game called La Manchiata, invented at Sienna, by Michael Angelo, to teach children arithmetic; and adds, that it did not become popular until the time of pope Innocent X, whose portrait was then placed on one of the cards. The pack consisted of ninety-seven cards. Mr. Robert Smith[2] has given a further account of Minchiati; and he exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries a complete pack, together with a small Italian work describing the same and the manner of playing the game.

A pack of cards was put forth by "Randal Taylor, near Stationers' Hall, and by most booksellers, price one shilling each pack," forming "an history of all the popish plots that have been in England, beginning with those in queen Elizabeth's time, and ending with the last damnable plot against his majesty Charles II, with the manner of sir Edmondbury Godfrey's murder," etc. These must have been published about 1679. They were engraved on copper, and descriptions of the plates were placed at the bottom of each card. The advertisement of these cards is to be found in the Bayford Collections (Harleian MSS., No. 5947). Mr. Chatto has not been able to meet with a pack of these; and, as it is stated that "it did not answer what was proposed", namely to secure approbation as a test of staunch Protestantism, he is disposed to think the pack the same as that which relates entirely to the pretended popish plot of 1678 and the murder of sir E. Godfrey. A pack of these

[1] Archæologia, viii, 172*.
[2] *Ib.*, xv, 140.

Digitized by Google

he has seen, published about 1680; and on the four of clubs is represented the trial of sir George Wakeman and three Benedictine monks, who, on the 18th of July 1679, were arraigned at the Old Bailey, on an indictment of high treason, for conspiring to poison the king. The cards seen by Mr Chatto[1] consisted of fifty-two in number, each containing a subject, engraved in a neat manner, illustrating the circumstances of the plot, or the trial and punishment of the conspirators, accompanied with an explanation. Another pack, representing the Rye House plot, is of greater rarity than the preceding, and Mr. Chatto has only been able to see four of the cards: the queen of hearts, representing "Thompson, one of the conspirators, taken at Hammersmith"; the knave of diamonds, "Rumbold the maltster"; the ace of clubs, "Keeling troubled in mind", having also a label proceeding from his mouth, with the inscription, "king-killing is damnable"; and the ace of spades, "Hone taken prisoner at Cambridge".

After the revolution of 1688, one or two packs of cards appeared, with subjects relating to the mismanagement of James II, and the birth of his son, the prince of Wales. It was in this reign, or more probably that of Charles II, that a pack of mathematical cards was designed by Thomas Tuttell, a "mathematical instrument maker to the king's most excellent majesty." Mr. Chatto conjectures them to have been got up as an advertisement. They were designed by Boitard, and engraved by J. Savage. Joseph Moxon, hydrographer to Charles II, a celebrated mathematical instrument maker, and author of various works on mathematics, geography, etc., invented a pack of astronomical cards, "teaching any ordinary capacity by them to be acquainted with all the stars in heaven, to know their places, colour, nature, bigness; as also the practical reasons for every constellation". To cardinal Mazarin, however, belongs the credit of having suggested the employment of cards to aid the studies of Louis XIV, when a child, engraved by Della Bella, from the designs of Desmarets.

Les Cartes Parlantes, by Pietro Aretino, published at Venice as early as 1545, is referred to by Mr. Chatto, as giving the interpretations and allusions on a pack of cards

[1] For particular description, see p. 154 et seq.

Digitized by Google

designed for conveying moral instructions, thus:—The pope represents fidelity in the game, and sincerity in the player; the emperor, the laws of the game; the swords, the death of despairing gamesters; the batons, the punishment of those who cheat; money, the sustenance of the play; and the cups, the drink over which the players settle their disputes.

Costume has furnished a subject for cards. A pack of these has been described by Mr. Chatto[1] as having been designed by Armand Houbigant, a French artist; they were called "Cartes Royales", Louis XVIII having in 1818 granted a license for their manufacture, and a permission for their general use. They, however, like most cards intended for instruction, acquired no popularity, and are now very rarely met with. The court cards were thus represented:—The kings of spades, diamonds, clubs, and hearts, by Charlemagne, Louis IX, Francis I, and Henri IV. The queens, by Hildegarde, Blanche de Castille, Marguerite de Valois, and Jeanne d'Albret. The knaves, by Roland, Sire de Joinville, Bayard, and Sully. These are given in the costume of the period in which they lived, and according to their grade and profession. M. Amanton also gives a description of these cards in Peignot's *Analyse*, p. 291, and lauds their execution, both as regarding the fidelity of the likenesses, and the costume of the wearers. Their names are inscribed in the letters of their respective periods. Another set of costume cards was published by Cotta, the bookseller, of Tubingen, the characters of which are principally derived from Schiller's *Joan of Arc*. Germany has been fertile in the production of fancy cards up to the present day; and in some, published in 1815 at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, which are intended to embrace the principal military events of 1813 and 1814, our immortal duke of Wellington represents the knave of diamonds, and the renowned old warrior, marshal Blucher, is the companion knave of clubs. Other cards of a similar character, some of which have been put forth in our own country, are detailed by Mr. Chatto; and to his very interesting work I must refer those who desire to be further acquainted with the subject.

A pack of cards, certainly not the least curious in its

[1] P. 257.

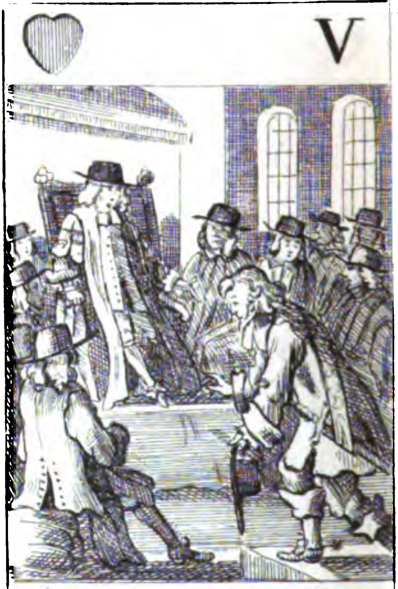
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Don Haſelrigg K^{t} of y^{e}
Codled braine

Lenthall runns away With
his Mace to the Army.

The takeing of the Holy
League and Covenant.



The E. of Pem in y^{e} H of Com: tha-
nks y^{e} Speaker for hiſ Admiſsion

Etched by Robert Cruikshank. 1853

Digitized by Google

Nathaniel Fines
whereby hangs a tale

Lambert K.t of ye Golden
Tulip.

Hugh Peters shews the bodkins and
thimbles given by the wives of Wap
pin for the good old cause.

Nye and Godwin Olivers
Confessors.

Etched by Robert Cruikshank 1853

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

nature, is described by Mr. Chatto as having been published in Dec. 1692, to instruct in the art of carving at the table. It may perhaps be interesting to gastronomers to learn that hearts represent flesh; diamonds, fowl; clubs, fish; and spades, baked meats. The king of hearts presides over a sirloin of beef; the king of diamonds commands a turkey; the king of clubs dispenses a pickled herring; whilst the king of spades judiciously appropriates a venison pasty.

In the subsequent reigns of queen Anne and George I, many packs consisting of satirical and fanciful cards were published, one of which has been laid before the Association by Mr. Palin, simple in its design, having no specific object, and probably executed about this time as a pure work of fancy. Mr. Chatto has alluded to several of a similar nature, one of which is in the possession of Thos. Heywood, esq., engraved on copper, manufactured and sold for the purposes of play, and thus to convey useful lessons and admonitions. This pack has been in Mr. Heywood's family for upwards of a century. The South Sea bubble formed the subject for a pack of cards; and the Mississippi scheme was in like manner recorded in Holland.

It has not been my intention to enter minutely or critically into the subject of playing cards, or the character of the different games, their supposed origin, the marks of the suits, etc.; all I have proposed in this communication has been, to make a few observations on the origin and antiquity of playing cards, and their several kinds, introductory to the description of a pack in the possession of Mrs. Prest, exhibited to the Association by Mr. S. I. Tucker.

These cards are to be considered as belonging to a political game, and are especially illustrative of the members and proceedings of the Rump parliament, and the private actions and conduct of several of the individuals most conspicuous during the Commonwealth. The nature of the subjects clearly fixes the period to which they belong: they must be assigned to the time of Charles II; and it may be presumed that they were executed in Holland, and that they formed a source of amusement to the royalists at the Hague, during that sovereign's residence in that country, on the captivity and execution of his father. The history

Digitized by Google

of them, as far as I have been able to obtain it, is but meagre. They were purchased by the late — Prest, esq., of Connaught-place. He obtained them at the Hague, for the sum of thirty-five guineas, of a gentleman, who stated that they had descended in his family from the time of their fabrication; and they have been in Mr. Prest's family upwards of thirty years. It is not a little singular that no other copy is known, and that hitherto no notice of such a pack has appeared. As an addition, therefore, to the materials of the history of playing cards, a description of these, illustrated by historical notes and references, may not be inappropriate in the pages of our *Journal*, and useful to future labourers in this branch of enquiry. The pack consists of fifty-two cards, measuring 3⅝ inches in length by 2 inches in breadth. They are engraved on copper, and their execution exhibits no deficiency of talent on the part of the artists employed. The suits are marked, and the number of the suit on the upper corners of the cards, and the description of the subject occupying the body of the card is engraved at the bottom. (See plates 19, 20.)

As the subjects represented on the several cards do not follow in any historical order, it is of little consequence with which suit I commence my description; and I do not claim a sufficient acquaintance with cards to enable me to say to which suit a precedence of right belongs: I shall therefore begin with—

The Ace of Clubs, which, in this pack, simply represents "a free state, or a tolleration for all sort of Villany."

This is illustrated by men breaking into a house and carrying away property, whilst one of the party is engaged in licentious amusement. It must be looked upon as the opinion generally entertained by the royalists of the men of the Commonwealth.

The Two of Clubs. "Lenthall, Father and Sonn." The son uncovered, and apparently receiving an admonition from his father.

William Lenthall, the younger brother of sir John Lenthall, represented Woodstock in parliament. He was, in the sixteenth of Charles I, chosen speaker of the house of commons, being known to be adverse to the court. He took the covenant, was made master of the rolls,[1] and

[1] In the collection of *Loyal Songs*, vol. i, p. 194, the following lines are in allusion to Lenthall:—

Digitized by Google

held other places to the value of £7,000 or £8,000 per ann. In 1647, he fell under the displeasure of the army, and went over to the camp, but was restored to favour and to the speakership of the house of commons. He refused to sit upon the trial of the king, but manifested great courage in refusing to deliver up to his majesty the five accused members,[1] saying on that occasion that "he had neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, anything but what the house commanded." He gave the word of command to the troops assembled before his house, and secured the Tower of London, endeavouring to convince the citizens and the soldiery that the best thing that could be done was to restore the Rump (Dec. 1649). He subsequently represented Oxfordshire, and was speaker in Cromwell's parliament, 1654. He was highly gratified by receiving a summons to the upper house, and was, for a short time, keeper of the great seal, and one of the committee of safety. He was stopped by major-general Lambert, on his way to parliament, Oct. 13, 1660, and obliged to return home. Being returned to the Convention parliament, he voted for the return of Charles II, and disgraced himself by appearing as a witness against Scot, the regicide, for words spoken by him in parliament. The close of his life was unhappy: his great wealth, notwithstanding the heavy fines to Cromwell's army, amounting to £15,000, in which he had been mulcted, had excited envy, and he was included in the bill of pains and penalties, but not affecting his life. This is conjectured to have hastened his death, Sept. 1, 1661; he choosing for his epitaph the words, "*vermis sum.*" His only son, represented on this card, was promoted, in 1652, to a place of the value of £2,000 per annum. He was educated at Christchurch, Oxford, was a colonel of foot in the parliamentary army, and represented Gloucester in parliament. Although nominated to sit upon the trial of Charles I, he refused; but, after the execution of the monarch, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence. He was restored to parliament, from which he had been secluded by colonel Pride, on a memorable occasion. He was one of the six clerks of the court of Chancery, and governor of Windsor Castle; made a knight, and afterwards a baronet, by the protector, and represented Gloucester in Richard Cromwell's parliament. He died Nov. 9, 1681.

"The heads on London Bridge, upon poles,
That once had bodies, and honester souls
Than hath the master of the rolls;
Which nobody can deny."

[1] These were, lord Kimbolton, afterwards earl of Manchester, and five members of the house of commons, namely, sir Arthur Haselrigge, Mr. Denzill Hollis, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode. They retired to Coleman-street, and the commons forbade the servants of the crown arresting them.

"So franticly zealous they were at that season,
That the five rotten members impeached of high treason,
They guarded against all right, law, and reason;
Which nobody can deny." (v. ii, p. 121.)

Digitized by Google

Three of Clubs. "Bulstrod and Whitlock present to Oliver the Instruments of Government."

Here is an error on the part of the artist, inasmuch as Bulstrode and Whitlock are but one person, who is here represented as two individuals, one presenting to Cromwell a halter, the other a dark lantern.

Sir Bulstrode Whitlock, or Whitelock, esteemed for his knowledge, was regarded as a man of integrity, but overheated in party feelings. He was a distinguished character in the house of commons, constable of the castle of Windsor, and one of the keepers of the great seal of England. He was also a commissioner in the treaties of Oxford and Uxbridge; and, upon Richard Cromwell's coming to the protectorate, sent as an ambassador-extraordinary from the parliament of the commonwealth of England, to mediate a peace between Sweden and Denmark. He drew up the act to do away with the house of lords; which service, however, he begged to be excused, but he was not permitted to avoid that duty.[1] He also heartily prayed that the sentence passed on Charles I might not be executed.[2] Whitlock had the boldness to speak against an ordinance proposed by Cromwell, and then to vote for it. This celebrated ordinance[3] was to this effect,—"That no member of either house of parliament should retain office or command in the army, or any place of employment in the state." It was carried unanimously in the house of commons, and vigorously resisted by the lords, and led to a quarrel between the two houses, which ended in the destruction of the upper; for the commons proceeded to remodel the army. Fairfax, who was chosen lord-general, upon the recommendation of Cromwell, soon requested of the parliament to dispense with Cromwell's attendance at Westminster, and he was allowed absence for forty days, which was afterwards extended to the duration of the campaign; and during this time Cromwell defeated the royalists in five engagements, in the west of England, and in the name of Fairfax remodelled the army. He promoted Ireton, Desborough, and others, independents or republicans, to important posts; and thus, by his faithful agents, reduced the whole army beneath his influence, and made them entirely subservient to his purposes. He now became lieutenant-general of the army. It is reported that Cromwell, when contemplating sovereignty, once asked Whitlock—"What if a man should take upon him to be a king?" To which he replied, "I think that remedy (for the condition of the nation) would be worse than the disease." Whitlock represented Marlow in the Long Parliament, took the covenant, and was

[1] Burton's *Diary of the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell*, v. ii, p. 430 n.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii, 431 n.

[3] The difference between an ordinance and an act of parliament consists in this, that the former is a measure having passed the two houses, but unconfirmed by the royal assent, which the latter has received.

Digitized by Google

one of the assembly of divines. In 1657 he was made a lord of the upper house of parliament. His account of the transactions in which he took so conspicuous a part is of much value in English history; and his impartiality is as great, if not greater, than could be expected. He was distinguished by judgment as well as zeal; and it is much to be regretted that his wife destroyed so many of his papers. His *Memorials*, as published, formed his diary, the entries of which, however, it must be remarked, were not always made on the day on which the events occurred. He died July 28, 1675, in the country, whither he had, after the king's return, withdrawn for privacy.

The Four of Clubs. "A Covenanting Scot and an English Independent differ about ye things of this world."

No particular individuals are here represented, rather opinions. The feet of the covenanter are entangled by thistles, and those of the Independent by briars or brambles.

The national covenant was a bond of religious union, originally adopted by the lords of the congregation; and it was twice renewed in the reign of James. It is said to have taken its name and character from the covenant of Israel with Jehovah, rccorded in Holy Writ. Henderson is regarded as the leader of the clergy, and by whom it was drawn up, aided by Johnstone, the laird of Warriston, a celebrated Scotch advocate. Its objects were, to renounce popery, to resist the liturgy and canons, to defend each other, and to support the king in preserving religion, liberty, and laws. On the 1st of March 1638, a solemn meeting was held at Edinburgh, when the covenant was again renewed and subscribed to by many thousands. An independent assembly and a free parliament constituted the demands of the covenanters.

The Five of Clubs. "Sir H. Mildmay beaten by a footboy, a great breach of Priviledge."

Sir Henry Mildmay was of an ancient and honourable family, and received particular marks of favour from James I and Charles I. He was master of the king's jewel house, sat in parliament for Malden in Essex, and is said, upon being refused his petition for being admitted to the barony of Fitzwalter, to have become violent in his opinions against the court. He was a member of the committee appointed Sept. 9, 1641, to sit during the recess, which extended to Oct. 20th. This was especially empowered to "open the letters which should come from the committee in Scotland, and to return answers to them; with power to recall that committee when they thought fit; to send down money to the armies, and to assist about their disbanding; and in removing the magazines from Berwick and Carlisle."[1] This committee was the appointment

[1] Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, book iv, fol. ed., p. 96.

Digitized by Google

of the lords; but the commons carried it further, and gave power to the committee to prepare charges against delinquents, and to take proceedings thereon; to examine into the conduct of sheriffs and justices of the peace, and to report any failure in the performance of their several duties; to look after the accountants; to frame a West India company, etc. At the trial of the king, sir H. Mildmay and sir John Danvers were the only persons known to the king before his troubles. According to Clarendon,[1] "No man more obsequious than he (Mildmay) while it flourished; a great flatterer of all persons in authority, and a spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the parliament, he connived with those who were most violent against the court, and most like to prevail against it; and being therefore branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes men most impudent, he continued his desperate pace with them, till he became one of the murderers of his master." Clarendon writes that Cromwell and his party did not "look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation, as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay." Sir Henry is reported to have declared "the king was no more to be trusted than a caged lion at liberty." In the new government, he was made a member of the council of state, and had the care of the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester. He did not, however, possess the confidence of the protector; and he fell into contempt, and was known by the appellation of sir Wimsey Mildmay. Against no one was indignation more generally expressed at the restoration than Mildmay; but, as he had not signed the warrant for the king's execution, his life was spared, but his estate was forfeited; for, being brought to the bar of the house of commons, July 12, 1661, he confessed his crimes, and received sentence that he should "be deprived from all titles of honour, dignities, and preeminence, or to use or bear the title of knight, esquire, or gentleman, or use any coat of arms"; and he was ordered to "be drawn upon a sledge, with a halter about his neck, from the Tower of London to, and under, the gallows at Tyburn; and thence conveyed back to the Tower, and there to remain during his life." His conveyance to Tyburn was on the 30th Jan. 1661-2, being the anniversary of the death of the sovereign. Deprived of all his property (and he had amassed considerable wealth), he prayed a compensation for the loss of his place of master of the jewel house, which the parliament granted him. His brother Anthony was a very different character, and attended upon the king at Carisbrook Castle. The circumstance alluded to on this card, is apparently referred to by Butler in his posthumous works, where, in giving the will of the earl of Pembroke, the following passage occurs: "Item. To the author of the libel against the ladies, called news from the Exchange, I give three pence, for inventing a more obscene way of scribbling than the world yet knew; but, since he throws what's rotten and false on divers names of

[1] *History of the Rebellion*, book xi, p. 568.

Digitized by Google

unblemished honour, I leave his payment to the footman that paid sir Henry Mildmay's arrears, to teach him the difference 'twixt wit and dirt, and to know ladies that are noble and chaste from downright roundheads."

The Six of Clubs: "Desbrow, Oliver's Champion, having a Cannon in each Pocket."

John Desbrow, or Desborough, a celebrated major-general in the parliamentary army, was brought up to the law. He married Cromwell's sister, and was one of the council of state of the protector. Charles having been executed, the house of peers voted useless and dangerous, and the office of king abolished as unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty of the nation, the great seal was broken to pieces, a new one substituted, and a council of state appointed. The number of members consisted of forty-one, of whom five were peers. Bradshaw was chosen president, and Milton Latin secretary. They were to continue in power for a year, and were to command and settle the militia of England and Ireland; to set forth a navy; to appoint magazines and stores, and to dispose them, etc. All addresses were directed to this body, and all orders issued from it to admirals and generals; they, in short, executed the laws, and digested all business. This was appointed in 1649. In 1653, after the dissolution of the parliament by Cromwell, a new council of state was constituted, the number of which Lambert proposed to limit to ten or twelve; Harrison, however, desired it should be seventy, as corresponding to the Jewish sanhedrim: but it was at length determined that it should consist only of thirteen members, being that corresponding to Christ and the twelve apostles. Of this council, nine were officers in the army, and four were civilians. At Woodstock, Desborough distinguished himself in so gallant a manner, that the parliament voted him their thanks, and £100. He was nominated one of the judges on the trial of the king, but he refused to sit. The Commonwealth appointed him governor of Yarmouth; and, in 1650, he had the care of the west of England entrusted to him. He was a staunch republican, and probably the chief means in preventing Oliver Cromwell taking the crown, as he procured the petition from the army against his assumption of that title. He held many places of great trust and emolument. Accompanied by Fleetwood and others, he went to the city council, to acquaint them that the design of Monk was to bring in the king upon a new civil war. Upon the death of Oliver, Richard Cromwell ineffectually endeavoured to win him over to his interest; but he was too sensible of Richard's inability to sustain his post, and therefore joined with the Wallingford[1] junta to remove him. The restored parliament gave him a

[1] Fleetwood lived at Wallingford House, where the party met, and from which they took their name.

Digitized by Google

colonel's commission, but he was afterwards deprived of his regiment. He was of a turbulent disposition, and is more than once alluded to in the "Collection of Loyal Songs". He was taken up, charged with being engaged in an assassination plot against the royal family; but it had no real existence, and this served only to induce him to desire to retire to the continent. In this, however, he was frustrated, being considered too dangerous a person to be abroad. He survived the revolution of 1688, but no particulars of his latter days are recorded. Granger says, "he was clownish in his manners, and boisterous in his behaviour", which may be gathered from the following lines:—

"Desborough's a clown, of whom it is said,
That to be a statesman he never was bred;
For his shoulders are far better proof than his head;
Oh, blessed reformation!

"Desborough was such a country swain,
With a hey down, down, a down down.
An Easter sun ne'er see,
He drove on amain
Without any brain,
Such a jolt-head knave was he,
With a hey down," etc.

The Seven of Clubs. "Harrison, the Carpenter, cutting down ye horne of ye Beast in Daniel."

Carpenter has evidently here been incorrectly engraved for *butcher.* Harrison is represented striking at an ox with an axe.

Thomas Harrison was the son of a butcher, or rather a grazier. His place of birth is uncertain, some affirming that he was born at Newcastle-under-Lyne, in Staffordshire, others, at Nantwich, in Cheshire. He was intended for the law, and served as a clerk in an office in Clifford's Inn; but politics rather than law were suited to his temperament, and he soon joined the parliamentary army under the earl of Essex. He obtained a commission, rose in the service, became a colonel, and was appointed one of the commissioners of the army to treat with those of the parliament. He was also sent to the Isle of Wight to fetch Charles I, and conducted the king to Hurst Castle, Windsor, and thence to St. James's. He was an important person to Cromwell, having freedom of speech and bold courage. He signalized himself by removing the speaker from the chair of the house of commons when Cromwell removed the mace. In 1650 he was made a major-general, was one of the council of state, and entirely in Cromwell's interest. Burnet styles him "a fierce and bloody enthusiast". He sat upon the trial of the king, and signed the warrant for execution. He was considered very able in expounding passages of Scripture, particularly the Prophesies; and it is likely in reference to this

Digitized by Google

talent he is so represented on the card. After Cromwell's elevation to the protectorate, Harrison changed his religious opinions. He denounced independency, of which he had been so great an advocate, and became an anabaptist, and was one of the most furious and zealous of the sect. Oliver watched him narrowly, and Harrison determined to withdraw from London; but Cromwell sent for him to the council, and required his subscription to a promise not to disturb the protector's government, which he declined giving; his commission was therefore taken from him, and he was sent a prisoner to Carisbrook Castle. He was afterwards, in more settled or assured times, allowed to retire to his house at Highgate, but kept under surveillance. Ludlow alludes to his efforts to explain to him various prophecies, which exhibited the state of his mind, and his fanatical madness. He was not long reinstated in the confidence of the protector, before a new cause of suspicion occurred, and he was sent to Pendennis Castle, but again procured his release. Another religious frenzy possessed him: he quitted the anabaptists and joined the fifth monarchy men,[1] engaged in a plot of insurrection, and was in April 1657 sent to prison. Again released, the fifth monarchy men, his recent associates, were in his eyes exceedingly despicable; he rejoined the anabaptists, and was by a second submersion washed from his apostacy. At the restoration he was seized, conveyed to the Tower, tried, condemned, and executed at Charing Cross, Oct. 13, 1660, he exclaiming that death was no more to him than a rush. Pepys writes: "13 Oct. 1660, I went out to Charing Cross, to see major-general Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great show of joy."

The Eight of Clubs. "Pride, Oliver's Drayman."

The colonel is here represented standing behind a dray, and holding in his hand the instrument by which draymen carry their casks. The allusion on this card may probably admit of two interpretations, either as applying to Pride himself, or to Oliver Cromwell. The father of the

[1] The Fifth Monarchy Men, or Dominion of the Saints, were composed of the extreme fanatics, and of which "Praise God Barebone", the leather-seller, was a most conspicuous character. It was from his association with this party that the assembly derived the name of "Barebone's parliament". It was convened by Cromwell after the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and consisted of one hundred and fifty-five persons selected by him out of the lists of "the godly", whose names were furnished to Cromwell by the ministers of the several congregations. The council summoned their attendance by writs, to attend on a certain day, and serve for some specified county or borough. (See Lister's *Life and Administration of Clarendon*, vol. i, p. 399.) Butler (*Posthumous Works*, ii, 101) describes a Fifth Monarchy man as "one that is not contented to be a privy councillor of the kingdom of heaven, but would fain be a minister of state in this world, and translate the kingdom of heaven to the kingdom of earth."

Digitized by Google

protector, Robert Cromwell, carried on a brewing business (Noble's *Memoirs*. i, 85), and Cromwell was often lampooned in connexion with it. In the *Collection of Loyal Songs* (vol. i, p. 221), there is one entitled "The Protecting Brewer", each stanza of which aims at giving some peculiarity of his life. Thus:

"A brewer may be all in all,
And raise his powers both great and small,
That he may be a lord general,
Which nobody can deny.

"A brewer may be as bold as *Hector*,
When as he had drank his cup of nectar;
And a brewer may be a lord protector,
Which nobody can deny.

"Of all professions in the town,
The *brewer's* trade hath gain'd renown,
His liquor reacheth up to the crown,
Which nobody can deny."

Walker, in his *History of Independency*, says of Harry Parker, Cromwell's secretary, that "he is highly preferred to be a brewer's clerk."

Thos. Pride is reported to have been found a deserted infant in a church porch. He rose to be a drayman, a brewer, and ultimately a colonel in the parliamentary army.[1] He distinguished himself at the storming of Bristol, and at the battle of Naseby. He was a violent republican, and not scrupulous as to carrying any orders into effect. His boldness is evinced by his having drawn up a part of his troops in the Court of Requests, and upon the stairs and in the lobby of the house of commons, where the colonel, having a list of names in his hand, attended by one of the door keepers, and also lord Grey of Groby, by whom he was informed who the members were, he seized upon such as were entered in his list, and sent them away prisoners by special order from the general and council of the army. The presbyterians were thus secured; and the same process being continued the next and succeeding day, there remained in the house only fifty members, who were afterwards styled the Rump. Having four regiments of horse and foot under his command,

[1] In the *Collection of Loyal Songs*, v. i, p. 181 et seq., there is a song devoted to Pride, in which we read:

"He, by fortune's design, should have been a divine,
And a pillar, no doubt, of the church;
Whom a *sexton* (God wot) in the *bellfrey* begot,
And his mother did pig in the porch.

"But observe the device of this *nobleman's* rise,
How he hurried from trade to trade;
From the *grains* he'd aspire to the *yest*, and then *higher*,
Till at length he a drayman was made."

Digitized by Google

he easily took possession of the avenues of the house, and accomplished his object, which has ever since been known as "Pride's Purge". Nearly a hundred members were prevented entering the house by this measure; they were confined in the neighbourhood, and, during their absence, the vote upon the king's answer, being a ground for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom, which had been carried by a hundred and forty against a hundred and four, was rescinded, and the king's answer resolved to be "not satisfactory". Thus was the parliament prepared to enact the ordinance for the trial of the king. Pride sat as one of the judges, and signed and sealed the warrant for execution. Cromwell found Pride a very useful person, and he was knighted (Ludlow says, with a faggot stick), and made one of the protector's lords. His strong republican notions would not permit him to aid Cromwell in assuming the royal title, and he was active in procuring the petition from the army to the parliament against the assumption of the sovereignty. Pride died Oct. 23, 1658, at Nonsuch, and was buried with baronial honours. At the restoration, his remains were ordered to be exhumed, and to be dragged from the place to the gallows at Tyburn; which, however, was not carried into effect, from the interest, it is presumed, of the duke of Albemarle; Pride having married the natural daughter of his brother, Thos. Monk, esq. His estates were confiscated.

The Nine of Clubs. "The Army entring the City, persuing the Apprentices."

They are represented flying before the military, who are on horseback. Alluding probably to one of the many tumults raised by the apprentices of the city, necessarily subdued by military force. Whitlock mentions one occurring April 9, 1648, most likely the one here referred to. "There happened this night a very high and dangerous tumult by the apprentices, who, with other people and malignants, who instigated them, went towards the soldiers at Whitehall and the Mews, but were met with in the way by a party of horse, who killed some, and wounded many of them, and scoured the streets." (p. 299.) This outbreak commenced in Moorfields, about tippling and gaming on the Lord's Day, contrary to the ordinance of parliament; it lasted during three days, the keys of Newgate and Ludgate were seized, the lord mayor went to the Tower, and several lives were sacrificed. The organized mobs of the London apprentices were said to have been under the direction of the independents, and Burgess is specially mentioned as a distinguished leader, he having said: "These be my ban-dogs; I can set them on and take them off again, as I please." See Disraeli's *Commentaries*, iv, 143. The apprentices in the time of Charles were in the habit of meeting occasionally as a deliberative assembly, discussing political matters, voting addresses, employing means of intimidation for enforcing their views, etc. They were,

Digitized by Google

indeed, so far recognized as a body in the reign of Charles II, that the king sent a present of a couple of bucks, for a feast given to the loyal young freemen and apprentices of the city of London, at Merchant Taylor's Hall, Aug. 9, 1682, of which the duke of Grafton, the earl of Mulgrave, lord Hyde, and sir Joseph Williamson, were the stewards.[1]

The Ten of Clubs. "Oliver seeking God, while the K. is murthered by his order."

The protector is here represented kneeling, having on each side, it may be presumed, one of his lieutenant-generals engaged in prayer. Two others are behind, and, in the distance, is exhibited the beheading of Charles I. In the "Coffin for king Charles: a crowne for Cromwell: a pit for the people", in the eighth volume of the Broadsides in the British Museum, we read:—

Cromwell *on the throne.*

"So, so, the deed is done,
The royal head is severed;
As I meant, when I first begunne,
And strongly have indeavord.

"Now Charles the I is tumbled down,
The second I not feare:
I graspe the scepter, weare the crown,
Nor for Jehovah care."

The Knave of Clubs. "Ireton holds that Saints may pass through all formes to obtaine his ends."

This represents a discussion or discourse between Ireton and three puritans, who are standing before him. The commissary-general is in a suit of armour.

Henry Ireton is one of the most conspicuous persons who figured in the commonwealth. He was lord-deputy of Ireland, and son-in-law to the protector, having married, in 1646-47, Bridget, eldest daughter of Oliver Cromwell. He was born in 1610, and educated at the university of Oxford. He studied the law at the Inner Temple; but quitted his profession for the army, and served in that of the parliament, in which he rapidly rose, and became commissary-general. He fought valiantly at Naseby, and was taken prisoner by the royalists, but managed to effect his escape. It was Ireton who, with Cromwell, disguised as common troopers, went to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where a man was to receive a saddle, and proceed to Dover. In this saddle was sewn up a letter from the king, offering to treat with the Scotch rather than the English army.[2] In this

[1] Malcolm's *Manners and Customs of London*, p. 190.

[2] The truth of this circumstance has hardly been satisfactorily established; it first appeared in Carte's *Life of Ormonde.* The words in the letter are re-

Digitized by Google

letter, it has been asserted that the destruction of Cromwell and Ireton were mentioned; and Ireton's determination is supposed to have been fixed by this information. He certainly would listen to no terms. Upon the establishment of the commonwealth Ireton was sent to Ireland. He was as fitted to be a diplomatist, as he was able as a general. It must, however, be admitted that he was little scrupulous in shedding blood, and was of an austere temperament. For his services in Ireland he received from the parliament a pension of £2,000 per annum; but he had the honesty and principle to declare, in reply to this vote, that "they had many just debts which he desired they should pay before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure." In the negotiation between the army and the king, some time after the army had come to London, a conference took place, in which Ireton is reported to have said, in reply to the observation of the king ("I shall play my game as well as I can"),—"If your majesty have game to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours;" and colonel Hutchinson reports Ireton also to have said, speaking of the king, "He gave us words, and we paid him in his own coin, when we found he had no real intention to the people's good, but to prevail by our factions to regain by art what he had lost by fight." He is said to have taken the greatest part in drawing up many ordinances, and also the precept for the trial of the king, which has been asserted to have been in his own handwriting. He died at Limerick, Sept. 26th, 1652, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, having been brought from Ireland, and lain in state at Somerset House. Clarendon says his death was occasioned by the plague, and tells us that the pension of £2,000, refused by him during life, was settled on his widow and children out of the lands belonging to George duke of Buckingham. His death occasioned but little grief to Cromwell, as his schemes had been somewhat thwarted by the strong republican notions of his son-in-law. At the restoration the remains of Ireton were directed to be disinterred. Evelyn[1] describes the funeral procession, of which he was a witness, and has the following entry in his diary: "1660-1. 30 Jan. This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcases of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshawe (the judge who condemned his majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the usurper), dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster, among the kings, to Tyburn, and

ported to have been "that he (the king) should know how in due time to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a silken garter, should be fitted in due time with a hempen cord." There are, however, other versions given, and the matter is uncertain. Mr. Fellowes (*Historical Sketches of Charles I*, etc.) has given a plate, from a drawing said to have been made at the time of the discovery of the letter.

[1] Diary, vol. i, 275, last edition.

Digitized by Google

hanged on the gallows there, from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried, under that fatal and ignominious monument, in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators. Look back at Oct. 22, 1658 (p. 330,—Oliver's funeral), and be astonished, and fear God and honour the king; but meddle not with them who are given to change."

The Queen of Clubs. "Joane, holde my staff. Lady Protectoresse."

Seated in a chair, in a balcony overlooking a garden, and attended by two females.

The PROTECTOR'S WIFE. She was Elizabeth, daughter of sir James Bourchier, knight, of Felstead, Essex. She married Oliver Cromwell, at St. Giles' church, Cripplegate, Aug. 22, 1620. She has been variously represented, and most probably made the subject of undeserved scandal. Granger[1] speaks of her as of low extraction and habits, reporting that "it has been asserted she as deeply interested herself in steering the helm, as she had done in turning the spit; and that she was as constant a spur to her husband in the career of his ambition, as she had been to her servants in their culinary employments." Heath is not less virulent, for in the *Flagellum, or Life, Death, and Burial of Oliver Cromwell, the late Usurper* (Lond., 1669, 12mo., 4th edition), when speaking of Cromwell's wife, he says, "whom he trained up and made the waiting-woman of his Providence, and lady Rampant of his successful greatness, which she personated afterwards as imperiously as himself; so did the *incubus* of his bed make her partaker, too, in the pleasures of the throne" (p. 17); and there is also a pamphlet entitled *The Court and the Kitchen of Elizabeth called Joan Cromwell, wife of the late Usurper, truly described and represented.* (Lond., 1664, 12mo.) It is accompanied by her portrait. The protectress, as in this card, was frequently styled Joan: this was in derision, by the royalists; but the godmother of Oliver was Joan Cromwell, wife of sir Henry Cromwell, knighted by queen Elizabeth in 1563. In the *Collection of Loyal Songs*, containing that of "The Sale of Religious Household Stuff", is the following verse:

"Here's Joan Cromwell's kitchen stuff-tub,
Wherein is the fat of the rumpers,
With which old Noll's horns she did rub
When he was got drunk with false bumpers."

It is certain that Oliver Cromwell's wife had not beauty of person to recommend her, for she is described as having a defect in one of her eyes. As her enemies must have been numerous, it is not surprising so many unfavourable accounts of her have been put forth; but it augurs well for her character and conduct, that neither the army nor the parliament were

[1] Biog. Hist. of England.

Digitized by Google

insensible to her merits, and that, after the death of her husband, they manifested the sense they entertained regarding her by making a suitable settlement upon her.

The King of Clubs. "Oliver declares himself and the Rebells to be the Godly Party."

He is represented with hands uplifted, and countenance towards heaven, in the midst of four figures, by whom he is surrounded. They are all uncovered, and the faces of his companions or auditors exhibit no little degree of simplicity. In the parliamentary army the Independents formed the most numerous party, and they had increased amazingly under the auspices of Cromwell. The soldiers being badly supplied with chaplains, the officers, and afterwards the privates, took upon themselves to discharge clerical duties, praying and preaching, so that in a short time they looked upon themselves as the godly party, the body of saints who were to possess the earth.

"So the late saints, of blessed memory,
Cut throats in godly, pure sincerity;
So they, with lifted hands and eyes, devout,
Said grace, and carv'd a slaughter'd monarch out."

(Oldham's *2nd Satyre upon the Jesuites.*)

Hudibras (Part ii, Canto 2) says:

"Was there an oath the godly took
But in due time and place they broke?
Did we not bring our oaths in first,
Before our plate, and have them burst,
And cast in fitter models, for
The present use of church and war?"

Ace of Diamonds. "The High Court of Justice, or Oliver's Slaughter House."

The president is seated on high in a chair, and attended by his counsellors, ten in number. On the table is a sword and books, and (it may be presumed) the statutes of the realm are trodden under foot on the floor. The counsellors all have their hats on, with the exception of two at the table, who are probably clerks, one having a pen in his hand inscribing a paper, and the other grasping the handle of a sword, indicative of a determined use, and the doom intended to follow. The High Court of Justice, of which Bradshaw was the president, sat in judgment upon the royalist prisoners after the execution of the king.

The Two of Diamonds. "Vane, Father and Sonne."

Sir Henry Vane filled the office of one of the secretaries of state. He was a member also of a lesser council or cabinet, which existed some

Digitized by Google

years previous to the meeting of the long parliament, and before which nearly all matters of state were discussed and prepared before being submitted to the council. As one of the secretaries of state, sir Henry Vane was present at these meetings, to give assistance in shaping and arranging the measures, and preparing for their final execution. Vaughan[1] looks upon him as one of that very numerous class of worthies, who became the willing servants of a court, purely in consequence of having learnt to regard it as the quarter in which they may best serve themselves. When the long parliament commenced summoning state delinquents to their account, Vane was deprived of his office.

Sir Henry Vane, the son, is described[2] as "one of the most remarkable men that sat in the parliament;—so wild an enthusiast in religion, as to excite a suspicion of his sanity or sincerity,—so acute a politician, so accomplished a statesman, as to challenge the admiration of all parties." After having graduated at Oxford, he visited France, and spent some time at Geneva, returning to England exceedingly dissatisfied with the worship and polity of the English Church. This placed him at first somewhat in opposition to his father, and he transported himself to New England, the seat of the disaffected and persecuted nonconformists under the severity of Laud, where he gained so great favour among the exiled puritans and nonconformists, as to be elected their governor one year only after his arrival there. His theory of liberty of conscience, however, was not embraced with any great earnestness; and, dissatisfied with his success, he abandoned the New World and returned to his native country, where, having married and attended to the admonitions of his father, he was appointed treasurer of the navy. Clarendon attributes his adherence to the popular party, as proceeding from neglect of his father, shewn in refusal of the title of baron of Raby, of which title he was solicitous, but which was conferred upon Strafford. It is perhaps unnecessary to consider this as a cause, seeing what his early opinions were in regard to religious polity, and being described as "a man of great natural parts, of quick conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty expression"; and certainly, in his day, generally regarded as an extraordinary person. Clarendon accuses him of "very profound dissimulation". Vaughan entertains a better opinion of him, and thinks he was not more a dissembler than almost any man of the same general capacity, and in the same circumstances, would have been, and adds that Clarendon was by no means the individual entitled to cast a stone at him on that account.

Sir H. Vane was the chief of the independent party, and was esteemed the author of *The Solemn League and Covenant.* He was tried for levying war against the king, and found guilty. The sparing of his life was petitioned for by the lords and commons; but he was, notwithstanding

[1] Hist. of the Protectorate, i, xvi.
[2] Pictorial History of England, iii, 226.

Digitized by Google

this powerful intercession, beheaded on Tower Hill, June 14, 1662; and, to hinder anything he might be disposed to say being heard, some drummers were placed by the scaffold, and thus prevented its being reported.

The Three of Diamonds. "Simonias slandring y[e] High Priest, to get his Place."

Six puritans are here represented, one of whom is addressing the assembly. I am not able to state who Simonias is intended for. I suspected it might probably be Harrison, whom Cromwell summoned to the council and upbraided for his carriage towards him, and charged him with coveting his employment when he was sick in Scotland. They are all represented as ministers on the card; and this, therefore, cannot be the case. It has been hinted that Simonias may be intended for Dorislaus, who was connected with the assembly of divines, and of whom much jealousy was entertained, he being a foreigner.

The Four of Diamonds. "The Laird of Warreston, an arrant Knave, an my Saul, man."

He is here exhibited with an attendant.

Sir Archibald Johnson, or Johnston, the laird of Warreston, was uncle to bishop Burnet, and a strict presbyterian. He was one of the council of state, and also a member of the committee of safety. He received knighthood from the protector, who named him one of the four representatives for Scotland in the upper house of parliament. Warreston and lord Maitland were the leaders of the Scotch representatives in the Westminster assembly of 1643. This assembly, which held its meetings at Sion college, was constituted by an ordinance June 12th, 1643, and consisted of an union of puritan divines[1] and laymen for conference, and to advise upon the constitution of the future Church. They were to examine the liturgy, and inquire into the discipline and government of the Church of England. The synod or assembly of divines is ridiculed in a ballad, forming one of the broadsides in the British Museum (vol. 5), entitled "A Justification of the Synod of Sion College, against those who say they have sate long and done nothing":—

"The synod who dare to controule,
They sit in Sion house;
The people look'd for mountaines, but
They have brought forth a mouse.
Each man four shillings hath a day;
And do you think they'll lack-ho?

[1] There were one hundred and twenty-one divines, ten peers, twenty commoners, and three Scottish commissioners, in the assembly. Several prelates and episcopalians were nominated, but never gave their attendance.

Digitized by Google

When every man has so much pay,
To drink wine and tobacco.
The synod hath full four years sate,[1]
To find out a religion;
Yet to conclude they know not what,
They want a new edition."

Warreston was one of the most eloquent asserters of the covenant, and exerted himself greatly against episcopacy and the tyranny of Charles I. He was aged, yet felt it necessary to fly the country; but the French government gave him up, and he was sent back to Scotland, tried, and hanged. He arrived in England on the 24th Jan. 1662-3, and on the 31st committed to the Tower, whence he was transmitted to Edinburgh, and, according to his sentence, there executed on a gibbet twenty-two feet high, as having been the chief incendiary in that kingdom. In March 1660, he had applied to Sharp, the agent of the Scotch kirk, then at Westminster, to make a treaty with general Monk for a personal protection and payment of his debts, or at least to have permission to retain his places, but the agent declined to interfere.[2] In the *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii, p. 148, we read:—

"What? a Scotch rook among all these English jackdaws,
The laird Warreston's in for the *Gude Old Cause*,
To subvert all proprieties, charters, and laws;
Oh, blessed Reformation."

The Five of Diamonds. "Sir W. Waller looses two Armys, yet getts by ye bargaine."

In the card the army is represented in the background.

Sir William Waller was sergeant-major general, chief general of the forces in Gloucestershire, and constable of Dover Castle. He was an able parliamentary general; and, from the great success attending his exertions at the commencement of the war, he was frequently styled "William the Conqueror".

"Will, conqueror the second, without his host reckon'd."
Coll. of Loyal Songs, vol. ii, p. 203.

But his good fortune quitted him, and he was defeated in several battles. He was engaged against the marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice, at Lansdown, near Bath; and, though a pitched battle was fought, neither side obtained any decisive advantage. A few days after, again encountering the royalists at Roundway-down,[3] he was signally beaten. The next

[1] This ballad is dated Sept. 6, 1647.

[2] Noble's Memoirs, i, 415.

[3] Called afterwards, from Waller's ill success, *Runaway Down*, and is so known to this day. Cleveland facetiously remarks, that sir Arthur Haselrigge's cuirassiers, well known by the name of "lobsters", turned crabs, and went backwards. They were called lobsters because they were so completely armed, and did infinite damage to the royalists by breaking the horse.

Digitized by Google

year, he was personally engaged by the king (June 29, 1644) at Cropredy, near Oxford, and defeated; but the good effect of this was speedily annihilated by the discomfiture of the royalists at Marston Moor (which totally destroyed the power of the royalists in the north of England), on the 2nd of July, in which the king's party lost 3,000 men, and 1,600 were taken prisoners. Sir W. Waller, in the latter part of 1645, sustained reverses in the west of England. He wrote a book called *Divine Meditations.*

The Six of Diamonds. "Kelsey, a sneaking Bodice maker, a Gifted Brother."

Four figures are here engraved. Kelsey is mounted upon a stool, and is holding forth to three staymakers, two of whom are employed on a table or bench, on which lie stays, shears, etc.

COLONEL KELSEY was one of a committee that met at sir Henry Vane's to treat with certain members of the parliament relative to an act of indemnity, provision for Richard Cromwell, etc.[1] He was one of the commissioners of the admiralty. In "The Gang", printed in the *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii, p. 150, we read:

"Kelsey was a brave button maker;
With a hey down, &c.
As ever sat mould upon skewer;
And this wiseaker
Was a great painstaker,
T' make Lambert's nose look blewer."

Also in the second part of "The Gang", to be found among the *Broadsides* in the British Museum, vol. xv:

"Kelsey is praying for the dole,
With a hey down, &c.
Of the hospital that's Suttons;
He is out of the roll,
And hath ne'er a loophole,
And now he's making buttons."

The Seven of Diamonds. "Marshall cursing Mevoz."

An error in the engraving for Meroz. Marshall is in the pulpit, and from his mouth a label proceeds, on which is inscribed "cursed be Mevoz." His auditors are standing, and they, as well as the preacher, have their hats on:

"Then, *curse ye Meroz,*[2] in each pulpit did *thunder,*
To perplex the poor people, and keep them in wonder,
Till all the reins of government were broke quite asunder.
Which nobody can deny."

(*Collect. of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii, p. 179.)

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 246.

[2] Judges v, 23.

Digitized by Google

STEPHEN MARSHALL, a celebrated preacher, was educated at Cambridge, and took the degree of B.D. Fuller[1] says he was born at Godmanchester; and, in his own delightful style, describes him thus: "In the late long parliament no man was more gracious with the principal members thereof. He was their trumpet, by whom they sounded their solemn fasts, preaching more public sermons on that occasion than any four of his function. In their sickness he was their confessor; in their assembly, their counsellor; in their treaties, their chaplain; in their disputations, their champion. He was of so supple a soul that he broke not a joint, yea, sprained not a sinew, in all the alteration of times; and his friends put all on the account, not of his inconstancy, but prudence, who, in his own practice, as they conceive, reconciled the various lections of St. Paul's precept (Rom. xii, 11), 'serving the Lord and the times'." He was a member of the assembly of divines. He conducted the services during the fasts ordained by the puritans in the city of London; and on one occasion it is said that Burgess and Marshall preached and prayed for seven hours, before the two houses of parliament, upon a fast day, for which they received a vote of thanks and a present of silver plate. Marshall was the lecturer at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and a frequently-selected preacher, on special occasions, before the house of commons. Marsden gives[2] the following account of him: "His abilities were great, and, as a divine, his attainments were considerable. But it was in the pulpit that he triumphed. By general consent he was the greatest preacher of the times. His manner, like his mind, was ardent; and when he began to speak, he was swept along with a fervid eloquence which seemed to spurn control. He had espoused the great quarrel with the utmost resolution; and the topics he selected kindled in his hearers intense emotions. 'Meroz cursed' was the title of a sermon preached upon a fast day. 'The Song of Moses, the servant of God,' was 'opened in a sermon before the house of commons,' on a day of thanksgiving for a recent victory. The very texts, thus used, were shocking to the royalists; and, if it were true that Marshall prostituted them to faction and rebellion, no censure can be too severe. The cursing of Meroz was but too congenial to the taste of the puritans; for their theology was now deeply tainted with the Jewish leaven,—a fact which explains their severity, and yet redeems much of their conduct from the charge of wilful cruelty. They drew no distinction between the precepts of the New Testament, and the facts and histories recorded in the Old. We deplore their ignorance, and blame their violence, yet we respect the feelings of devout and fervent gratitude which found utterance in solemn allusions to the songs and harmonies of heaven." Marshall preached Pym's funeral sermon. It made a great impression, and has been very highly regarded. He was

[1] Worthies, Huntingdonshire.
[2] Marsden's History of the Later Puritans, p. 113.

Digitized by Google

chaplain to the commander-in-chief, the earl of Essex, and was at the battle of Edgehill, where he went from tent to tent to inspire the soldiers with confidence by his fervent exhortations and prayers. Cleveland, in his *Rebel Scot*, satirizes the preacher:

> "Or roar like Marshall, that Geneva bull,
> Hell and damnation a pulpit full."

Nye and Marshall accompanied sir W. Armyne and sir Henry Vane to Scotland, as commissioners for relief, after the defeat of Fairfax in the north. These two ministers were also appointed by the parliament to attend Charles I, after his condemnation; but he declined their services, and selected bishop Juxon for that office. Marshall died in 1655, having spent the last two years of his life at Ipswich. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, Nov. 23, with much solemnity, and the expression of much sorrow. At the restoration the sanctity of his grave was violated, and his body, along with others, contemptuously disinterred.

The Eight of Diamonds. "Don Haselrigg, K^{t} of ye Codled Braine."

A cleverly engraved figure (see plate 19, fig. 1), in a vain-glorious attitude, with a large feather in his hat, and a long sword by his side.

Sir Arthur Haselrigge, bart., of Noseley in Leicestershire, represented his native county in parliament, and distinguished himself by his violent opposition to the king. He preferred the bill of attainder against Strafford. He was one of the six members respecting whom Charles sent a message by the attorney-general, in 1642, impeaching them for high treason, in having traitorously conspired to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, to alienate the affections of the people, and to levy war against the king. Sir Arthur was concerned in most of the chief events attending the civil war. He was one of the committee of safety of Derby House, and also a member of the council of state; he was governor of Newcastle, and entertained Cromwell sumptuously. He commanded a regiment of horse under sir W. Waller, and took Tynemouth Castle by storm. He was chosen a member of Oliver Cromwell's parliament; and when the protector created an upper house (1657), Haselrigge was appointed a member, but he refused to sit in contradiction to his republican principles: he therefore sat in the house of commons, where he spoke freely his opinions, to the vexation and displeasure of the court. Ludlow[1] describes him as "a man of a disobliging carriage, sour and morose of temper, liable to be transported with passion, and to whom liberality seemed to be a vice." He, however, entertained no doubts as to his sincerity and the rectitude of his intentions. Hume contrasts the character of Haselrigge and Vane. He says: "Hazelrig, who possessed

[1] Memoirs, p. 273.

Digitized by Google

greater authority in the parliament, was haughty, imperious, precipitate, vainglorious; without civility, without prudence; qualified only by his noisy, pertinacious obstinacy, to acquire an ascendancy in public assemblies. Vane was noted, in all civil transactions, for temper, insinuation, address, and a profound judgment; in all religious speculations, for folly and extravagance." (viii, 369.) Noble says[1] "he was adjudged so dangerous a person by government, that he was voted to be excepted out of the act of indemnity, and would have been put to death if general Monk had not, upon being called upon, declared that he had promised he should not lose his life if he would remain quiet." He was, however, committed to the Tower, upon a charge that he had endeavoured to persuade divers officers of the army to form a party to oppose the existing power; but it was a mere fiction. Although named on the committee to try the king, he would not sit as one of the judges. He died, in the Tower, of fever, supposed to have been caused by grief at his confinement, and the loss of his estates, which were chiefly prelatical, and were restored to the sees whence he had obtained them:

"What is the cause, Sir Arthur,
Your pulses go so quick?
'Tis bishops' lands
That's in your hands,
Which makes them beat so thick."
(*Coll. of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii, p. 9.)

Episcopacy having been abolished, a commission was appointed to dispose of the bishops' lands. It was sir Arthur Haselrigge who brought up the report of a committee to the house of commons, that Charles and James Stuart, the sons of Charles I, should die without mercy wheresoever they should be found.

The Nine of Diamonds. "Lenthall runns away with his Mace to the Army." (See plate 19, fig. 2.)

Escaping from the house of parliament with the mace of his office, and habited in the speaker's gown, he is running towards the army, represented in the background.

William Lenthall (see ante, p. 130), speaker in the house of commons in the long parliament, fled, in the night, from London, accompanied by about sixty members, and presented themselves before general Fairfax and the camp at Hounslow. Lenthall carried the mace with him, and they were received with acclamations.

The Ten of Diamonds. "A Committee for Plundered Ministers, Miles Corbet in the Chaire."

Four ministers are apparently pleading to the chairman and committee, who have their hats on, whilst the ministers are uncovered.

[1] Lives of the Regicides, i, 346.

Digitized by Google

On Jan. 1st, 1642-3, three several committees were appointed: the first, the committee of preaching ministers, for supplying preachers to those places without them; the second, the committee of scandalous ministers, for examining into complaints made against the conduct of clergymen; and the third, the committee of plundered ministers, for the relief of such godly ministers as were driven from their cures for adhering to the parliament. (See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part I, p. 73 et seq.; Lond., 1714, folio.) Miles Corbet was chairman of the committee of plundered (or, as it was afterwards called, for plundering) ministers (Walker, p. 80); and, from this authority, we learn that, next to Mr. White, he was the most diligent adversary the clergy had.

Miles Corbet was of an ancient Shropshire family, but himself descended from a Norfolk branch. He studied the law at Lincoln's Inn, and served in parliament for thirty-seven years. He was recorder of Great Yarmouth; and, in 1644, the parliament made him clerk of the Court of Wards. He was likewise a registrar of the Court of Chancery. According to Ludlow,[1] although one of the judges to try the king, he did not appear until the day on which sentence was passed. His seal and signature are the last attached to the warrant for the execution. He was subsequently one of the commissioners for the civil government of Ireland, where he displayed great integrity. Having been one of the king's judges, he was, upon the restoration, seized in Holland, sent in a ship of war to England, and committed to the Tower. He was tried, condemned, and made a declaration as to the justice and necessity of the action for which he was about to die. He was executed at Tyburn, and his head set upon London Bridge, his quarters over the city gates. In the *Saint George and the Dragon, Anglicè, Mercurius Poeticus*, written on occasion of the overthrow of the Rump by general Monk, and to be found in the sixteenth volume of the *Broadsides*, in the British Museum, Corbet's visage is referred to as allied to that of the Jewish people:

"That bacon-faced Jew, Corbet, that son of perdition!"

And again, in the second part of the same:

"Whose petition was drawn
By Alcoran Vane,
Or else by Corbet the Jew."

The Knave of Diamonds. "H. Martin moves ye House that ye King may take the Covenant."

He is represented on the floor of the house, addressing the members, the speaker being in the chair. All the figures (eleven in number) on this card have their hats on.

Henry Marten, or, as he stated on his trial, Harry Marten, was

[1] Memoirs, p. 378.

Digitized by Google

the established wit of the house of commons, and the son of sir Henry Marten, a judge of the Court of Admiralty. He was educated at Oxford, and took a degree early in life. He studied the law for a short time, then travelled, and afterwards married a rich widow, and represented Berkshire in parliament. Strongly imbued with republican principles, he entered the army, and obtained the colonelcy of a regiment of horse. Expressing his opinions too freely in the house of commons, and early favouring the deposition of the king and his family, he was committed to the Tower, and expelled the house; but this was shortly after cancelled, and he was appointed governor of Reading. Alluding to Marten's return to the house of commons, Mr. Forster[1] says: "It is not difficult to imagine the welcome Harry Marten received on entering the house once more. His wit had been the ornament and relief of almost every debate; his graceful manner and never-failing goodhumour had been, perforce, made acceptable to the severest puritan there; and by his gallant and unflinching adherence to republican principles, by the respect his intellect and genius inspired, he had bound himself in the fastest friendship to Cromwell, to St. John, and to Vane." His life was notoriously profligate, and Cromwell charged him with immoralities unbecoming a leader of the puritan party. Thus in the "Proper New Ballad on the Old Parliament" (*Broadsides*, vol. xv):

"Sing hi, ho, Harry Martin, a burgess of the bench,
There's nothing here is certain, you must back and leave your wench."

Also, in a contemporary ballad:

"But Oliver laid his hand on his sword,
And upbraided him with his adultery;
To which Harry answer'd never a word,
Saving humbly thanking his majesty."

In the consultation of the army as to whether agreement should be made with the parliament or the Scotch, he freely stated that they "should serve his majesty as the English did his Scotch grandmother—cut off his head." He was one of the king's judges, and signed the warrant for his execution. His popularity was great. He received various grants of money, and had £1,000 per annum settled on him out of the estates of the duke of Buckingham. He was a member of the council of state; but being of very loose and extravagant habits, he got into debt, and notwithstanding a present of £3,000 from Cromwell, he was confined in prison. He was one of the excepted in the act of indemnity, both as to life and property. He surrendered himself at the restoration, was tried, made an able defence, but was condemned. He petitioned the parliament for mercy, jocosely saying, "he had never obeyed any proclamation before this, and hoped that he should not be hanged for taking the king's word

[1] Statesmen of the Commonwealth, iii, 256.

Digitized by Google

now." His wit and humour served him well on this occasion with many in the house who had passed convivial moments with him, and his life was spared; but he was confined a prisoner in Chepstow Castle for the long period of twenty years, dying there in 1681, at the age of seventy-eight.

The Queen of Diamonds. "The taking of the Holy League and Covenant." (See plate 19, fig. 3.)

The covenant is being read from an elevation, and the assembly are all holding up their hands, in token of their assent to it. The particulars relating to the advancement of the Scots army into England, and this compact, may be found at length in Rushworth's *Collections.* It was entered into for the more effectual cooperation of the two countries, and it was carried into effect in the most solemn manner.[1] It was styled "A solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland." I suspect the most prominent figure represented on this card as reading the league and covenant, to be Philip Nye, one of Cromwell's chaplains, and referred to by Marsden in the following passage: "The 15th Sept., 1643, witnessed one of the strangest events in the ecclesiastical history of England, and perhaps of Christendom. The house of commons and the assembly of divines met in the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, and with all the solemnity which prayer and fervent exhortation, and a solemn oath could give, renounced for ever, for themselves and their children after them, the church which reformers had established, and martyrs had sprinkled with their blood. The service was begun with prayer. Mr. Nye then addressed the audience in a speech which lasted for an hour, pointing out the scriptural authority for such covenants, and their manifold advantages. Henderson, one of the commissioners from the assembly of the kirk of Scotland, followed, and confirmed his statements. Then came the closing scene. Nye ascended the pulpit, and slowly pausing at the close of every article, read aloud the solemn league and covenant. The whole congregation, statesmen and divines, the representatives (so they at least maintained, and so in fact they were) of the nation and the Church of England, arose,

[1] This league was to effect a nearer union and confederacy with the Scotch nation. Hume says (vii, 522) it "effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms". The subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants. See Rushworth, vi, 478; Clarendon, iii, 373; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii, p. 275 et seq. The solemn league and covenant was burnt by the common hangman, in London and Westminster, Jan. 22, 1660-1, and afterwards throughout the kingdom.

Digitized by Google

and, like the Jews of old, lifted up their right hands to heaven, and swore by the great name of God to accept and maintain the covenant."[1]

> "Y'have spous'd the *covenant* and *cause*
> By holding up your *cloven paws.*"
> (Butler's *Hudibras*, p. 3, c. 1.)

They afterwards affixed their signatures to the league, inscribed on a roll of parchment; and two hundred and twenty-eight, or, according to some, two hundred and thirty-six names of the commons were attached to it.

The King of Diamonds. "Sir H. Mildmay solicits a Cityzen's Wife, for wch his owne Corrects him."

The solicitation forms the foreground of the engraving; and his wife cudgelling him for his infidelity, is strongly pourtrayed behind. Of Mildmay, see ante, p. 133. It is unnecessary to make any further observations on his character. There is an allusion to the subject of this card in the *Collection of Loyal Songs*, in the "Free Parliament Letany":

> "From old Mildmay, that in Cheapside mistook his quean,[2]
> Libera nos, Domine."

Also by Butler in his *Satirical Will and Testament of the Earl of Pembroke:* "Because I threatened sir Henry Mildmay, but did not beat him, I give fifty pounds to the footman that cudgelled him."

The Ace of Hearts. "A Committee of Godwin, Nye, Peters, and Owen, discovering the Marks of Grace in Ministers."

The committee are seated, with their hats on, whilst the ministers, five in number, are uncovered.

The Godwin here depicted is Thomas Goodwin, "Oliver's creature and trencher chaplain."

Philip Nye was also a chaplain of Cromwell's.

Hugh Peters, a celebrated preacher and most violent republican; and

John Owen, D.D., a divine of considerable attainments. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, which he quitted in 1637, dissatisfied with archbishop Laud's innovations. He often preached before the long parliament, and was made chaplain to the lord protector. He was subsequently made dean of Christchurch, and was vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford for five years. He was a learned divine, and of great reputation. His character has been much assailed, and variously represented; but it is much in his favour that, upon his return to London, king Charles sent for him, discoursed with him for two hours, assured him of his favour and respect, expressed himself a friend to liberty of conscience, and admitted that wrong had been done to the dissenters.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] History of the Later Puritans, p. 74. [2] Repulsed by a citizen's wife (ii, 280.)

Digitized by Google

ON VINCULA.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ.

Without going back so far as to Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, or early Roman times, it is evident from Cæsar that the tribes of Gaul, Germany, and Britain all employed chains and fetters for confining their captives;[1] and we gather from the poems of Ossian that the Caledonians, in the third century, immediately after a victory, bound their prisoners, and fastened them to an oak, or kept them in the hall of the chieftain.

Both fetters and stocks are alluded to in that curious piece of British poetry entitled *Hanes Taliesin*, the history of Taliesin, or Radiant-front. The bard exclaims:

Mi a fum yn y Gwynfryn,	I have been in the White Hill,
Yn llys Cynfelyn,	In the court of Cynvelyn,
Mewn *cyff* a *gevyn*	In *stocks* and *fetters*
Undydd a blwyddyn.	For a year and a day.[2]

It would appear from the Teutonic myths, as handed down to us in the *Edda*, that metallic shackles were in use among the warlike tribes of Scandinavia at a very remote period. It is said that the gods made cords of the intestines of Nari, and with them bound Loki on to the points of rocks: these cords they then converted into thongs of iron. We read also in the *Edda*, of three fetters, with which the gods attempted to bind the wolf Fenrir, on account of his strength and malignity. The first was a very strong fetter of iron, which they called *læding;* but the wolf soon burst it, and set himself at liberty. The second was half as strong again as the first; this they denominated *dromi;* but Fenrir soon snapped this asunder also, which

[1] De Bello Gallico, iii, 9; i, 47 and 53; iv, 27.

[2] The whole poem is given in Meyrick's *History of Cardiganshire*, vol. i, p. 65. We may here remark that the Cymraeg *gevyn* (whence our *gyve*) appears to be analogous to the Latin *vincula*, a generic title for all kinds of shackles: the handcuff being distinguished by the name of *llawhual* (from *llaw*, the hand); and the ankle-fetter by that of *troedawy* (from *troed*, a foot), whence the expression, *troedogi*, to fetter, to shackle. A fetter was also called *berrwy* (from *ber*, the leg), and *cloffrwym* (from *cloffi*, to lame). In the Hiberno-Celtic, shackles are termed *geibheal*, or *geibion*, from holding or making fast. Fetters are called *cosaracha* (from *cos*, the leg. In the Gaelic, we find words closely allied to the Irish: gyves are called *geille;* a fetter, *geimhle*, pl. *geibhionn*, or *geibhlean;* and the shackle-chain is denominated *geimhlean*.

Digitized by Google

gave rise to the proverb, "*to get loose out of læding, or to dash out of dromi*," when anything is to be accomplished by strong efforts. The third fetter, called *gleipnir*, was made by the dwarfs in the country of the dark elves, and was formed of six things,—to wit, the noise made by the footfall of a cat, the beards of women, the roots of stones, the sinews of bears, the breath of fish, and the spittle of birds. With this the gods bound the wolf; and the chain called *gelgja*, which was fixed to the fetter, they drew through the rock *gjoll*, and buried it deep in the earth; and there will Fenrir remain bound until *ragnarök*,—the twilight of the gods.

The early bards and chroniclers make mention of the chains and fetters of the Teutonic tribes who invaded this country in the middle of the fifth century.[1] Aneurin, who was taken prisoner by the Saxons about the year 510, tells us that he composed his famous odes, entitled *Gododinau*, whilst "his limbs were inflamed in the subterraneous house by the iron chain, which passed over his two knees." This chain was called by the Saxons, *fetor-wræsn*. Besides the shackle-chain, they made use of *hand-copse*, or hand-cuffs, and *fot-copse*, or fetters, which were also denominated *fot-gemet*, *isern-feter*, and *fetta-irn*, *i. e.*, feet-iron.

Allusions are frequently made, by the old writers, to certain kinds of fetters called rings, which were riveted on by smiths and others, and were secured by locks and keys. The ring-fetter, as its name implies, consisted of a ring of stout iron, having a pivot-hinge on one part, and a circular hole at the end of each limb, through which a strong rivet was passed. In digging for the foundations of the New Palace of Westminster, in 1839, a ring-fetter of this description was discovered at a considerable depth, and is represented in plate 22, fig. 2. It is of massive fabric, and much corroded; and, although it may be difficult to decide its exact age, yet its timeworn condition and place of find prove that it is of considerable antiquity—Roman, Saxon, and early medieval reliquiæ having been exhumed in the same locality. St. Leonard, the patron of prisoners, is generally represented holding a chain with a ring-fetter at its end, resembling this specimen.

An early notice of a fetter fastening with a lock occurs

[1] See Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. viii, cap. 8.

Digitized by Google

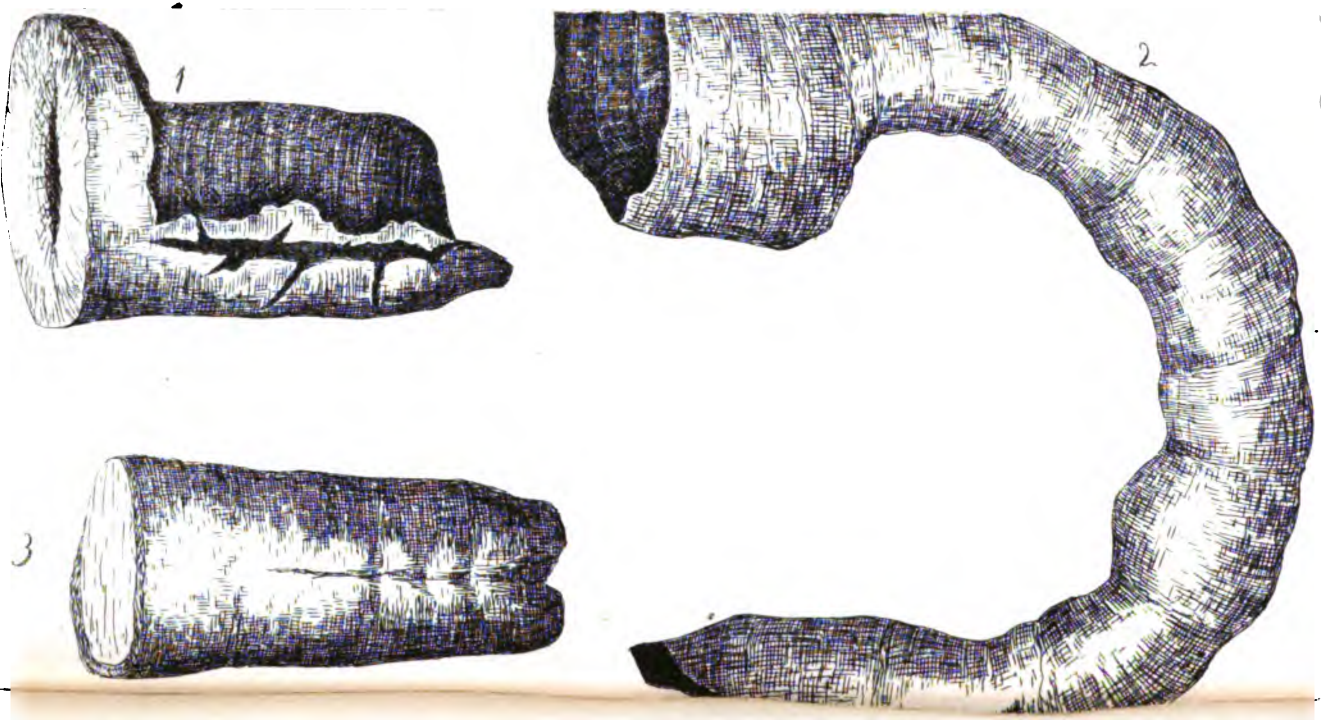


PLATE 2

From Cuerdale, near Preston, Lancashire.

Digitized by Google

1.

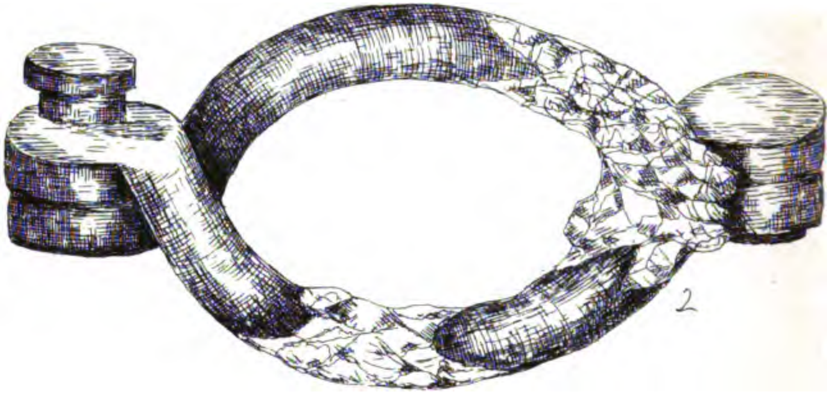
g
d
b
m
w
fo
th
b.
ca
th
ap
tw

cl
co
w
us
w
by
cl
sh
at
g

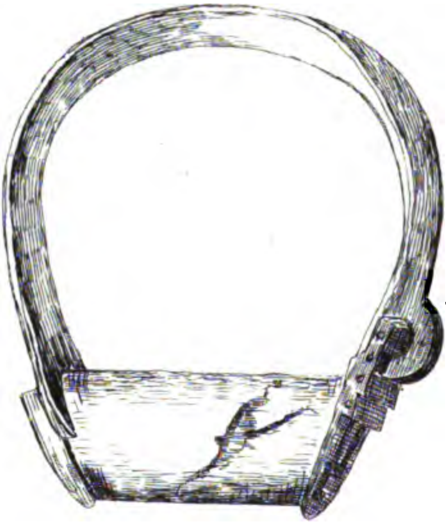
co
on
ke
ri
a
st
of
of
an
fa
cu
pl
R
ex
pr
rin

Digitized by Google

1



2



3

Drawn & etched by Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. &c. 1853.

Digitized by Google

in the life of St. Egwin, who was created bishop of Worcester about the year 692. We are told that, before he set sail for Rome, he caused a smith to make him a heavy ring of iron, which he locked about his bare legs by way of penance, and then threw the key into the river Avon. When he arrived on the shores of the Tiber, he fell on his knees to return thanks to God for his safe voyage, and his attendants began to fish in the river. They soon caught a salmon, in the stomach of which they found the key they had seen cast into the Avon before they quitted England. When the bishop related the miracle to the pope, his holiness ordered the ring to be removed, and sent him back to Worcester with high marks of honour.[1] St. Egwin's fetter probably did not differ from the fetter-lock, which was in use for some centuries, and which consisted of a curved bar, attached at one end, by a hinge, to a cylindrical body containing the bolt, and having, at the other extremity, the asp,—the keyhole being at the end of the cylinder. Through the kindness of our associate, the rev. Mr. Hugo, who consented to omit its description and figure from his paper,[2] that I might introduce them here, we are enabled to inspect a very ancient iron fetter-lock, which was discovered at Cuerdale, near Preston, in Lancashire, three hundred yards from the spot where the famous hoard of Saxon coins of the ninth and tenth centuries were exhumed in May 1840. (See plate 21, figs. 1, 2, 3, two-thirds of the actual size.) Without insisting upon the Teutonic origin of this specimen (and it may be even so old as that), it is, nevertheless, probably the earliest example of a fetter-lock which has yet been brought to light, and is therefore deserving of the greatest attention on account of its high antiquity. Plate 22, fig. 3, represents a fetter-lock of much later date, which was dredged up from the Thames in March 1848. It is in a fair state of preservation, and stamped on the bar with the initials EW, the fashion of which letters forbids our assigning the specimen to an earlier period than the close of the sixteenth century.

It was this formed fetter-lock, with a falcon standing within it, which was assumed as a badge by the house of

[1] The above story, given more in detail, will be found in the *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 300.
[2] On the Field of Cuerdale (*Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 330-35).

Digitized by Google

York.[1] In the Meyrick collection is a curious little seal bearing this cognizance, of which I exhibit an impression (see plate 22, fig. 1). The fetter-lock occurs as a mint-mark upon the gold coins of Philip and Mary; and we also meet with it as an armorial bearing of a few families. Guillim, in his *Display of Heraldry* (ed. 1724, p. 352), says, after speaking of "trophies and tokens of martial victory", "Unto these before-mentioned remunerations of joyful victory, I will add such artificial things wherewith the victorious martial man doth commonly deprive of liberty those whom the fortune of the wars has given him as captives and prisoners: such be prisoners' gyves, fetters, and shackles, or prison-bolts, which are all notes of subjection and captivity." Guillim gives as examples of these bearings, the arms of Nuthall, Lockart of Lee, Lockhart of Barr, and Anderton; and remarks, "these kind of arms may also well be given to such a brave spirit, who, by his prowess can fetch off with strength, or by his charity redeem, any of his fellow-soldiers in captivity." We may also mention that one of the ancient badges of the Percys was a pair of manacles within a crescent;[2] and that the Company of Ironmongers bear three pairs of golden manacles in their arms.

Although the medieval fetters were generally forged of iron, the old chroniclers speak of silver ones being sometimes made for kings and princes. We learn from William of Malmesbury (iv, 2), that when the Crusader Boamund was captured by Danisman the Turk, in 1100, he was confined in silver fetters, which he afterwards carried away with him into France, and offered up in honour of St. Leonard. And Ralph de Diceto says, in his *Imagines Historiarum*,[3] that when Richard I conquered Cyprus, in 1191, he threw the Greek prince, Isaac Comnene, into prison, loaded with irons; but he, complaining of the little regard with which he was treated, Richard ordered silver fetters to be made for him, and for which the prince was very grateful.

To the ring-fetter and fetter-lock must be added the *pedana*, a chain with which the feet were secured;[4] and chains are frequently mentioned as shackles by the early

[1] For some interesting remarks upon this badge, by Mr. Planché, see *Journal*, vol. vi, p. 391.

[2] See *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1825, p. 598.

[3] See *Decem Scriptor.*, 660, by T. Gale.

[4] Du Cange, sub voce *pedana*.

Digitized by Google

writers. St. Simeon Stylites, or St. Simeon of the Pillar, who lived in the middle of the fifth century, wore an iron collar about his neck, and fastened his right leg to a rock with a great iron chain, and thus secured he gave his benediction to the multitudes who flocked to him.[1] In the acts of St. Rayner we read of an iron chain which was fastened on both his legs, and fixed aloft with sharp nails, so that he could not move.[2] Captives were, at times, loaded with ponderous chains and fetters, to increase their punishment, and in order to obtain a heavier ransom from them: hence the severe treatment of our Richard I during his fifteen months' confinement in the castle of Durnstein, on the Danube.[3] Such enormous sums were obtained at times, as ransom-money, that the capturing rich nobles and princes formed a lucrative employment: hence the motto of the dukes of Athol—"*furth fortune, and fill the fetters.*"

Penitents, in the pilgrimages in which they devoted themselves to the church, wore iron collars and chains, in token of their slavery.[4] Fosbroke states that those who had performed the pilgrimage to Compostella, had chains made of straw; and Erasmus, in his *Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake*, makes *Menedemus* remark that *Ogygius*, who had visited Compostella, is "adorned with *straw necklaces*". Tavernier (p. 102), when speaking of the "religious heathens of the Indies", says: "I have seen many of them who, out of devotion, went long pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with iron chains, like those that are put about the legs of elephants."

Several implements of restraint are enumerated by Browne in his *Britannia's Pastorals* (129, 1613), where he says:—

> "And bids his man bring out the five-fold twist,
> His shackles, shacklocks, hampers, gyves, and chains."

But it would be occupying too much time were I to describe, in minute detail, all the different species of shackles which have been invented. The Basil, the light and heavy double-irons, the shackle-bolt handcuffs, letter-b handcuffs, rivet-cuffs, figure of eight cuffs, and several other kinds, might be mentioned.

[1] See Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, sub January 5.
[2] Du Cange, sub voce *spannale.*
[3] Froissart, iv, 115.
[4] Menagiana, iv, 146, 147.

Digitized by Google

From the foregoing facts relative to vincula, we see that man, in far remote ages, confined the slave, the culprit, and the war-captive, not only in prisons, but loaded their limbs with shackles. We further learn that these shackles were, in the first instance, either ropes, or thongs of leather, but that collars, manacles, and fetters, were forged of metal at an early period; that the metal first employed appears to have been bronze or brass, which was soon, however, superseded by that of iron; but for royal and noble captives, shackles were sometimes wrought of gold and silver.

The history of vincula is a curious but neglected subject, which has not yet received the attention it deserves, for it presents few inviting features. It lacks the exciting interest of the gorgeous pageant, the regal court, the old baronial hall resounding with jocund revelry, and carries you only to the dismal, rock-hewn Lapidicinæ and Latomiæ, the gloomy Pistrinum, the cold, damp dungeon, and cheerless prison-house. These are the heart-sickening scenes which the consideration of the subject brings before the eyes of the antiquarian student, to chill his spirit of investigation, and make him halt upon the threshold of his labours, and seek more pleasing records than those of human woe, and crime, and misery. Finding that others have shrunk from writing on so mean and unpromising a subject, I have endeavoured to cull a few scattered facts from pagan myths, and monkish tales, and chronicles of byegone times, and to digest them into such a form that they may, I hope, serve in some degree to supply an archæological desideratum.

Digitized by Google

ON THE HAYDON-SQUARE SARCOPHAGUS.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., F.L.S., M.R.S.L., ETC.,
HON. SEC.

The object of the following pages is to furnish the Association with a detailed account of the most interesting antiquarian discovery of which our metropolis has lately been the scene, and about which it is presumed that some particulars will be acceptable.

On Tuesday the 24th of May, a number of workmen were employed in excavating for the foundations of a range of warehouses for the London and North-Western Railway Company, at the north-west corner of Haydon-square, near the Minories. At a depth of about five feet below the present surface of the adjacent street, the first objects of archæological interest which presented themselves to notice, were two encaustic tiles lying apparently *in situ*, and marking the elevation of the floor of some portion of an abbey, which is known to have occupied the spot. The religious house in question was founded for nuns of the order of St. Clare, (from whose denomination of *sorores minores* the neighbouring thoroughfare has received its name) by Edmond earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, brother of king Edward I, in 1293; and was surrendered, by the last abbess, to king Henry VIII, in 1539.[1] Beneath these tiles, at a depth of three feet, various evidences of sepulture were observed, consisting, for the most part, of black earth and nearly decomposed bones. The purpose of the excavation requiring a still greater depth than that which was at this time arrived at, the workmen proceeded with their labours, and, at a distance of five feet below the remains just mentioned, which is equivalent to thirteen feet below the surface, came to the very interesting relic which I have now the pleasure of bringing under your notice. This was a stone sarcophagus, which lay nearly due east and west, the head at the former extremity, and, doubtless, in the place which it occupied at the period of its original deposition.

[1] Stowe's *Survey*, book ii, p. 14.

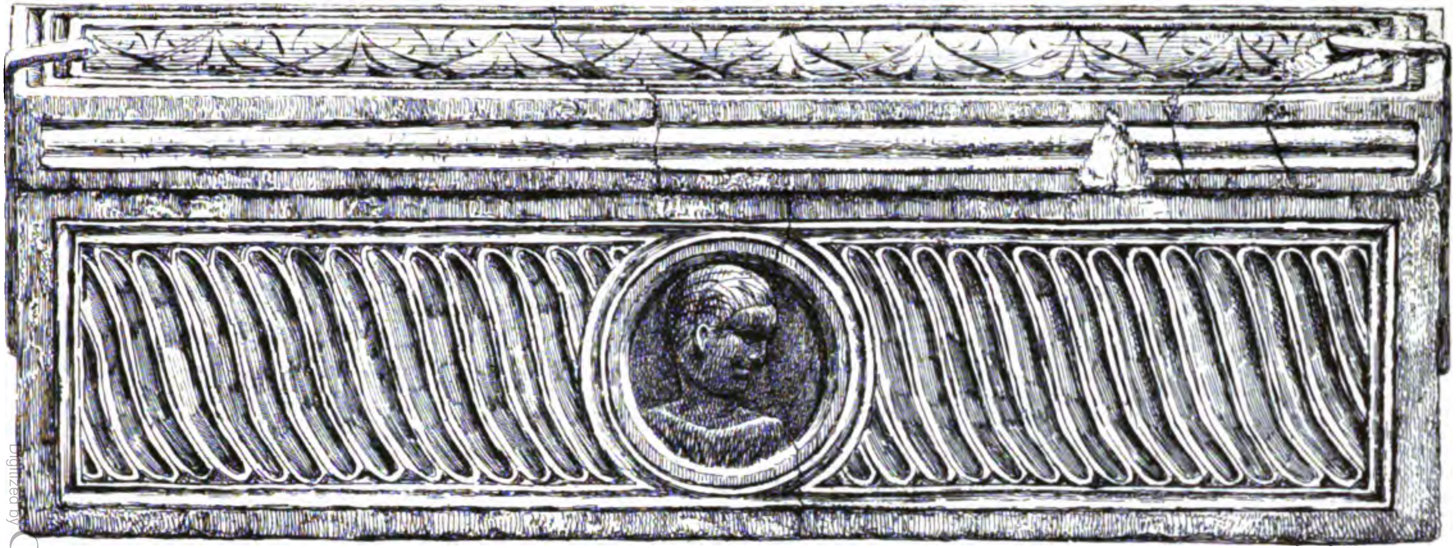
Digitized by Google

It presented the appearance of a large stone chest, furnished with a cover, which was fastened down at each end by two stout iron clamps. I am sorry to be obliged to add, that the workmen, under the apprehension of concealed treasure, broke up one end of this cover, and also lifted up the end of the lid of a leaden cist which was found to occupy the interior. Observing, however, the nature of the remains, they replaced the whole as originally discovered, and immediately conveyed it to the neighbouring church of the Holy Trinity, there to await a scientific examination.

The Rev. Thos. Hill, M.A., incumbent of Holy Trinity, lost no time in putting various antiquarian friends, including myself, in possession of the fact of its removal, and kindly invited us to conduct the examination. Accordingly, on Monday the 30th of May, a considerable number of gentlemen, including Mr. Hawkins of the British Museum, Mr. Akerman, one of the secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries, etc., etc., were present in the church; and the results of our investigation I will now proceed to detail.

We found a stone sarcophagus, five feet in length, two feet and half an inch wide, and one foot ten inches in depth (see plate 23). It is furnished with a roofed, or saddle-backed cover; and the front, both of cover and chest, is ornamented with sculpture. It appears to have been designed to stand in or against a wall, as only one side is decorated, the other side being without ornament of any kind. The sculpture occupying the front of the cover consists of a band of foliage within a moulding, the leaves not much unlike those of the acanthus, which is continued from end to end (see plate 24). The front of the chest is decorated with a series of indented striæ, the lines of which are of an ogee character, also within a moulding. In the centre of this pattern (which, like the ornamentation of the lid, runs, with this single interruption, from end to end) is a circle, surrounded by a plain moulding, and containing a sunken panel, whereon is sculptured, in high relief, the figure of a youthful bust, clothed with a tunic. The face is in profile; and, from its strong marks of individuality, may possibly have been intended for a likeness of the deceased (see plate 25, representing the bust, of the actual size, from a sketch taken immediately after the discovery). Each

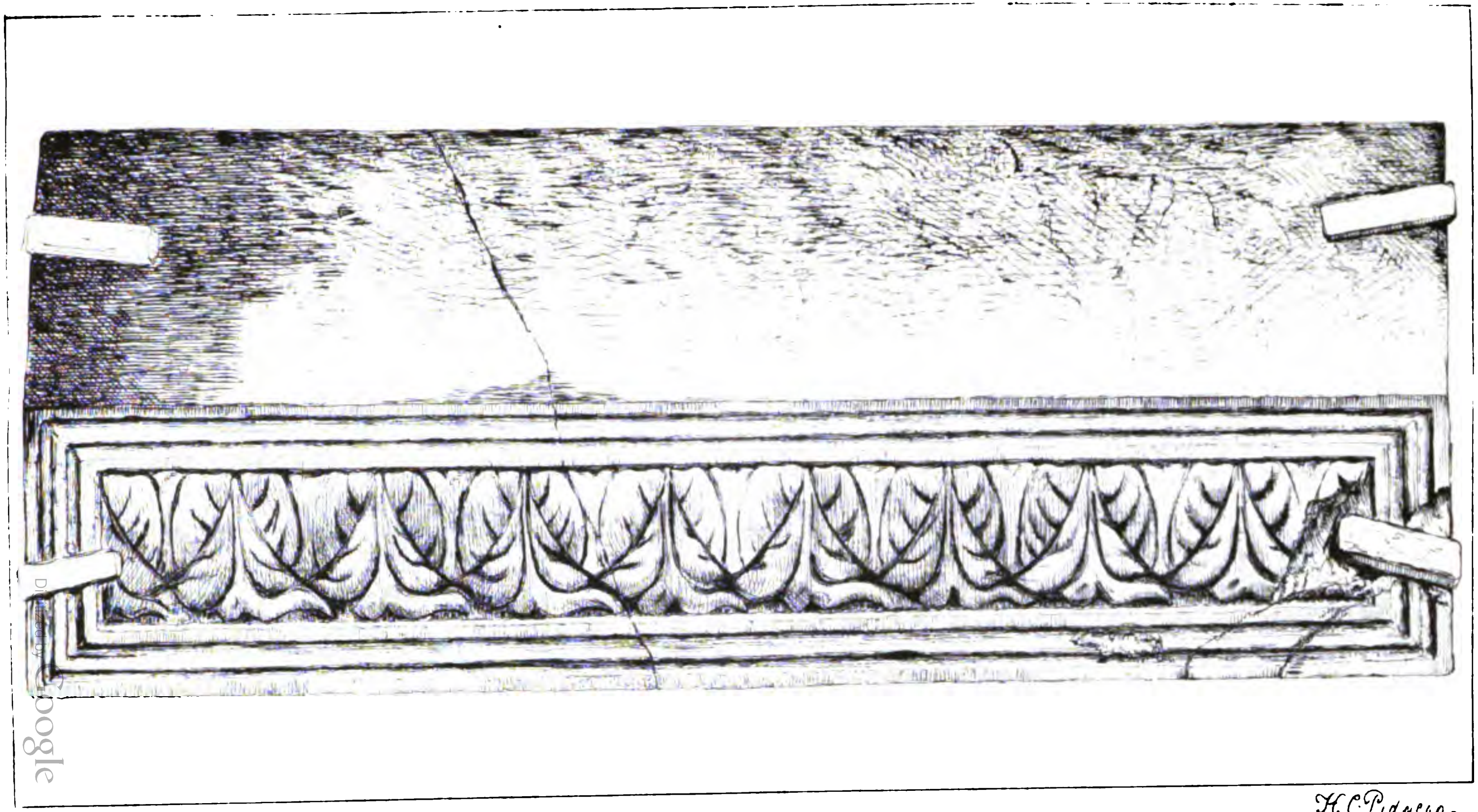
Digitized by Google



H. C. Pidgeon.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



H C Pidgeon.

Digitized by Google

Drawn & etched by Thomas Hay...

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

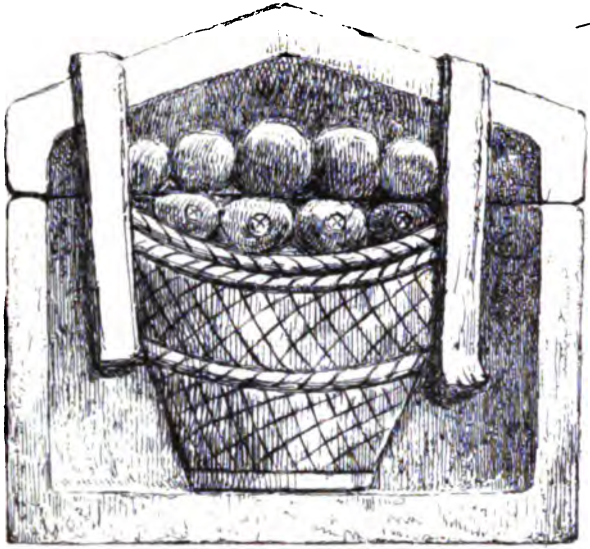


fig 1

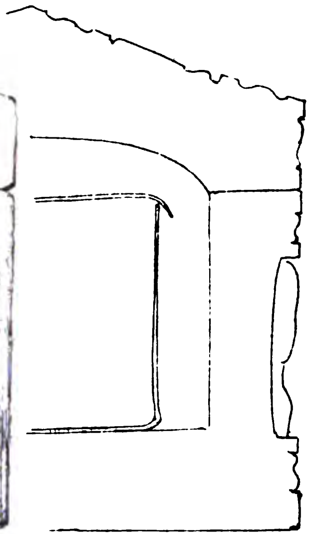


fig 3

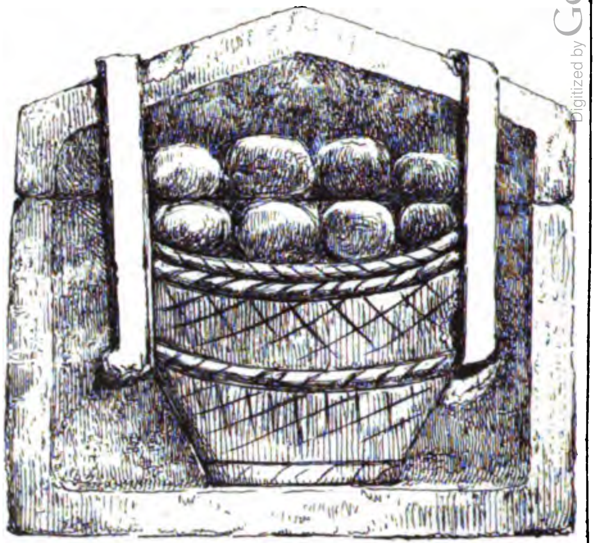
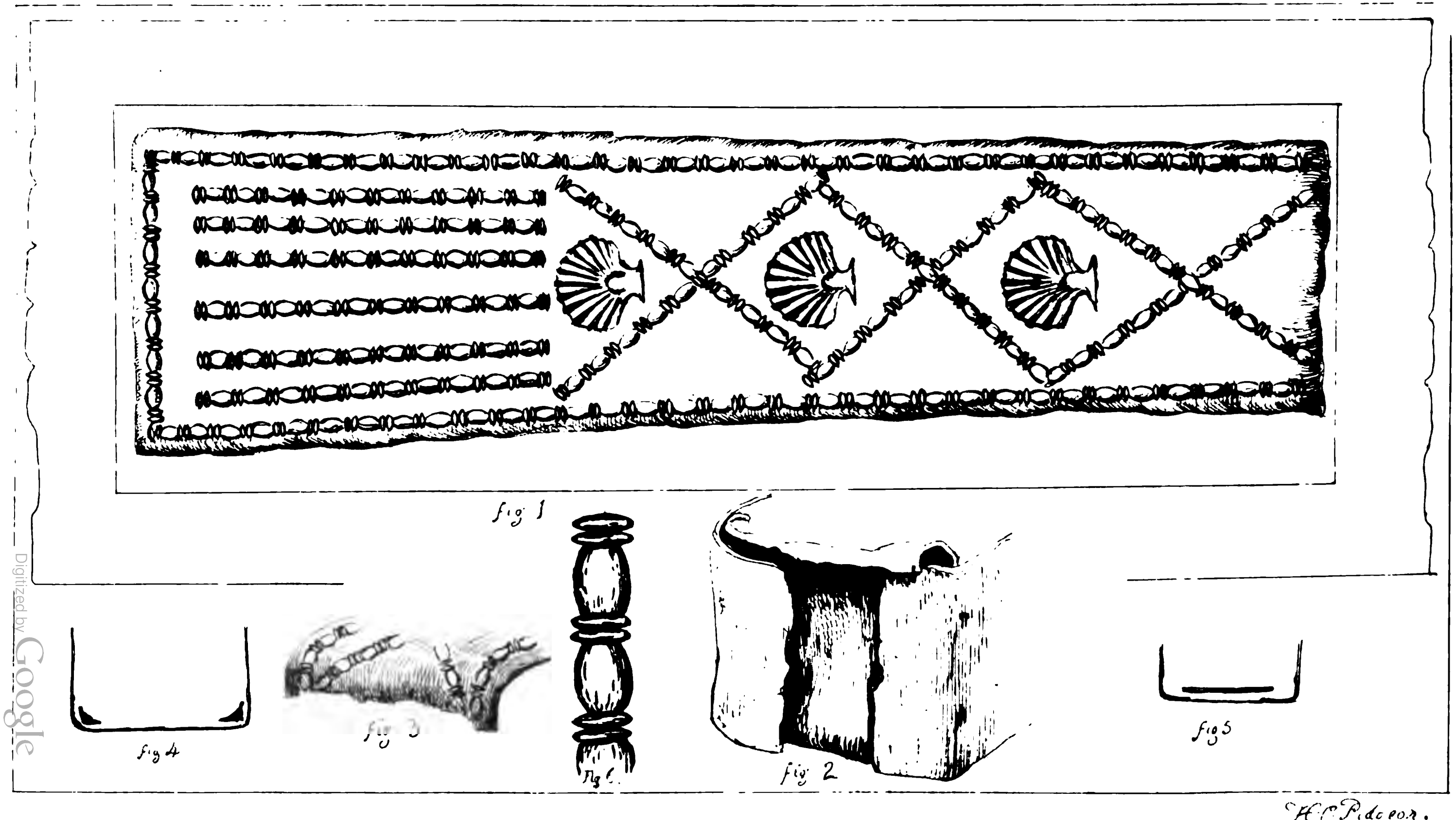


fig 2

H. C. Pidgeon.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

end of the sarcophagus is ornamented with the figure of a basket containing fruit; of which be it remarked, that the sculptures on both chest and cover enter into, and furnish portions of, the one design; thus supplying a proof, if any were needed, of their contemporaneous formation (see plate 26, figs. 1, 2).

It was considered most advisable to remove that portion only of the stone cover which the workmen had broken up, as before stated, amounting to a little more than half of the entire length, and to leave the remainder undisturbed, and attached by its original fastenings. This was accordingly done; and, upon the removal of that portion of the cover, we were much gratified by the sight of a finely ornamented leaden coffin, nearly filling the stone cist, but tapering slightly towards the lower extremity. The dimensions of the lid are four feet four inches in length, one foot two inches and a half in width at the head, decreasing to twelve inches and a half at the middle, and to one foot at the bottom (see plate 27, fig. 1). Its surface is covered with ornamentation, in good relief, consisting of raised lines formed of beads and rings (see plate 27, fig. 6), very similar to that figured in our *Journal*;[1] only in the one under review there are two small rings between each bead instead of one; and therefore, though the beads are differently formed, more closely resembling, in this particular, the specimen figured at p. 299 of the volume to which I have just referred. Their arrangement, however, is very different. First, there is a line of these beads and rings, marking the edges of the lid, throughout three of its four sides, the original end having been roughly cut off to adapt it to the outer coffin of stone (plate 27, fig. 3). Then, as far as the head and breast, are six rows running vertically. Below these there are two lines carried three times obliquely, which thus form diamond-shaped compartments. Of these, two are entire diamonds; and the terminal one at each end, and the outer three at each side, are half diamonds. Within each of the entire diamonds, and the half diamond at the upper end, are figures of escalop shells: the half diamonds at the sides and foot are plain. The lid was not soldered, but had its edges, beyond the pattern just described, simply lapped over the sides of the subjacent coffin. The raising

[1] Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. ii. p. 297.

Digitized by Google

of this lid was the next stage of our proceedings; and it may not, perhaps, be impertinent to remark that the hand which has penned these memorials was one of the two which performed that operation, and that, in consequence, the writer is enabled to speak with paramount authority on the state of the objects now described.

On raising the lid of the leaden coffin, we observed a tolerably perfect skeleton, originally about three feet ten inches long, of what appeared, by the bones of the pelvis, to be a male child, and by the sutures of the skull, and the alveolar processes, one of seven or eight years of age. The upper portion of the head had been disturbed, most probably during the process of removal, and was lying unattached on its side; but the lower jaw and the rest of the skeleton were precisely as when first discovered. They were about half—but as far as that, firmly—imbedded in a deposit of lime, which was tenacious, and had evidently suffered no disturbance. Many of the ribs, together with bones of the arms, vertebral column, pelvis, femora, and legs, were prominent; but the lesser bones of the hands, feet, etc., were undistinguishable. The foreman, however, assures me that when the lid was first raised, the articulations of the fingers were distinctly perceptible. Not wishing to disturb the remains unnecessarily, we contented ourselves, for the present, with my passing a chisel round the outside of the arms, among the *débris* of the hands, and below the under jaw, but could bring to light no personal ornament of any kind.

At the conclusion of this examination, the leaden coffin was lifted out of the stone cist, and we were then enabled to observe the formation of the former, and the appearance presented by the interior of the latter. (For a section of both coffins, see plate 26, fig. 3.) The inside of the stone cist is entirely without ornament. The leaden coffin is constructed of a single sheet of that metal, cast in a mould, with portions bent upwards to form the sides. It is wholly unornamented. The upper extremity is formed by a continuation of the bottom turned up similarly to the sides; and then, in each of the two corners formed by the union of this with the ends of the sides, a triangular strip of lead is placed, and the whole is soldered together (see plate 27, fig. 4). The lower extremity, at which the coffin

Digitized by Google

has been deprived of somewhat of its original length, is made by the redundant side-pieces bent inwards, and a square sheet of lead, probably the original end, soldered against them and to the bottom (see plate 27, figs. 2, 5). Its dimensions are, four feet two inches in length; thirteen inches and a half in breadth at the head, twelve and a quarter at the middle, and eleven and a half at the foot; and ten inches in depth.

Whatever may have been the case with the leaden coffin, the stone cist was no doubt intended for the person actually interred in it, as its length is precisely adapted to the reception of such an individual; whereas the former had to be shortened, as we have seen, in order to suit the dimensions both of the remains which it held, and of the stone receptacle in which it was placed.

Thus far our first examination proceeded. At its conclusion, the stone cist and the lid of the leaden coffin were presented to Mr. Hawkins for the British Museum, where their safety and accessibility are at once guaranteed, and to which depository they were soon afterwards removed.

Some doubts, however, having been felt as to the possible existence of ornaments among the remains, we were kindly permitted to indulge ourselves with a second investigation. On Tuesday, the 14th of June, therefore, the Rev. Mr. Hill, his wardens, T. J. Pettigrew, esq., Dr. W. V. Pettigrew, F. H. Davis, esq., Dr. Cobb, J. H. Cook, esq., surgeon, and myself, made an examination of the contents of the leaden coffin. Nothing of importance, except the certainty of the absence of both coins and ornaments, resulted from our visit; at the conclusion of which, the bones, having been placed in their original position, together with the leaden coffin and the lime in which they had been imbedded, were enclosed in a wooden shell, and interred in the crypt.

It may perhaps be needless to remark, that it is our unanimous opinion that the sarcophagus and its leaden enclosure are of pagan workmanship, and of the late Roman period. The locality in which they were discovered is well known as the site of a Romano-British burial-place, and relics of a partly similar character have been previously disinterred, accompanied by ornaments which have left no doubt of their origin and age. The Rev. Dr. Fly, a former

Digitized by Google

incumbent of Holy Trinity, mentions a report that "stone coffins and buried plate" have been found beneath the cellars of the adjoining houses.[1] Weever speaks of the discovery of a leaden coffin at Stepney;[2] whilst, in the *Journal* of the Association,[3] to which reference has already been made, are several brief notices of similar discoveries; and others may be consulted in the volumes of the *Archæologia*.[4] It is very much to be regretted that the majority of these notices are so ambiguous in language and barren of detail as to furnish but few materials for comparison and contrast, and therefore are almost valueless to the practical antiquary. No useful purpose, therefore, could be answered by lengthened quotations from these accounts. It will be abundantly sufficient to say that the sites of the discoveries were Mansell Street, Whitechapel, closely adjoining that of the subject of our present investigation; Stratford-le-Bow; the Kent Road; Battersea Fields; Colchester; Southfleet, Kent; Kingsholme, near Gloucester; York, etc. Notwithstanding, however, the aforementioned insufficiency of almost all the descriptions, peculiarities are mentioned in several, which tend to identify them with objects similar to that before us,—of which the account that I have endeavoured to furnish may probably appear to some to fall into the contrary error, and to be even too prolix and minute. These peculiarities consist of the presence of the bead and ring ornament; of the tendency of this to form diagonal crossings; of the escalop shells placed in the lozenge-shaped compartments thus created; and of the lime in which the remains were imbedded. It is also a curious coincidence, that the leaden coffins discovered in Mansell Street, at Stratford, Southfleet, and Colchester, which, as it appears, most closely resembled in other respects this from Haydon Square, contained, like it, the remains of children.

A small brass of Valens, A.D. 364, was found near the sarcophagus, which may be considered to point pretty accurately to the period of the interment. In reply to one or two gentlemen, who have expressed an opinion that the

[1] "Account of an Abbey of Nuns formerly situated in the Street now called the Minories," etc. (*Archæologia*, vol. xv, pp. 92-113.)
[2] Funeral Monuments, edit. 1631, p. 30. [3] Vol. ii, p. 297; vol. iv, p. 383.
[4] Archæologia, vol. vii, 376; xiv, 38; xvii, 333; xxv, 10; xxvi, 293; xxix, 399; and xxxi, 308.

Digitized by Google

bead and ring moulding is characteristic of a later age, I will but refer you to instances where you may observe, not merely an approximation to this ornament, but its exact counterpart. I allude to two pieces of sculpture, one, numbered 108, in the Elgin room at the British Museum,—a portion of the ceiling of the Erectheium at Athens,—and the other, No. 219, a noble fragment of the architrave, from the same building.[1] I am aware that I might direct you to remains of even higher antiquity; but, besides the ease with which you may examine them from their presence in the Museum, the instances to which I solicit your attention are more than sufficient for my purpose.

It will be seen, from what has been said, that the leaden portion of this deposit, though extremely interesting and of tolerable workmanship, does not present us with much that is altogether and indubitably new; but we may indeed congratulate ourselves on the acquisition of the external cist of stone, a discovery equal to which in interest and importance has not for a very long period engaged the attention or rewarded the vigilance of metropolitan antiquaries.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. III.

NOTICES ON ALLHALLOWS, HONEY-LANE.

BY THOMAS LOTT, ESQ., F.S.A.

"ALLHALLOWS, Allhallowen", says Malcolm,[2] "is an old English word, expressive of All Saints, to whom this and many other churches were dedicated. It will be recollected that the word alluded to is yet in use, 'Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name'—*i.e.* sanctified (sanctificatum)".[3] Malcolm further states, that "the addi-

[1] For illustrations of the same ornament, see Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, fol., Lond., 1787; vol. i, page 13; vol. ii, plate 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 18, etc.

[2] Londinium Redivivum, vol. ii, p. 162.

[3] Newcourt (*Repertorium*, 1708, vol. i, p. 237) thus traces further back the designation: "The festival of Allhallows, or All Saints, is yearly celebrated on the kalends, or first day of November, which happened on this occasion. The emperor Phocar, at the desire of pope Boniface IV, commanded that on the old temple, which was called Pantheon, formerly erected in honour of all the pagan

Digitized by Google

tion of Honey seems to have been applied in derision to the lane from which this parish receives its second denomination; for, according to Stowe, it was 'very narrow, and somewhat dark', and doubtless extremely liable to damp and dirt, which obliged the inhabitants to wash it often to keep it clean."

It would seem there was a crypt beneath the church, for there is an item in the minutes of a sum paid for repair of the cloister; and, in the year 1612, is an entry of the burial of Margaret Spatche, who was buried close to a pillar in the cloisters, and is said to have been the first person interred within them; also of one Arthur Coleby, who was buried at the upper end of the cloister, between the east wall and uppermost pillar, March 10, 1616.

Malcolm thinks—"This cloister will prove to be a crypt; for the Registers of 1665, mention the cloisters under the church, in which crypt very probably some of the anniversaries were celebrated." (p. 165.)

This church is celebrated in the person of Thomas Garret, who was curate of Allhallows, Honey Lane, in the year 1526, and who was much persecuted by cardinal Wolsey, as one assisting in the dispersion of translations of the New Testament, and of books inimical to the abuses favoured by the clergy. Mr. Thomas Brewer, the able secretary of the City of London School, has put together some very interesting particulars respecting Garret, with extracts from Anderson's *Annals of the Bible*, one of which is the following:—

"In London they commenced immediately. Among the very first places where the 'secret search' began, was a

gods, by the emperor Domitian, purging it from the dregs of idolatry, the church of the Virgin Mary and of all the martyrs should be built; that where formerly the worship, not of all gods, but of all devils, was celebrated, there afterwards should be celebrated the memory of all saints, which, from that time, was solemnized in Rome. First, on the kalends of November, which was about the year of our Lord 608, afterwards, about the year of our Lord 834, by the persuasion of pope Gregory IV, the most pious emperor Ludovicus ordained, with the consent of all the bishops of his kingdom and empire, that, in France, the festivity of All Saints should yearly, on the same day, be solemnly celebrated for ever; which holy constitution the whole church, with reverend love, hath embraced. There are three special reasons alleged for the cause of the solemnizing of this feast: 1, for the supply of other saints' feasts which are omitted; 2, for satisfaction for the negligence in the celebration of them; 3, that by the intercession of the saints, the prayers may be the more readily heard by God,—for they feign that on this day all the saints meet together purposely to intercede for men." (Hospin, *De Fest. Christ.*)

Digitized by Google

narrow lane in Cheapside, nearly opposite to Bow church. In a church there, 'Allhallows in Honey Lane', Robert Forman, S.T.P., was rector, and Mr. Thomas Garret curate. Strong suspicions rested on the latter, as being at once a receiver and distributor of books. Articles were exhibited against him, which are to be found only in the first edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and for which he was abjured before the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Bath and Wells. His fortunes were various; for, singularly enough, he was inducted, though under one Stokesley, as rector of Allhallows Honey Lane, on the 14th June 1537, into the very same church of which he had been curate in the days of Wolsey, and upon the resignation of Lawrence Cook.

Newcourt thus (p. 252) speaks of Garret:—

"Thos. Gerrard, or Garret, was of the university of Oxford, where he was admitted bachelour of arts A.D. 1517. This Garret (whom Fox in his *Acts and Monuments* styles curate, but was indeed rector) being much addicted to the opinions of Martin Luther, was at length, after several flightes from place to place, and skulking up and down (having dispersed several books which were prohibited among his acquaintants and contemporaries at Oxford), taken up and imprisoned, and at last attainted in parliament, and burnt in Smithfield, with Dr. Robt. Barnes and Will. Jerome. [Ann. 1540, *Athen. Oxon.* 1 vol. 658.]"

Mr. Brewer observes very appropriately that the City of London school (which now occupies the site of Allhallows church) looks towards Milk street, where sir Thomas More was born, and who succeeded Wolsey in persecuting all those who read or possessed the New Testament of Tyndale. One distinct provision in the city school act is, that the sacred Scriptures are to be "used and taught in this school", on the very ground where men of other days first searched eagerly for books only to burn them.

Sir John Norman, draper, mayor of London in 1453, was buried in this church. He was son of John Norman of Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and was the first mayor that was rowed by water to Westminster to take his oath: he caused a barge to be made at his own charge, and every company had small barges well decked and trimmed, to

Digitized by Google

pass along with him; for joy whereof the watermen made a song in praise of him, beginning thus:

"Row thy boat, Norman," etc.

Middleton, in his *Sun in Aries*, 1621, and two other of his pageants, mentions "sir John Norman, the first lord mayor that was rowed in his barge to Westminster with silver oars, at his owne cost and charges."

Mr. Fairholt, in his *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, published by the Percy Society, in 1843 (p. 8), states that Norman "is frequently alluded to by the city poets and other writers on civic festivity, and always in terms of admiration, equalled only by the Thames watermen, who gratefully recorded their sense of the service he rendered them by a ballad, the only two existing lines of which are the often quoted—

'Row thy boat, Norman,
Row to thy leman.'

He, however, as lord mayor, had at least the merit of fixing the fashion of the annual water procession, that has continued with few intermissions down to our own day."

The church of Allhallows was one of many destroyed by the great fire of London. It is to be regretted that no engravings or other pictorial reminiscences of these buildings exist, whence we could form some idea of their architectural design. Agg's map, which bears the date of the year 1560, it is true, professes to give ground plan and elevation; but the sketches of the churches are so rude that it is feared they can hardly be depended upon for their fidelity. Curiously enough, Honey-lane and the church are wholly omitted from this map. We gather little from Stowe in the way of description, except that he is very much in the habit of calling churches "faire buildings". He thus describes the church of Allhallows, Honey-lane:[1]

"Then near to the Standard, in Cheape, is Honey Lane, so called, not of the sweetness thereof, being very narrow and somewhat dark, but rather of often washing and sweeping, to keep it clean. In this lane is the small parish church called Allhallows in Honey Lane. There are no monuments in the church worth notice. I find that John Norman, draper, mayor 1453, was buried there: he gave to the drapers his tenements on

[1] Vol. i, p. 558, fol. ed., 1754.

Digitized by Google

the north side of the said church, they being to allow for the beam light and lamp, 13*s*. 4*d*. yearly, from this lane to the Standard. And thus much for Cheape ward, in the high street of Cheape, for it stretcheth no further."

Having occasion to search the vestry minutes in reference to two gift sermons (one William Saywell of the above parish having bequeathed to it the sum of £100, for the preaching of two sermons in the year,—one on the — of August, to commemorate the great deliverance of this country from the Spanish armada in 1588; and another on the 5th of November, to celebrate our deliverance from the popish plot), I found several curious items, which are worthy of notice. The earliest book of minutes in the possession of the parish, it may be observed, commences in the year 1619, and luckily escaped destruction in the fire:

1627 Paid for 2 barres of iron for the cloister windowe, 00 : 12 : 6

(From the above item it may be assumed there was some building of this character contiguous to the church.)

P^d^ for a baudricke, for the saint's bell, 00 : 00 : 10

Paid to the treasurer of Christe's Hospital, 10 : 16 : 8

P^d^ and given to one Crooke, the 3^d^ of May, 1619, for his counsell concerning the parishes right or title in the Bull head taverne, and the twoe houses adjoining theretoe, 01 : 02 : 00

P^d^ for 3 dozen of candles, 00 : 13 : 00

1633 P^d^ for a booke of recreation, 00 : 01 : 0

Given a poore sick minister, 00 : 02 : 0

Given a goose, minister's wife, 00 : 01 : 00

P^d^ for not ringing the bells when Sqr. Biseox went by, 00 : 06 : 00

1637 P^d^ for rosemary and bayes at Ch'tmasse, 00 : 04 : 4

1640 (March 27) Paid for ringing the bells on Coronation day, 00 : 01 : 00

Paid to discharge an excommunication, because the accompts were not made up, 00 : 07 : 04

Charges of taking up a brat laid in the parish, and baptising it John Honey Lane, 15*s*. 2*d*., and keeping it a fortnight, 5*s*.,—1 : 0 : 2

1641 (April 21st) Rece'd of Mr. Tayler for one that was drunck, and lay on ye street, according to ye statute, 00 : 05 : 00

1644 Paid goodwif ffighes for nursing the child for 13 monnths, at 6 : 8 ye mo., 04 : 06 : 0

1645 Paid for a table wherein is ye covenant, 00 : 13 : 0

1649 Rec^d^ for the bell and *herse cloth* for Mr. Gippe, 00 : 05 : 00

(It is probable, at this time, the churches, as well as the companies' halls, possessed funeral palls.)

Digitized by Google

1652 (20th of October) Pd for a grene goose for Mrs. Virtue, 00 : 02 : 06
To convey a woman wh child out of the parish in ye night season, 00 : 03 : 06

1665 Expent uppon a dinner a processioninge day, 03 : 00 : 00
Pd for takinge of an excomunication, 00 : 08 : 6

1675 Rece'd upon the roll for maimed soldiers, 02 : 08 : 00
Pd or proporcōn for mending the Tabernacle doores, 00 : 03 : 00
Pd to the churchwarden of St. Katherine Coleman, towards the reliefe of their poore, 04 : 00 : 00
Spent when we went to the lord major's about the pews and gallerys, 00 : 03 : 00

1685 (Oct. 8) Pd for ringing, by order of my lord mayor, for the king's comeing to towne, 01 : 00 : 00

1689 (March 25th) Pd for a dinner on Ascension day, 08 : 4 : 3
Pd for prayers, K. Wm. and Mary, 00 : 01 : 00
Spent wth Mr Bledso, and Mr. Cole ye scrivener, inquiring after ye psh ground, 00 : 2 : 00
Paid Mr. Pounsett for ye charg he was at inquiring after ye ground, 00 : 1 : 6
(July 11th) Given to a poore pilgrime, 00 : 1 : 0
Paid Mr. Core for drink on Assention day, 00 : 4 : 9
Paid charges for ye man yt died in ye cage, 00 : 7 : 0
Paid for keepynge and burying ye child yt was laid in ye psh, 01 : 05 : 00

1690 The bells were rung on the king's safe return from Ireland, and safe return from Scotland

1733 (8th Feb.) Paid at receiving the coachman's money that curst sir William Billers,[1] 00 : 3 : 6

[1] Mr. S. I. Tucker has communicated the following particulars relating to sir W. Billers, citizen and haberdasher. He served the office of sheriff in 1720-21; was elected alderman of Cordwainer's ward in 1722; and was lord mayor of London in 1733-34. In a magazine published at the close of his mayoralty is the following:—"Tuesday, Nov. 12, 1734. On a motion made by sir Gerard Conyers, and seconded by sir Robert Baylis, the court of aldermen of this city made an order that a reward of £50 should be offer'd for the apprehending and bringing to justice any person or persons, not exceeding ten in number, who hiss'd, pelted, or any way insulted, sir William Billers, knt., late lord mayor, as he pass'd from Black-Fryars to Fishmongers-Hall, on lord mayor's day. The money to be paid, by the chamberlain of London, on the conviction of each of the persons, provided such person or persons be apprehended within three months." It appears that, during the mayoralty of sir William Billers, an address was presented to the king, on the marriage of the princess royal with the prince of Orange, when none of the gentlemen who took up the address received the honour of knighthood, or were permitted to kiss the king's hand, as usual on such occasions. It is probable that the insult offered to sir William arose from political opinions entertained by him. There was an election for members of parliament for London, in May 1734; and a scrutiny in the election of chamberlain of the city, had taken place in the month of April preceding. Sir William died on the 13th Oct. 1745, at the age of fifty-six, and was buried in

Digitized by Google

(9th) Reced of sir W[m] Billers clerk, on correction of a coachman cursing s[r] W[m], 1 : 0 : 0

(14th) Gave the coachman's wife that curst s[r] W[m] Billers, 00 : 05 : 00

1770 Paid the rev. Mr. Smith for one year's daily prayers, 5 : 10 : 3

The first sir Robert Peel was a rated householder in this parish, in the year 1797.

The following extract may also be worthy of record:

"1672. The annual rate, or sum of fforty nine poundes, in lieu of tythes and augmentation for the incumbent of the united parish of All Hallows, Honey Lane, assessed by us whose names are subscribed, by virtue of an act of parliament made in that behalfe.

"Mr. Brittain, att the Talbott.
Mr. Barkham, att the Maidenhead.
Mr. Herghter, att the Goate.
Mr. Fensell, att the Angell.
Mr. Waldo, att the Black Bull.
Mr. Bird, att the Craw.
Mr. Taylor, at the Cardinall's Cap.
Mr. Combs, att the Green Dragon.
Mr. Gulliford, at the Mare Maid.
Mr. Rees, att the Ball Head.
Mr. Browne, att y[e] 3 Golden Lyons.
Mr. Cottington, att y[e] 3 Pidgeons.
Mr. Sambach, att y[e] Coffee Signe.
Mr. Needham, att y[e] Lampe and Sugar Loaf.
Mr. Baldwin, att y[e] 3 Bee Hives."

The old minute book from which the preceding extracts have been taken, affords a record of the ancient custom (since considered more honoured in the breach than the observance) of protruding from each house a sign-board, with its accompanying device, as identifying unmistakably the domicile, and often the trade, of the craftsman who had projected it. The commissioners of sewers of the present day are so strict in prohibiting projections of all kinds, as preventing that free current of air which, in these times, is deemed so indispensable, that not only thereby is all

Morley church, near Twyford, Herts, where there is a monument erected to his memory. His family residence was, however, at Mount Muscat, near North Cray, Kent. In addition to his civic honours above enumerated, he was also the treasurer and general of the Artillery Company, colonel of the Blue Regiment of Trained Bands, a director of the South Sea Company and of the East India Company, a commissioner for reforming the Court of Chancery, and a fellow of the Royal Society.

Digitized by Google

domestic and shop architecture of an ornamental kind entirely put an end to, but all symbols of trade, in the shape of projections, absolutely forbidden. I had much difficulty, as a commissioner of sewers, to get permission for the projection of an illuminated clock from the house of a clockmaker in Cheapside,—an exhibition which, in the good old days of sign-boards, would have been treated as a godsend, and doing something more than making darkness visible. Many of the old signs are still preserved, however, in the shape of small metal emblems, which are affixed flat on the fronts of the houses, in quiet obscurity; in strange contrast with the creaking obtrusiveness of their ancient predecessors, whose harsh, grating sounds made "night hideous."

SHORT NOTICES AS TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF CARLYLE,

WHICH THE CONQUEROR FOUND IN ENGLAND, AND A BRANCH OF WHICH WAS ENNOBLED IN SCOTLAND.

BY THOMAS CARLYLE, ESQ.

The town of Cairleil (the city of Leil, a British king) was one of the twenty-eight British cities of which the names are recorded. The Romans occupied and fortified it, and called it Luguballia, or Luguvalla. It was destroyed by the Scots and Picts in the time of Nero. The Saxons called it Lagacestre; but the ancient name survived, although variously spelt Cairduil, Cairleu, Chorleol, Carliol, Carlel, Kairlein, Karliol, Karle, Karlehill, and, in Norman French, Cordoyl. The standing name was Karleol, or Cairhill.

In the beginning of the sixth century, Mordred and Gawaine, cousins of king Arthur, made war against him. Mordred is mentioned in the *Percy Ballads* as "Carle of Carlisle", who reigned at Carlisle in 515. "Carle" meant a great officer of the crown, "præpollens". Of these, some were "huscarles", about the court; others, "buschcarls", thoughout the country, chiefly on the coast. This he was at Cair-leil; and it is to be observed that the crest of the dragon's head, worn by most branches

Digitized by Google

of the Carlyle family, was that chosen by Uther Pendragon, or "Dragon Head", his relative, the father of Arthur.

Caerleylschire originally embraced the present county of Cumberland, and, together with York, Durham, Northumberland, Appleby, and Lancaster, composed the English half of the province of Northumberland, till 23rd Henry II, when the Pipe roll was for the first time headed "Cumberland", although the Exchequer remained that of Carleol.

The town of Cairleil was rebuilt in the ninth century; but it was destroyed, about 900, by the Danes, who devastated and depopulated the whole surrounding country. So it probably remained till the Conquest, when William, who planted in that district many of his barons as proprietors, gave the charge of Cairleilshire, in 1072, to his brother-in-law, Ranulph de Meschines, or Micenis, who began to rebuild the city, and to confer privileges on its citizens. In 1090, William II, driving away a certain Dolfinus, "cujus terra illa fuit," probably a Dane, visited and rebuilt the city, defended it with a strong castle, and brought many colonists to the district from the south.

Cairleil, Luguballia, or Luel, originally belonged, in spiritual things, to the bishopric of Lindisfarne, by grant from king Egfred to Cuthbert, the bishop, who placed a church and schools there. In 1099 it was an appendage of Durham, under bishop Ranold, along with Teviotdale. In 1133 it was made a separate diocese by Stephen, under bishop Athelwald, or Adulf. The town, once taken by David of Scotland, and retained by him when he restored Newcastle to Stephen, was restored by Malcolm to Henry II, in 1157.

The Conqueror found the family of Cairleil in possession of estates at Cairleil. They were of either British or Saxon descent, and are not to be confounded with the Danish family of Carl, the son of Turbrand; of which family, Turbrand, in the eleventh century, with the connivance of Canute, killed Uchtred earl of Northumberland; and Carl killed Aldred, the son of Uchtred; while Carl's family were slain in turn by Waltheof, son of Aldred, a relation of the Carlyle family,—for Carl and Turbrand were both prænomens. The cognomen of the latter was "Hold"; and the occurrence of such names of places as Karl, Carltun, Carlwath, in the eleventh century, indicate the existence of a family from which these places were named.

At, or very shortly after, the conquest, Hildred de Karliolo possessed Cairleil (where he had his "*solarium*"), Comquinton, in the parish of Wetherall, and lands in the parish of Kirkhampton, and barony of Burglo, where his principal seat was. He afterwards acquired, from Henry I, Newby on the Moor; and Robert, his grandson, got Bochardeby, near Carlisle, from Robert de Brus. Hildred is said to have been married to Aldgith, daughter of Uchtred, son of Waltheof earl of Northumberland. His first appearance is as witness, under the name of "Huddredus", to

Digitized by Google

the foundation-charter, by the Conqueror, in favour of the abbot of Wetherall (*Monast.* iii, 582). He is identified by the facts of his lands lying there, and of his descendants being subsequent benefactors of the abbey; but especially by his appearance as witness, under the title of "*Hudredus, miles,*" to a charter by Ranulph of Meschines, in favour of the monks of Wetherall, in 1088. Moreover, we find that, subsequent to 1100, Hildred de Carliolo had a dispute (*calumnia*) with the said monks about certain lands and woods, which he ultimately ceded to them by a grant, "for the good of his soul," which, as he says, "in solario mei Carlel concessi coram monachis et militibus et quibusdam brugensibus de Carlel," which is attested by "Odard, filius Hildredi," and on which he gives seizin, in presence of "Ervisius Stephanus de Corkeby, Robertus frater Stephani, and Robertus, nepos Hildredi" (*Monast.*, iii, 590). That he had another son, William, appears from the Pipe roll (*Mag. Rot. Scacc.*), 31 Hen. I. Henry I granted to Hildred de Karleolo, and Odard his son, the forfeited estates of Gamel Fitzborn, and Glassa son of Brichtric, his Drengs (*Dregnos meos*), to be held in chief (Assize roll, 11th John, 1210, Placit. Wr., p. 67). In 1130, Hildert rendered an account of his balliwick, under the name of "Chaerleolium". This may still be Hildred de Karleol; but, at any rate, Odard, his son, was sheriff in 1126, when David of Scotland went to the English court (Pipe roll, Henry I, and again in 1130; *Hist. Northum.*, iii, 2, 16, 45).

In or about 1140, Richard de Karleolo, and Robert his brother, shared the estates. Richard got Newby-on-the-Moor, among others; Robert got Comquhinton, and Kirk Bampton, and Cairsell. They granted to the monks of Wetherall the use of the dead wood in Comquhinton, and confirmed the grant of land to them by their grandfather ("*avus*"), Hildred (*Monast.*, iii, 590). This proves that both Hildred and Odard died before 1140.

The same Robert, brother of Richard, was probably the Robert who witnesses a deed by John archdeacon of Durham: *Hist. Northum.*, p. 121, 3, 2, *Spal.* H. II.

About 1170, Adam, son of *Roger* (should be Robert) de Karliolo, granted to the monks 8 shillings out of the rents of Comquhinton (*Monasticon*). It will abundantly appear that this Adam was son of no Roger, but of Robert, the brother and survivor of Richard, and grandson of Hildred, and that he was the Adam who, for siding—like the Jardines and the Johnstones—with the Scots in border struggles between 1170 and 1180, was not only declared a rebel by the English king, but in compensation for the loss of his lands, confiscated and bestowed by 17 John, 1216, on Thomas de Verdun (*Rol. Lit. Claus.* 245), obtained about that period, as Adam, son of Robert, from William de Brus, the lands of Kimmount and Kilhead in Annandale, in exchange for those of Bochardebi, which Robert, father of William de Brus, had given to Robert,

Digitized by Google

father of Adam de Karliolo. Brus further stipulated that, should Adam lose Kynmount, he would give him an equivalent out of his (Bruce's) lands at Herternes (*i. e.* Hartlepool). This Adam was probably he who witnessed a deed by the second Eustace de Fitzjohn, son of William, and grandson of Ivo de Vesey; which Ivo was companion of the Conqueror, and father-in-law of the first Eustace de Fitzjohn (*Monastic.*, vii, 868). And he was also the same who, in 27th Henry II (1181), as "son of Robert," gave half of the rectory of Bampton to the hospital of St. Nicholas at Carlisle. But the conclusive proof of the mistake as to Roger, lies in the fact that—

About 1200, Eudo "son of Adam, son of *Robert* de Karliolo," confirmed to the above monks the grant of Mirland (out of Ormesby) made by his father Adam (*Monastic.*, iii, 595).

About 1230, Eudo "son of Eudo," confirmed the above grant by Adam son of Roger (Robert).—Nicholson and Burns' *Cumberland and Westmoreland*, ii, 332.

One or other of these Eudos, father or son, also confirmed the grant above mentioned by Richard and Robert (his grandfather and granduncle, or great grandfather and great granduncle), and confirmed, in addition, the right of feeding pigs. The estates of one of them, probably the father, "qui est cum regi Scottico inimico nostro," were, by 2 Henry III (1217), granted to Robert de Vallibus; and one of them, probably the son, gave, in 11th Henry III (1227), four carucates of land in Uchbredby and Little Bampton, to Walter de Bampton.

We further find that Richard son of Richard, son of Truta, executed a grant of Bochardobi in favour of the priory of Wetherall, to which Walter of Bochardobi and Adam his brother are witnesses; and that Reginald the son of Richard gave Newby-on-the-Moor to the abbey of Horneathin. These persons must evidently have belonged to the family of Karleol, as Bochardobi was their property. Reginald, son of the second Richard, gave Newby to Holmcultram (*Monastic.*, v, 613).

The family of Karleol did not finally leave England when Adam got Kynmount in Scotland. Eudo, a son of Adam, remained; and there is no proof that he was a younger son,—nay, there is none that Adam had any other. And if the genealogy of the Scotch branch is not carried through these two English Eudos, there is a complete hiatus of about one hundred years between Adam, first of Kynmount in Scotland, and sir William, the second, of whom we hear in Scotland. Whereas, taking in the two Eudos, and, after them, sir Ivo de Karliel, who died before 1273, and William de Karliel his son, who died before 1288, both in England, we have the hiatus filled up between Adam, who got Kynmount about 1180, and sir William, improperly called "son of William," and evidently son of the above William. This sir William wore the cross in 1288, left England in 1298, was denounced as a rebel by Edward I, and also

Digitized by Google

by Edward II, and married Mary sixth sister of Robert I, king of Scotland.

This sir William Carliol, to whom his younger brother Gilbert swore fealty at Berwick in 1296, when his English estates were forfeited by Edward I, possessed Carleil, Cumquintin, Kirk Bampton in Cumberland, Kynmount, Crunyanton, Petenain in Scotland, Wortwell, Redenhall, Malton, Appelgarth, Baynton, and other estates in Norfolk and Suffolk and other parts of England. Of the property which at one time or other belonged to the family in England, Kirk Bampton, Uchtridby, Ormsby, etc., were given to Montacute in 1348; Wortwell, to Richard Carlile, in 1299; Malton and Appelgarth to others, in 1553-5. The latter, in 26th Edward III, to John de Karliolo. Baynton Manor belonged to Peter de Neville in 7th Edward I; to Peter de Malo Lacu, in 3rd Edward III; and to John de Karliolo in 26th Edward III. Cumquintin belonged, in 23rd Edward I, to Thomas Multon; to Dacre, in 6th Edward III; to Robert Panyng, in 12th Edward III. Bochardobi belonged, in 21st Edward I, to Allan de Penyngton. Cresseby, Wallbye, and Karliol, were given to Montacute. Newby, in 48th Edward III, belonged to Thomas de Thwang. In 3rd Edward II, Richard de Boyland had charge of Saxlingham, forfeited by William de Karleol. And many of the lands near Carlisle were afterwards possessed by the Stapletons.

This same sir William, who, before 1303, finally migrated to Scotland, obtained an increase to his estate of Kynmont (now the property of the marquess of Queensberry), and died in or before 1329, leaving a son, sir John, who, in March 1329, obtained leave from Ranulph earl of Moray to enclose Kynmount, to which his brothers William, Thomas, and James, are witnesses.

On the death of sir John, sir William, second son of sir William younger brother of sir John, and styled "nepos regis", got from Robert I (and therefore before June 1329) a grant of Culyn and Roucau, parts of the barony of Torthorwald. This was the William who appears as witness to a charter in favour of his brother John. He died at the battle of Halidon Hill, 1333; his brother Thomas at Durham, 1346.

Sir John succeeded his father, sir William. He was surety for a truce in 1398, and died before 1436, probably about 1400.

Sir William succeeded his father sir John. He attended Mary of Scotland to France in 1436, and died in 1463, leaving the estate of Bridekirk to a younger son, Adam. He gave a bill to the Court House of Dumfries in 1443. Dying the same year, we find him possessed of the estate of Lime Kilns, and was the first to be styled "of Torthorwald", having got, through the Kirkpatricks, the estate of Torthorwald, which formerly belonged to a family of that name, one of whom, Thomas, witnesses the earl of Moray's grant.

Sir John succeeded his father. Sir William was created baron Carlyle

Digitized by Google

of Tortherwald, in 1473 (the name of the castle being changed to Cairleill), was chief justice of Scotland in 1476, and ambassador to France. He was three times married, into the families of Kirkpatrick, Maxwell, and Douglass; and was already dead in 1503.

John, master of Carlyle, his son, predeceased his father, whose title and estates were inherited by the son of John, William second lord Carlyle, who left the title to his son James, third lord Carlyle. James died, without issue, in 1529.

Michael, fourth lord Carlyle, succeeded to his brother James, and, after being married, first to Janet Charters of Amisfield, and then to Marion Maxwell, died in 1580, leaving several sons, Michael of Locharthur, Edward of Limekilns, John of Boytath and Peter, and Elizabeth the daughter of his eldest son William, who had predeceased him.

A litigation, of fourteen years, for the estates, ensued between the granddaughter and the second son. The former ultimately got the estates, but not the honours; yet, from the loss of the estates, the second son and his descendants never assumed the honours; and the title, now supposed to be with the Limekilns' branch of this family, has ever since been dormant.

The pedigree will appear from the tree (see page 181).

To this account some scattered notices deserve to be added. The *Cumberland History*, p. 8, mentions that a William Carlyle, son of Ivo, was fined in 1300. This Ivo cannot be sir Ivo in the pedigree, because his son William was dead in 1288. Col. Christopher Carlyle, a meritorious officer under queen Elizabeth, whose portrait is in Holland's *Herwologia*, p. 93, and Granger's *Biog. Hist.* i, 239, got a grant of arms as those worn by sir William Carliell, son of sir Ivo. Christopher was probably a descendant of the Kirkhampton branch. To the same branch, also, probably belong the Cairlells of Newcastle, who have the original Carlyle cross flory, and among whom the name Christopher occurs. So early as before 1196,Thomas de Karleolo witnesses a lease of fishings in the Tyne. The family had a town and croft at Newcastle, and the lands of Swarland. Members of the family were mayors of Newcastle, and represented it in parliament for centuries, from 1254 downwards. Indeed, Nicholas de Carliol was both mayor and member in 1301-8. Robert de Carliol possessed Blackburn in 1350. It came to sir John Carlisle, knight. And his daughter married Thurkeld of East Thorpe in 1488.

The Carliols of Wortwell, and those of York, claim connexion with sir William, who went over to Scotland. Those of Pudsey claim to be of the old Cunbersdale branch. And both they and those of Sedburgh are allied to the Scottish part of the family.

Besides the many members of the family who married in and about Carlisle and the north and centre of England, some of whom were dignitaries of the church, there were many of the name in London in the

Digitized by Google

fourteenth century, especially Thomas, rector of Allhallows, London, before 1327, probably connected with Thomas, provost of Queen's.

It is related in the preface to the Percy Ballads, p. 20, that "as Edward IV was in the north country, in the month of September 1469, one named Alexander Cairleill, that was sergeant of the minstrels, came to him in great haste, and bade him arise, for he had enemies coming to take him, which were within six or seven miles, at which tidings the king greatly marvelled." (Warton's *History*, ii, 134, note *e* or *c*.) In that year a royal charter was granted to the fraternity.

An old MS., 1590, on the Border Topography of Scotland, Brit. Mus. *Archæologia*, xxii, 168-70, says: "The county of Annerdale is strong by their great and many sirnames—as Maxwells, Johnstones, Armstrongs, Irvings, Bells, and Carlells. Every which sirname defend their own, as shall appear by division of their dwellings hereunder written Bridekirk. About them there is a great sirname of Bells and Carlells, who have been living in feud with the Irvings of Bonshaw.

"Sir Robert Jenkinson, 1618, ancestor of lord Liverpool, was descended by marriage from the ancient family of the Carleills. (*Gwillim*, p. 87.) Thomas Carleton, ancestor to lord Dorchester, was married, 1665, to Mabell, co-heir of Carlyle of Carlisle. The Dorchester, Middleton, and Dundonald arms, have the Carlyle cross flory."

In the church-yard of Torthorwald, a semicircular stone, like the half of the capital of a pillar, has been found (the other half being lost) on which are two shields: one with the Carlyle cross alone; the other with the same, quartered with the cross of the Bruces, and also the inscription Mariota de Carlyle, and the date cccli or ccccli. She was evidently married to a Bruce, a bond additional to that of the families by the marriage of sir William to the sister of king Robert I. A Mariota de Carleill lost an ear at the siege of Carlawrock, 1314.

Sir James Dowglass, who married Elizabeth, the heiress of Carlyle, about 1600, was killed in a scuffle in the streets of Edinburgh in 1608, and lies buried in Holyrood chapel, with an epitaph on his tomb.

On the tombstone of Mary, the wife of Edward Carlyle of Limekilns, in Ruthwell church-yard, Annandale, dated in 1665, are the following lines:—

"Of virtue, wit, grace, truth, love, piety,
This woman in her time had store.
On small means she upheld great honesty,
And in reward hath endless glore."

Digitized by Google

PEDIGREE—(*referred to p.* 179.)

Hildred de Karliolo, knight, 1066 = Aldrith, daughter of Uchtrid, son of Waltheof, earl of Northumberland.

Odard de Karliolo died before 1140 =

Robert de Karliolo = | Richard de Karliolo =

Sir Adam de Cairleil first settled in Scotland, and received Kinmont and Kelhead, in Annandale, between 1170 and 1180. = | Tructa or Trute =

Sir Eudo de Karleol, 1200 = | Richard = | David

Sir Eudo de Karleol in England till 1227 = | Reginald

Sir Ivo de Karliel died before 1273 =

Sir William de Karliel died before 1288 =

Sir William de Cairleill = Margaret, sister to Robert I, king of Scotland.

Sir John 1329 | Sir William de Cairleill, styled "Nepos Regis," killed, in 1333, at the battle of Halydon Hill = | Thomas | James

Sir John de Cairleill died in 1400 =

Sir William Carlyle attended Margaret of Scotland to France in 1436 =

Sir John Carlyle, *1st lord Carlyle* of Torthorwald, in 1473 = 1. Eliz. Kirkpatrick of *Closeburn* 2. Janet Maxwell 3. Margt. Douglass | Adam, see Bridekirk | James, rector of Kirkpatrick in 1495

John, Master of Carlyle, died before his father = | Robert of Pettynane

William *second* lord Carlyle in 1503 = Janet Maxwell, daughter of John lord Maxwell

James *third* lord Carlyle died without issue, 1529 | Michael *fourth* lord Carlyle died before 1580 = 1. Janet Charteris of *Amisfield* 2. Mariot Maxwell

William master of Carlyle = Jane, daughter of James Johnston, of Johnston, in 1551 | Michael of Locharthur. This branch extinct | Edward of Limekilns, from whom the present family are descended, who claim the right to the title[1] | John of Boyteth | Peter

Elizabeth = 1. Sir James Douglass of Parkhead, slain in 1608 2. Sir William Sinclair of Blous, about 1615.

—See Douglass's *Peerage*.

[1] The rest of the tree is not published, as, being very long and intricate, it would take up too much space. The present family, in whom the right to the title is vested, are descended from Edward of Limekilns, third son of Michael fourth lord Carlyle.

Digitized by Google

Proceedings of the Association.

APRIL 27, 1853.

The following associates were elected:—

John Brent, jun., esq., F.S.A., Canterbury.
Rev. Wm. Jephson Newman, Badsworth Rectory, Pontefract.
John Joseph Cotman, esq., Thorpe, Norfolk.
Frederick Sands, esq., 2, Osnaburgh-street.
George Phillips Parker, esq., 43, Mark-lane.
Alfred Eyre, esq., 10, Norland-square, Bayswater.
Henry Gunston, esq., 110, Goswell-street.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:—

From the Author. Ancient Gothic Churches, their Proportions and Chromatics, Part III. By W. P. Griffith, F.S.A. Lond. 1852. 4to.

——— Architectural Botany. By the same. Lond. 1852. 4to.

——— De' Scavi di Salona nel 1850. Memoria del Prof. Dr. F. Carrara. Praga, 1852. 4to.

——— The History and Antiquities of St. David's. By W. B. Jones, M.A., and E. A. Freeman, M.A. Part II. Lond. 1853. 4to.

——— The Fountains of British History explored. Lond. 1852. 12mo.

Mr. Shortt of Heavitree, communicated to the Association some observations relating to the pulling down of the Leper House at Exeter, when a denier tournois of Billon was discovered. This turney Mr. S. conjectures to be most probably of Louis XI, son of Charles VII and Mary of Anjou; also some remarks concerning Courtney and Bohun. The former were referred to Mr. Pettigrew, to be incorporated in his notices of Leper Houses; and the latter to Mr. Black, for his collection of documents relating to Bohun, and will appear in the *Journal*.

Mr. Shortt also acquainted the Association that he had met with a York groat of Henry VIII, with cardinal Wolsey's initials, T. W., on each side of the royal arms on the reverse; also a gun money-piece of James II, restamped in 1689 as a half-crown, which Mr. Akerman marks R. 7. It was found at Heavitree, where also was dug up a Bactrian, or Indo-Scythic copper coin.

Digitized by Google

The following communication from Mr. Wakeman of Graig, Monmouth, was read:—

"The following remarks apply to a place which, although of no very remote antiquity, will not perhaps be thought uninteresting to the Association. In a retired spot in the parish of Llanvihangel Ystern Llewyrn, about five miles from my house, at a place called the Pant (Anglicè, the Hollow), is what is known as the "Quakers' Burying Ground". It was a square inclosure in the orchard at the back of the farm house, of about fifteen yards each side, surrounded by a wall, which has lately been removed. The principal entrance was by double gates on the east; and there was another gate on the north. There were formerly many tombstones, all of which have been removed but two; one of these evidently covers the remains of the founder of the cemetery, and bears the following inscription:—

WALTER JENKYNS LYETH
BURIED HEERE, WHOSE HEA
RT TO GOD WAS FOUND
SINCERE, AS BY A VISION
DID APPEERE. FROM HIM
WHO LOVE HIS SOULE
FULL DEERE. THIS
BURYING PLACE CON
TRIVED HEE, FOR OF
HER FRIEND INTERED
TO BEE. HE LEFT
THE BODY THEE XXX
DAY OF THE FIFTH
MONTH. 1661.

"An inscription of any kind upon the tomb of one of the "Society of Friends" is, I believe, very unusual; but for one who was favoured by a 'special vision' to have so given way to the 'vain frivolities of the world', as to place a rhyming epitaph on his monument, is extraordinary. The other remaining stone merely records the burial of Jonathan Burrow and his wife, in 1735. Five pounds a year used to be paid out of the rents of an estate in the neighbourhood for keeping the cemetery in repair, but has been discontinued many years. What is most curious, is the existence of this congregation of quakers in such a secluded spot, at so early a period as 1661, only about nine years after the origin of the sect in the north of England. I can only conjecture that it originated in this way. We know from their own accounts, that 'some of the brethren being moved, not by man, but by the will of the Lord', came from Kendal in Westmoreland to Bristol, on 12th July 1654, where, in consequence of their extravagant conduct in entering the churches, addressing the officiating clergymen, and disturbing the congregations, serious riots took place, and continued at intervals for the space of two or three years. Now Bristol, at that period, was to the inhabitants of this country, very much what London is now. It was the general mart for all South Wales, and

where they sent their children to be educated and apprenticed. I have a list of above two hundred young men and women, natives of Monmouthshire, who were there apprenticed in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth; and it is very likely that the corporation books would show that Walter Jenkins was so, and perhaps established in business there at this time (1654), and having adopted the tenets of the 'Friends', retired into this secluded spot, his own property. The people in the neighbourhood have a ridiculous tradition of an attempt having been made to remove these monuments of Jenkins and Burrow, about a century ago, and that the united force of four horses and four oxen was unequal to the task; and thus account for their being suffered to remain. Meetings were occasionally held in the parlour of the house, within the memory of the past generation. At present I believe there is not a quakers' meeting in the county; at all events, there is none in this part of it.

"The farm house presents appearances of much greater antiquity than the establishment of this society: the gables were surmounted by crosses, which have been destroyed; and some carved stones have been dug up in the vicinity. The whole orchard in which the burying-place is situate has the appearance of an artificial mound, which seems to have been surrounded by a moat. It has been suggested that it was an appendage to the neighbouring abbey of Gras Dieu. A farm close by, if not immediately adjoining, certainly was part of its possessions; but there is nothing whatever to show that the Pant ever belonged to the monks, and I think from circumstances the conjecture is not well founded."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following communication on BRONZE CELTS:—

"The erudite and eloquent paper on Celts read before the Association at a late meeting, by our esteemed secretary, the rev. Mr. Hugo (see pp. 63-71 *ante*, and plates 10, 11, 12), treated so fully of these articles, that little remains to be added to the subject; and the following remarks are intended merely as illustrative of the specimens which I shall have the pleasure of laying before you. I may, however, be permitted to make one observation upon the loose, vague, and unauthorized employment of the term CELT, as a title for the bronze implements discovered throughout Europe. The word *celt*, as applied to these implements, has no relation to the people bearing that name, as some have supposed, but is derived from the old Latin word *celtes*, a graving tool. In the vulgate version of Job (xix, 24) we meet with the phrase *celte sculpantur in cilice;* and in an inscription found at Pola in Istria, given in Gruter, p. 329, occurs the following: *malleolo et celte literatus silex*. It is hard to say what could have induced the antiquaries of the last century to denominate a certain class, or rather certain classes, of instruments by a name to which they had no sort of claim, and exclude the chisel, which approaches much nearer to the true *celtes;* and it is a matter worthy of consideration whether

Digitized by Google

it be not high time to abandon this erroneous title, and adopt a more correct terminology.

"Under the generic name of celt have been included instruments of very different forms, evidently designed for very different purposes; but they are all readily divisible into three groups, which are represented by the specimens we are about to consider. The first to which I beg to call your attention, is an example of what has sometimes been called the pot-celt. It measures about 3¾ inches long, and was found about the year 1837, near Hull in Yorkshire. It will be remarked that on either side are three slightly prominent ridges, forming a sort of tridental ornament. A similar decoration is seen upon the celt found near Attleborough in Norfolk, figured in our *Journal* (vol. i, p. 59); and also on that discovered at Cuerdale, an etching of which by Mr. Hugo appeared in the *Journal* (vol. viii, p. 332); and a somewhat similar embellishment, but having the lateral dentes diverging, and all three terminating in knobs, occurs on a celt discovered at Westow, twelve miles from York, engraved in the *Journal* (iii, 58). The celts of this form are common throughout the Britannic islands.[1] They vary in length from 1½ inches to above 7 inches; and the moulds in which they have been cast, formed both of bronze and stone, have been found at different times; one of the former material may be seen in the British Museum. Some have supposed that these instruments were employed as chisels; but our late associate, sir Samuel Meyrick, considered them as the heads of battle-axes, to which he applied the British name of *bwyell-arv*. It may appear almost heresy to dissent from the opinion of so high an authority as that of my late lamented friend; but there seems good reason for rejecting the title of axe-blades for the pot-celts, and for regarding them as *amgarns*, or ferrules from the shafts of spears or lances. This opinion receives support from the fact of their frequent discovery along with spear-blades, as in Alderney (*Journal*, iii, 9), and also near Bilton in Yorkshire (*Journal*, v, 349):[2] and what may be taken as further evidence of their connected use, is the discovery in the Isle of Anglesea of a stone upon which were cut moulds for casting both the spear-blade and the celt.

"Iron ferrules, with broad flat terminations, widening from the socket to the sharp-edged base, analogous to the bronze specimens discovered in Europe, are frequently seen upon the spear-shafts of both eastern and western Africa; but they are deficient of the lateral loop which usually occurs upon the pot-celts.[3] And here it may be asked, of what use were the loops upon these brazen ferrules? a question as difficult to reply to,

[1] A curious variety of the pot celt will be seen in a specimen found at Frettenham common, Norfolk, engraved in the *Journal*, iv, 153.

[2] For similar discoveries at Holderness, in Yorkshire, see *Archæologia*, xvii, p. 329; and at Rayne, in Essex, *Gent. Mag.*, March 1844, p. 299.

[3] A spear-ferrule, of bronze, much like those in use in Western Africa, but rather smaller, is placed among the Egyptian chisels in the British Museum.

Digitized by Google

as it is to say why the lateral loops are so frequently placed upon the sockets of the spear-blades. The *amgarn* found near Tadcaster in Yorkshire, and now in the British Museum, had a large ring passing through the loop, upon which was a bead,[1] which might suggest the idea that the ferrules were provided with such an appendage for the purpose of producing a rattling noise, in the same way as the spears of the ancient Caledonians had the *cnopstara* or ball, filled with pieces of metal, fixed at the butt end of their lances:[2] or a thong may have passed through the loop, by which the weapon might be propelled, as the Greeks and Romans propelled their javelins by means of the *amentum*, or as the natives of New Caledonia still do, with a loop which surrounds the end of their lances. Be this, however, as it may, all I wish to contend for on the present occasion, is, that the so-called pot-celts are neither chisels nor axe-blades, but the *amgarns* or ferrules of spear-shafts, which might be fixed in the ground, or even used at times for offensive weapons, just as the Romans used the *spiculi* of their *hastæ*.

"The next species of the genus celt which claims our notice, is the variety having a cutting edge at the end of the broad thick blade, somewhat like a paring knife, and a wedge-shaped stem with a channel on each side, for insertion into a cleft haft. This instrument, like the *amgarn*, has been called a chisel and a battle-axe; but the antiquaries of northern Europe and Germany denominate it *paalstab*, under the notion of its being the weapon bearing that name mentioned in the Sagas, as being employed in battering the shields of the enemy; a purpose to which it is ill-suited. The *paalstabs* (as they are now generally called) vary from three to nine inches in length: they are found both with and without a loop at the side, and, from a specimen discovered in a hill in Jutland, we are enabled to say with confidence, that they were fitted into short wooden handles in a right line with the blades, which were sometimes bound round with leathern straps, at others secured by nails.[3] I produce a very fine example of the *paalstab*, 6⅜ inches in length, the cutting edge rather above 2⅜ inches wide, and on one side a small loop. It was found at Oxford in 1768, and was formerly in the collection of sir Ashton Lever.

"The last variety of celt we have to consider is the true battle-axe, the *bwyell-arv* or *bwyell-ennilleg* of the Britons, the *tuagh-catha* of the Irish. An example of this powerful weapon is figured in our *Journal* (vii, p. 217), which was discovered by Mr. Bateman, along with the remains of a bronze dagger, placed on the left side of a skeleton, in a barrow near Minninglow Derbyshire. Bronze axe-blades are occasionally met with, engraved with lines of chevron and herring-bone patterns: specimens thus adorned,

[1] This specimen is engraved in the *Archæologia*, xvi, pl. 54. It bears the tridental figure, the most common decoration met with upon the British ferrules.

[2] See Meyrick's *Costume of the Original Inhabitants of the British Islands*, p. 17.

[3] See Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, p. 26.

Digitized by Google

from Yorkshire and Suffolk, are in the British Museum; and Mr. Crofton Croker possesses similar examples from Ireland, in which country axe-blades are far more abundant than they are in England.[1] In the British Museum is a large red stone, the surface of which is incised with two moulds in which the blades were cast, and a like specimen is preserved at Belfast: in the latter example, the largest mould measures 6 inches in length, and 4¼ inches wide. I now exhibit the blade of a *tuagh-catha*, which was exhumed in 1838, at Mary Ville, Black Rock, Cork: when perfect, it must have measured at least 4¼ inches in width, and may be compared with Mr. Hugo's specimen, found at Castletown Roche, in the same county.

"Iron axe-blades, precisely similar in form to those of bronze, are met with among the natives of Africa, who haft them by driving the flat tang or stem into the round end of a wooden handle; and we cannot doubt that this was also the mode of mounting pursued by the ancient inhabitants of the Britannic islands.

"Among the celts in the British Museum, are three stout wedged-shaped axe-heads of bronze, with sockets at right angles to the edges, for the reception of handles. No localities are attached to these specimens, and we are therefore unable to say whether they have any claim to be considered as British. There is a variety of bronze battle-axe found in the north of Europe, which differs entirely from any example hitherto brought to light in this country or Ireland. It is of a large size, sometimes measuring a foot and a half in length, the surface decorated with ring and spiral ornaments, and having a pointed boss projecting from the back of the socket. Axes of this description were probably wielded only by the chieftains.[2]

[1] A good example of an engraved axe-blade, seven inches and a half long, found in Tipperary in 1843, will be seen in *Gent. Mag.* for June 1844, p. 561.

[2] See Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, pp. 30-39. We may here observe, that both the ancient Egyptians and Mexicans possessed battle-axes of bronze or copper. With the Egyptian arms in the British Museum, is placed a beautiful example of the war-axe, the blade of which is riveted into a hollow handle of silver, above two feet in length. D'Athanasi discovered, in a tomb at Thebes, a war-hatchet, the blade of which bore the figure of a man on horseback. Bernal Dias, in his account of the first voyage of the Spaniards along the coast of Guacaulco, in the empire of Mexico, says: "It was a custom of the Indians of this province to carry small hatchets of copper, very bright, and the wooden handles of which were highly painted, as intended both for defence and ornament. These were supposed by us to be gold, and were, of course, eagerly purchased, insomuch that within three days we had amongst us procured above six hundred, and were, while under the mistake, as well pleased with our bargain as the Indians with their green beads." Hearne, who discovered the Copper Mine River in New Britain, in 1771, states that the natives made their knives and hatchets of copper, which they found in lumps, and beat out by the help of fire and two stones. Mr. George Catlin informed me that some of the Indians whom he had visited, formed their flat clubs of native copper, which they beat into the required shape by means of a heavy bolder of hornstone, round which they tied a leathern thong, which they grasped as a handle. Herodotus (i, 215) states that the Massagetæ used spears, arrows, and battle-axes, of brass.

Digitized by Google

"Beyond the question of the destined use of the so-called celts, there arise other, and perhaps more important, questions; namely, to what race are they to be attributed? what position did that race occupy in the scale of civilization? and to what age are they to be assigned? These are questions of difficult solution; but, judging from the host of well-constructed articles of bronze and gold, discovered in this country and Ireland, we are warranted in concluding that the Britannic tribes, during the bronze period, were no way inferior in civilization to the inhabitants of the greater part of Europe. According to every presumption, the use of bronze did not originate in this country with the people who dwelt here during the stone period, but was introduced into the island by a race of far higher mental power, whose appearance on our shores was so marked and sudden, that we can regard them in no other light than as hostile invaders. We gather from the ancient chronicles of our country, that, some thousand years before the Christian era, a powerful band of foreigners made a descent upon the island, overcoming the rude and barbarous inhabitants, and establishing themselves throughout the width and breadth of the land. Call this story tradition, legend, fable, if you will; but be assured that, even if a fable, it has truth for its basis, and points to a historic fact, and may possibly refer to the eruption of that superior race using the brazen arms, and the conquest by them of the earlier and inferior tribes, whose weapons consisted of stone and bone. This of course is mere hypothesis; but there are circumstances which would induce the belief that the bronze period may have commenced near a thousand years before the birth of our Saviour; and certain it is that it existed until the polity of the Cæsars was firmly established in our island, and the bold simplicity of the Celtæ had sunk beneath the arts and blandishments of Rome."[1]

The rev. Thomas Hugo exhibited two ancient rings; one of bronze, found in a field near Taunton, Somersetshire; the other of silver, a betrothal ring, with a device of two hands joined, and an intervening inscription, which was in the possession, up to the time of his death, of the late Dr. Goodall, provost of Eton. The former may be of the tenth century, or even much earlier; the latter most probably of the fifteenth century.

Dr. Lee exhibited several antiquities from his museum at Hartwell House, among which was a fashioned stone, found at the Roman encampment near Biggleswade, by Mr. Thomas Maclear. It was conjec-

[1] Worsaae (pp. 45, 135) says there are geological reasons for believing that the bronze period must have prevailed in Denmark five or six hundred years before the birth of Christ; and he supposes that the bronze was obtained from England. Should this have been the case, the bronze period must be of much higher antiquity in this country than in the north of Europe, perhaps even synchronal with that in Etruria, where celts identical with those of Britain have been discovered. For some interesting remarks, by Mr. A. White and Mr. Pettigrew, upon the analysis of bronze celts, see the *Journal*, viii, 145.

Digitized by Google

tured to have been used for sharpening or fashioning flint celts, spear-heads, or warlike instruments. It is of fine grey sandstone. Also from Sweden: a spear-head, of a dark coloured stone, 2½ inches long; a spear-head of 3⅛ inches long, of light coloured stone; a stone 5 inches by 2 inches wide in the largest part, a species of flint, and roughly cut, apparently with an iron or metal instrument, from Burge-Bache Mæsa, received from Mr. Martenson, of Carlscrona in Scania; another stone, 6 inches by 2¼ inches, and 1 inch thick, of coarse brown stone, a kind of silex, from Wich-hög, in 1840, found there roughly formed; another stone, 5⅝ inches by 1⅞ inches, of brown silex, found at Hoeg in Scania in 1841, rough at the handle, but with a smooth and sharp edge at the wide end; another stone, 7¼ inches by 3⅛ inches, by 1⅜ inches thick in the centre, a slight coloured silex, with well and smooth-shaped sides, and with a sharp edge at the wide end, from Hittad, with an inscription on it, which appears to be signed by Gustaf Fogelaeng.

Mr. Lott read a paper relating to city antiquities, drawn from the Records of Allhallows. (See Original Documents, pp. 167-174, *ante.*)

May 11.

The following associates were elected:—

E. S. Clarke, esq., Bishopsgate-street.
Cecil Brent, esq., Albert-street, Gloucester-gate.
Ralph Bernal, esq., Eaton-square.
William Okey Lamond, esq., 7, Gloucester-road.
Alexander Lamond, esq., ditto.
Charles John Curtis, esq., 23, Ely-place.
John Davis, esq., Kilburn.
Robert Thorburn, esq., A.R.A., 2, Gloucester-square.
Rev. Robert Hornby, M.A., Lythwood Hall, Shrewsbury.
Robert Sadd, jun., esq., 7, King's-parade, Cambridge.
J. C. Cumming, M.D., Cadogan-place.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:—

From the Author. Privately printed Catalogue of Chap Books, Garlands, etc. By J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A. 12mo.

——————— Third Lecture on the Antiquities of Newport. By the Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A.

——————— Familiar Exercises on the General Principles of the Laws of Real Property. By F. Hobler, jun. Lond., 1847. 12mo.

From Prof. Klein. Abbildungen von Mainzer Altherthümen. Nos. IV and V. Mainz, 1852. 4to.

——————— Periodische Blatter der hessischen Bereine für Geschichts Landes-und-Alterthumskunde zu Rassel, Darmstadt und Mainz. Three Nos. 1852. 8vo.

Digitized by Google

From the Societies. Reports and Papers read at the Meetings of the Architectural Societies of Northampton, York, Lincoln, and Bedford. Lond., 1852. 8vo.

Mr. S. I. Tucker exhibited a number of fragments of Roman pottery and glass, discovered, under his own inspection, in Philpot-lane. They consisted of—1. Two pieces of glass: one, the ordinary light green glass; the other, of a rich deep blue colour, and of very thin fabric. 2. Mouth and part of the side of a large *mortarium*, of fine light-coloured clay, the rim impressed with the maker's name. 3. Pointed base either of a *cadus* or an *amphora*. 4. Vertical part of the *ansa*, or handle of an *amphora*. 5. Neck of a *guttus*, much like the one figured in the *Journal* (i, p. 3), but having the rim of the mouth pinched together in the middle, producing a small spout in front, with a large opening behind, through which the vessel was filled. A similar example was found in Fleet-street in 1845. 6. Three necks of ampulla-shaped vessels, with traces of their handles, similar to the one engraved in the *Journal* (iv, p. 393, fig. 5). 7. Neck of a vessel, having a very broad rim surrounding the small central orifice: a type of rather rare occurrence. 8. Ten fragments of embossed and plain Samian ware, one of which may be noted for its great thinness, another for being impressed with the potter's name, TVFFO, and a third for exhibiting the profile figure of a female in a pensive attitude, her chin resting on her right hand, while the left supports her elbow. She is clothed in a short-sleeved garment, descending a little below the waist, which resembles the *supparum* of the Romans, and beneath this is seen a long vest reaching nearly to the ankles, the *indusium* of the same people.

At a subsequent meeting, Mr. H. Syer Cuming brought forward a part of an upright-sided vessel of Samian ware, which was palpably impressed with the same *forma*, or mould, used in the adornment of Mr. Tucker's specimen, and from which it appears that the design consisted of a series of arches, with a repetition of the same figure beneath each arch. This example was found, in the autumn of 1833, near the site of the old church of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch-street, and was formerly in the collection of the late E. J. Carlos, esq. The vessel, when perfect, was of the same form as the one given in the *Journal* (iv, p. 5). In Buckman and Newmarch's *Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester*, is engraved a fragment of Samian ware, exhibiting an arch, beneath which is a figure in a nearly similar position as the one seen on the London specimens, but having a long veil thrown over her head.

Mr. Griffith exhibited an ancient painting of the head of Christ, representing three faces. It had been restored by Mr. Farrer, who had never before met with any painting of the kind, and pronounced it unique and ancient. It was met with in a low neighbourhood, upon the pulling down of a house in Pimlico.

Digitized by Google

The rev. Thos. Hugo laid before the Association a portion of the British gold corslet found at a place called Goblin Field, near Mold in Flintshire. The entire corslet has been engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi, pl. L and LI.

Mr. Newton, of Newark, communicated the rubbing from a brass met with in removing an old boarded flooring in the church of Newark, now under restoration; also the rubbing of a coat of arms, having three triple crowns, with clouds beneath. These were referred for inquiry.

Lord Londesborough exhibited, through Mr. Planché, a very singular helmet, of the close of the twelfth century, which had been for centuries bricked up in a Norman arch over a tomb in a church in Norfolk. Mr. Planché also exhibited, by permission of Mr. S. Pratt of Bond-street, two other remarkable helmets: one of the reign of Henry III; the other of the fourteenth century, the latter having a portion of the crest, in wrought iron, still remaining. Drawings of these very interesting specimens have been taken, and will appear, with a more particular description, in a future number of the *Journal.*

The rev. F. B. Gourrier read a paper on the study of paleography, of which the following are extracts:

"To be able to live in the past, to realize the manners and institutions of bygone ages, is the prerogative of a mind nurtured and enlarged by study and meditation. This delight, than which few are of a higher order, your Association is preeminently instrumental in procuring. Nor is the gratification a mere selfish one: to be able to turn that knowledge to a profitable account, to render the science and wisdom of preceding generations helpful to the instruction and wellbeing of the present, is likewise the aim and the desire of every lover of antiquities. Upon these grounds I feel no hesitation in venturing to set before the British Archæological Association a plan for combining antiquarian science with practical usefulness, being satisfied, while I feel my own inability to do justice to the subject, that it will obtain your candid interest and enlightened investigation.

"The subject which I venture thus to place before your attention, is, *the means of giving greater extension to the art of reading ancient manuscripts.* This art, known by the name of 'PALEOGRAPHY',[1] enables those who possess it to decipher the difficult handwritings which, with multiplied variations, and through a long line of centuries, preceded the discovery of the art of printing in Europe. Those records of the past are to be found in collections scattered over the face of the country, more or less extensive, always most valuable; in many instances the more appreciated

[1] The word itself, "paleography", is only just beginning to be naturalized among the terms of our literature, showing within what narrow limits the *knowledge* which the word expresses has been confined. The word is found neither in Johnson, nor Ashe, nor Walker; but it is found in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie,* and in others.

Digitized by Google

from being known; in other cases, remaining still like hidden treasure, whose extent and value remain to be unrolled.

"Where manuscripts belong to public, responsible bodies, there is a guarantee that they receive the care necessary for their preservation, and for the transmission of a trust so valuable. In many other cases, where the same degree of responsibility either does not exist, or has not been traditionally felt, these deposits of manuscripts often undergo a process of deterioration which threatens to rob our descendants of the benefit and gratification which the antiquary and the scholar are still able to enjoy. When the mind dwells upon the state of so many precious manuscripts, there needs no indulgence of censoriousness, or wayward criticism; the facts alone which have been averred, and are well known, suffice to excite our anxiety and draw forth our regret. The manner in which the custody of public records has been fulfilled, has deserved to become a subject of parliamentary inquiry; and well may the sincere lover of antiquity bedew with his tears the pages of the reports wherein is consigned the state of things such as it has been disclosed in evidence before an impartial, dispassionate committee of the house of commons.

"To what causes can this neglect be traced up? How comes it to pass that objects, curious in themselves, deserving of the highest interest, and possessing, moreover, very considerable (in many cases, very high) value, should be thus slighted and lost sight of? Not a coin that is discovered, but is immediately made available to the increase of numismatic knowledge; not a bust, or bas-relief, or inscription, but becomes forthwith the subject of disquisition and study, with the view of throwing additional light upon, and adding to, our stores in the science of antiquity. How shall we account, then, for the neglect into which the investigation of ancient manuscripts has fallen? How can so surprising a fact be explained? The manner in which I would account for the fact, the solution which seems best to explain this subject, is, that *it has sprung from the small number of persons who have been able to read them;* who have had knowledge of the special handwritings in which they are written,—handwritings often most complicated, loaded with abbreviations, and varying, not with the century only, but likewise with the particular genius or skill of the writer. I do not pretend thereby to exonerate those who have had the charge of manuscripts, and who may have neglected them, from a blame which, nevertheless, it is not here my province to enlarge upon; but it is certain that the very small number of persons who are able to read manuscripts (and I have found it reduced, in an entire county, to one gentleman, no antiquary), the very rare occurrence of a visit to the public library or deposit, the unwonted incident of an interest being created by any research being made, has gone far to let those valuable memorials of the past lapse into their present state of forgetfulness and decay.

Digitized by Google

"In London and a few other large cities, persons apply themselves to the study of these characters as a part of their means of subsistence; but the knowledge has been confined to comparatively a few persons: it has remained, so to speak, a monopoly, unavailable to the full investigation of manuscripts so as to correspond to the wants and requirements of civilization and of literature. This state of things having continued now so long a time, there seems but little hope of seeing an improvement through the ordinary operation of any means at present in existence. In a country like England, where there is so extensive a devotedness to objects of enterprise and lucrative employment,—grown, perhaps, more general and intense in our time,—it is almost too much to expect, perhaps, that there should spring up a taste for an art such as that of paleography, without an impulse being first given by those persons who can appreciate its value, and judge of its application.

"What I wish, therefore, now to propose, for the supply of this want, is, the establishment of a school, or *college of paleography*, wherein students should be educated for the reading of ancient manuscripts, investigating their contents, and so rendering them useful for whatever purposes those contents might be available: an institution that should send forth persons whose special occupation this would be, and who would offer a guarantee of their fitness by being furnished with a diploma such as this institution might grant. Gentlemen, and possessors of manuscripts, would then be no longer at a loss where to apply for assistance; they would be certain of finding, at this source, duly qualified individuals, competent to the task they might wish to assign them, of exploring the contents of their manuscripts. There would be thus gradually spread over the country a number of persons versed in this knowledge, imbued with a sense of the value and importance of ancient manuscripts, through whose influence also the same feeling would in due time be widely extended; and, by this means, we might have greater hope of seeing preserved many invaluable pieces which, falling into the hands of uninstructed, uninformed individuals, become irrecoverably lost, to the great grief of lovers of archæology and literature,—very frequently because there is no one at hand aware of their value, who might have rescued them from destruction. Both the ecclesiastical and the civil sections of society are interested in the foundation of such an institution. There is not a municipal body but possesses many ancient records: sometimes these are of very high antiquity; and, although among the municipal officers whose particular duty it is to become acquainted with their contents (I mean the town-clerks), there are many good and zealous antiquaries, yet it cannot be expected, in all cases, that men who have devoted their time chiefly to the acquisition of precedents and procedure, should be qualified to peruse and to analyse them. They may have fallen into confusion, and it may be necessary to replace them in order, and it may be essential to

Digitized by Google

restore them. How valuable then would an institution be which prepared persons for the task of reading and arranging such venerable memorials! The same benefits would accrue likewise to all other deposits of old documents, when the knowledge of ancient writing should have become more diffused throughout the country; as well as to family records and titles, although the latter, having reference to property, the contents are more likely to become known by passing through the hands of conveyancers and lawyers.

"One characteristic of the English is, that they are a practical people; they do not disdain or reject what is useful, because it may have originated with others. Thus it is that many valuable improvements have been introduced; and, perhaps, on the subject which we are now noticing, we may not be above taking a hint from our near neighbours, the French. About twenty years ago, in looking over the names of the officials connected with the Cour Royale of Aix, which is a court of appeal, before which causes are taken from other inferior tribunals, I particularly noticed the name of one as "*paléographe*", paleographer. It was his duty, I found, to unravel obscure and ancient writings within the four or five departments which composed the circumscription of the court, besides the verifying and comparing of handwritings. He was, in short, the sworn interpreter of difficult documents. As this did not fill up the whole of his time, he occupied himself with putting in order the archives of neighbouring towns which had applied to him for that purpose. There were several to which he had already lent his assistance, and who had expressed their sense of the value of the services he had rendered them; and, from what he told me, it seemed likely that, in the course of a few years, he would have put in order the records of most of the *communes* in his immediate neighbourhood. Now I do not see that any good reason can be assigned why the same advantage should not be obtainable in England likewise. Indeed, I hope, on the contrary, that some of us may live to see the day when there shall be, connected with each county town in the kingdom, which is also usually the assize town, some person fully competent to investigate records, and disclose the contents of ancient, difficult manuscripts.

"I have said that the cause of religion is concerned in the establishing an institution such as the one proposed; and this a few remarks will suffice to show, whether as regards its history, its polity, or its practice. The blessings of Christianity were very early introduced into Britain: this, the presence of British bishops at the councils of Arles, A.D. 314; of Sardica, in 347; and of Arminium, in 359, abundantly attest; so that the best authorities consider it undeniable that there was a flourishing Christian church at that period in England. Yet is there a prevailing popular opinion that Christianity came in with Augustine the monk, in the year 596, contrary to the most positive historical evidence. This can

Digitized by Google

have sprung only from the absence of *sufficient* information on the point. Were the existing manuscripts carefully searched into, through an abundance of paleographers, it is probable that more than one record containing testimony even more explicit than the *Liber Llandavensis* might be discovered, establishing fully and clearly the independence of the ancient British church.

"Having adverted thus to the benefits which ecclesiastical history and discipline would draw from the institution of this college, I must now notice its bearing upon practical religion. The due administration of charitable trusts is a most sacred office; yet how often is it found that, for want of a proper knowledge of the founder's or benefactor's intentions, especially as regards old grammar-schools, and other charities of that class, the most painful abuses and neglect have crept in, detrimental to the interests of charity itself, reproachful to the cause of religion, and occasionally a source of trouble and expense to the present administrators of the trust, who may themselves have had no share in the deterioration? A wide-spread knowledge of paleography might be the means of preventing such evils and inconveniences for the future."

The rev. Mr. Gourrier then entered into particular details in regard to the formation of an institution, to be called "The College of Paleography", "to be founded under the auspices of the different archæological bodies existing in Great Britain. To be directed by a principal, with so many assistant professors as the foundation might require. The course of study to be comprehended within a certain period; and the students to be divided into three classes: 1, Latin and Greek, with the low Latinity of the middle ages; 2, the Anglo-Saxon language and literature, with either the Welsh, Irish, or Gaelic dialects; 3, Paleography, or a knowledge of the different characters used in ancient manuscripts. With the low Latin of the middle ages, in the first class, might be conjoined the Provençal, or language of the Troubadours, found in so many manuscripts connected with the rise of civilization in Europe; and to the third class of paleography might be added a knowledge of all the different known alphabets used in expressing thought."

Other more minute and necessary arrangements were detailed, and the subject referred for the consideration of the council.

May 25.

The following associates were elected:

Charles Edward Davis, esq., Bath.
Harry Criddle, esq., 115, Piccadilly.
Lawrence Burleigh, esq., 7, Devonshire-square.
John William Bridges, esq., 39, Tavistock-square.
Henry Hatton, esq., Chinnor, Oxon.

Digitized by Google

Thanks were given for the following presents:

From the Institute. The Archæological Journal, No. 37, for March 1853. 8vo.

From the Author. The Ancient British, Roman, and Saxon Antiquities and Folk-Lore of Worcestershire. By Jabez Allies, esq., F.S.A. 2nd edition. Lond., 1852. 8vo.

From J. Y. Akerman, esq. Remarks on the Angon, or Barbed Javelin, of the Franks, as described by Agathias. By W. M. Wylie, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

From Thos. Wakeman, esq. A pack of Geographical Cards of the time of Charles II.

In communicating to the Association the present of a pack of geographical cards, above noticed, Mr. Wakeman stated that they had been in the possession of his family, in all probability, from the time of "the merry monarch", and came into his hands, upon the death of a relation, about twenty years ago, with the rest of his library. He was ninety-six years of age, and had them from his father.

Mr. Colfox, of Bridport, exhibited a well-carved statue of white gypseous alabaster, nineteen inches in height, which had been discovered in the roof of an ancient house at Warminster, in Wiltshire. It was of classic design, representing the goddess Hebe. The drapery was confined on the chest by a brooch or stud, of a quatrefoil shape, both breasts, like the arms and legs, being left exposed; the hair flowed on the shoulders, and in the right hand was a pitcher, from which descended a copious stream of nectar into a broad cup, which was held in the left hand. The figure was decidedly of French workmanship, of the seventeenth century.

A female head, broken from an alabaster statue of about the same size, age, and style of execution, as the one found at Warminster, was formerly in the museum of the late E. B. Price, esq. And in the collection of Dr. Braun, sold by Messrs. Christie and Manson on February 13, 1851, lot 94 consisted of a small statue of Venus with Cupid, sculptured in alabaster, which was evidently wrought in the same atelier with the two specimens just described.

From the number of examples brought under the notice of the council, it would seem that statues similar in character to those mentioned above are not unfrequently found in private collections. Although they represent classic deities, they are by no means servile copies of the antique, for in one instance Apollo appears in a hat and plumes, and playing upon the *regals* or hand-organ.

Mr. T. Gunston exhibited some Hiberno-Celtic antiquities of bronze, which he purchased, a few years back, in Dublin. They consisted of four various-sized, flat, axe-shaped celts, of the form delineated in pl. 12, fig. 5, of the present volume. Two examples of the *paalstab*, with the

Digitized by Google

stems deeply channeled on each side, and cast without the lateral loops; and a spear-head, the blade of which was eyed, and the socket extending some distance up its length.

Mr. Gunston also produced four large and richly illuminated letters, cut from church books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of French execution. They represented the initials E, P, S, and C, in gold; the first three being placed upon pictures of the slaughter of the innocents, the nativity of our Lord, and the death of the Virgin; and, on the back of the vellum upon which these subjects were painted, were the remains of music, written in square-headed or Gregorian notes, upon staves of four lines.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming called the attention of the Association to the specimens of pottery exhibited by Mr. S. I. Tucker at the previous meeting; and among other examples of Samian ware was one bearing the profile figure of a female in a pensive attitude, her chin resting on her right hand, while her left supports her elbow. She is clothed in a short-sleeved garment, descending a little below the waist, which resembles the *supparum* of the Romans, and beneath this is seen a long vest reaching nearly to the ankles,—the *indusium* of the same people.

Mr. Cuming now exhibited a part of an upright-sided vessel of Samian ware, which was palpably impressed with the same *forma*, or mould, used in the adornment of Mr. Tucker's specimen, and from which it appears that the design consisted of a series of arches, with a repetition of the same figure beneath each arch. This example was found in the autumn of 1833, near the site of the old church of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch-street, and was formerly in the collection of the late E. J. Carlos, esq. The vessel, when perfect, was of the same form as the one engraved in the *Journal* (iv, p. 5). In Buckman and Newmarch's work on the *Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester*, is engraved a fragment of Samian ware, exhibiting an arch, beneath which is a female in a nearly similar position as the one seen on the London specimens, but having a long veil thrown over her head.

The rev. Thos. Hugo exhibited a fine specimen of tryptich, which was a few months since dug up in the churchyard of Christchurch, Spitalfields. Mr. Pettigrew called attention to the fine and early specimens of this description deposited in the Museum of Economic Geology in Jermyn-street, and thought it desirable some information should be obtained respecting the period to which these tryptichs, distinguished by Russo-Greek characters, belonged.

Mr. Cresswell exhibited various rubbings taken from bells in the several churches of Nottinghamshire, some of which had curious inscriptions. They were ordered to be arranged, with others previously laid before the Association by Mr. Carrington, Mr. Gunston, and others.

Mr. Thos. Gunston exhibited various British coins in excellent preser-

Digitized by Google

vation. They consisted of a penny of William; a noble of Richard II; a Calais half-groat of Henry V, found at Aston, in Oxfordshire, last year; an angel of Henry VII; a crown of Henry VIII, from the Pembroke collection; a testoon of Edward VI, found at Islington in 1850; a shilling of Philip and Mary; a half-shilling of James I, lately found at Nettlebed, Oxon; a half-crown of Charles I, struck at New Inn Hall, Oxford; and a hammered half-crown of Charles II, with numerals, found at Hoxton in 1850.

Mr. S. I. Tucker laid before the Association a receipt signed by John Vanbrugh, the celebrated architect, for payment of £300, on account of services and expenses in Woodstock Park, Nov. 14, 1712, being surveyor of the works begun by his grace the duke of Marlborough. The order was directed to Mr. Joynes, and signed by S. Travers.

Mr. F. J. Baigent made the following communication: "The little parish church of St. Swithin, Winchester, built over the ancient postern known as Kings-gate, is at present undergoing restoration and repairs. The walls have been scraped, and all that was brought to light were the letters ihc. being the medieval representation of the holy name. The north and south walls appeared to have been powdered or diapered with this monogram. On the eastern wall traces of letters were discovered on examination. Finding the letters on different layers of whitewash, a little scraping laid bare the oldest surface, on which was written, in old English characters of the time of Charles II, portions of the fifth and sixth commandments. This little church, though exhibiting no details earlier than the perpendicular period, is thus mentioned in the *Annales Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis*: 'Anno 1264, 4 mo. non. Maii Wintoniensis contra priorem et conventum S. Swithuni insurrexerunt et portam prioratus et portam quæ vocatur *Kingate cum ecclesia St. Swithuni supra*, et universis ædificiis et redditibus prioris et conventus prope murum combusserunt.' This church was formerly in the patronage of the archdeacon of Surrey. In the time of Cromwell it was leased to Robert Allen, who appears to have lived in it with his wife and children, whilst one end of it was used as a pigstye.[1] This circumstance, perhaps, will account for nothing else being met with during these repairs."

Mr. E. Dunthorne acquainted the Association that, "in digging a grave in Donnington churchyard, in Oct. 1852, about two feet from the surface a brass plate was discovered, on which was inscribed, Thome Hopkyn Capellam. It appears that a chantry was founded in this church about 1440, for two chaplains to pray for the souls of William lord Bardolf and his lady; and by deeds, in 1473 and 1474, in the conveyance of church or chantry lands, Thomas Hopkyn and John Karter, or Carter, were witnesses, and were fellow chaplains." Mr. Dunthorne also exhibited the

[1] See p. 108, Transactions of the British Archæological Association at the Congress held at Winchester in 1845.

Digitized by Google

impression from a ring, having a tun surmounted by a dove,—a rebus for *Doveton* or *Douton*.

Mr. Carline, of Lincoln, drew the attention of the Association to the following particulars: "It has often occurred to me that too little notice has been taken of what are called 'moat-gardens'. There are many in Shropshire, but the most complete I know, is at Penley in Flintshire. The moat round it is five yards wide, and, within the area, is forty-five yards square. The approach to this site, in 1846, when I visited it, was complete. The public road or highway passed about three hundred yards east of the spot. The approach turned off, at right angles, west, quite straight, the three hundred yards, and flanked on each side with yew hedges from three to four yards thick, and deep and wide ditches. Nearly at the end of this road, the approach turns again at right angles, northwards, forty to sixty yards, down to the east side of the site, running on the edge, and half the length of the moat, and then turning abruptly across it, over the draw-bridge. About two years before I saw it, one half of the moat had been mudded, when one hinge of the draw-bridge was found, and a curious bronze seal of a bishop, designated D. G., etc., etc. These letters are uncommon. Can there be any doubt these gardens are the sites of very old houses, probably of wood, and not unlikely to be Saxon? If this conjecture is right, as the times were lawless, subjecting the peaceable inhabitants sometimes to pillage, but more commonly to fire, and murder, or slavery,—may not we imagine the matron of a family, under such calamity, on the first of the attack, seizing her pouncet-box, cup, or other plate, carrying it to the opposite side to the attack, and as quietly depositing the same in the moat as possible; and, if fortunate enough to escape with life, a sure depositary to find again during more peaceable times; but more frequently terminating unfortunately, still remaining there for these more peaceable times, for the diligent antiquary of our day."

Mr. Carlyle, of Albury, favoured the Association with some particulars respecting the family of Carlyle. (See Original Documents, pp. 174-181, *ante*.)

Mr. Bateman forwarded the following remarks in relation to a sepulchral inscription mentioned page 91, *ante*: "On looking over the *Journal*, I find a sepulchral inscription commemorative of Onesimus, the son of Domitius Elainus, described at page 91, which appears, from an observation on the next page, to be partly considered as not unlikely to have been discovered in the city excavations. I well remember having it sent on approbation, with other objects, by a well-known dealer in town, to this place, either in 1848 or 1849; and that you may be sure I am correct, I will just state that I took a cast from it, which is now in my museum."

Digitized by Google

June 8.

The following associates were elected:

Robert Lockhart, esq., Glasgow.
Rev. David Carson, M.A., 12, Chesterfield-street.

Thanks were voted for the following present:

From the Author. The History of the Parish of the Holy Trinity, Minories. By the rev. Thos. Hill, M.A. Lond., 1851. 4to.

Mr. Lott exhibited several interesting articles from his own collection, of which the following is an enumeration:—1. A very fine and perfect spur, of iron, the rowel having eight large, broad, spear-shaped points: *temp.* middle of the sixteenth century. 2. Two chasings, in latten, 5¾ inches high, by 4½ inches wide; the first representing Christ's agony in the garden of Gethsemane. Beyond the kneeling figure of our Saviour is a hill, and on its summit, a cup with a decorated foot, like the sacramental chalices in use in the fifteenth century. In the right hand corner of the foreground lie the sleeping figures of St. Peter, St. James, and St. John; the first-named apostle having a broad-bladed falchion in his hand. In the distance, Judas Iscariot is seen entering the enfenced garden through a gate. The second chasing represents our Lord's ascension. These chasings are of Flemish workmanship, executed *circa* 1660, and have probably served as panels to the doors of a small cabinet. 3. An exceedingly curious article of the Eastern toilet,—a lady's paint-box, of bronze. It may be described as a straight-handled, round-bowled spoon, having a flat cover moving on a pivot; and, on the cover, a small and very shallow round box, also provided with a lid opening with a hinge. In the smaller box appear to be traces of a white pigment. The top of the lid, and the under side of the box, are richly decorated in a style of ornament which brings to mind some of the circular fibulæ of the Teutonic tribes discovered in this country. The above specimens were purchased by Mr. Lott, about twenty years back, at a sale at Southgate's auction room. Mr. Lott also exhibited a very elegant little figure of Ceres, a cast in brass, 2¾ inches high. The goddess is habited in the Roman costume (or such as was called Roman by the artists of the period), and holds a large sheaf of corn in her right arm. It is evidently a production of the close of the seventeenth century, and is believed to have once formed an ornament of a clock. The party from whom this figure was purchased, stated that it had lately been found near Bow church; but a member of the Association well remembers having had the same specimen offered to him for sale some time back.

Mr. T. Gunston exhibited a youthful female head, in glass, which had once formed the upper portion of the stem of a goblet. It was of Vene-

Digitized by Google

tian workmanship, of the sixteenth century, and was formerly in the collection of the late E. B. Price, esq.

Mr. Gunston also exhibited some brass rubbings "obtained during temporary repairs to the north aisle of the fine old church at Chinnor, Oxon; and it is but justice to state that the Association is much indebted to the churchwarden, Mr. W. Halton, in offering every facility for taking these interesting impressions, necessity requiring them to be again concealed from view. They commemorate sir Reginald de Malyns and his two wives, and lie upon the floor of the aisle. The lady upon the right is entirely covered by pews; and that on the left, partly so. They afford good examples of costume of the latter part of the fourteenth century, and are in good preservation. Of the inscription, the following words only remain, MONS . REYGNALD . DE . MALYNS . GIST . ICI . I . CES . DEVX . FEMES . PES . DE . LY . DIEU . DE . The plates are not so skilfully joined together as usual, and the shields of arms are lost. The knight wears a bascinet, camail, and jupon, with plate-armour on the limbs, and has no dagger. The first lady has the reticulated head-dress, and is enveloped in a loose super-tunic, reaching to the feet, partially open in front, with buttons throughout its entire length. It has no waist-cincture, and the sleeves terminate below the elbow, displaying the closely-buttoned mitten sleeves of the kirtle, the clasped and uplifted hands being partly bare. Upon the arms, lines are introduced, apparently as a species of shading, as is the case in the Berkhampstead and Hellesdon brasses. The shoes are very pointed, and at the left foot lies a small dog, to the collar of which is attached a bell. The reticulated covering for the hair, in the second memorial, is arranged in a manner rarely met with, and has a *couvrechef* falling down at the back of the head. The long, loose tunic, with buttons throughout, has tight sleeves, buttoned below, and continued, to cover the backs of the hands, and open in front, from the waist downwards. The demi figures, in No. 2, are from the nave of the above church, to the memory of sir Esmond de Malyns, son of sir Reginald de Malyns, chevalier, and Isabel his wife. The knight is of the camail period; and the lady habited in a close kirtle, buttoned to the waist. Over this is a mantle, secured by a cordon drawn across the breast. The reticulations of the head-dress are not continued down the sides of the face, part of the hair being allowed to escape, but are renewed on the shoulders. No. 3, Reginald Malyns, esq., 1430, from the same church. This mutilated effigy is armed as the steel panoply was first worn. The taces are nine in number."

Mr. Charles Spence, of Devonport, exhibited a fac-simile of the matrix of the well-known seal of Milo of Gloucester (the original having been, for some time, in his charge), with a very perfect impression taken from it. The seal has been very frequently, but very inaccurately, engraved;

Digitized by Google

and the fine preservation of the original could have been little imagined from the representations hitherto given of it.

The rev. Thos. Hugo exhibited an encaustic tile found some feet above the sarcophagus lately exhumed in Haydon-square; and then proceeded to read his paper on this discovery. (See pp. 161-167, *ante.*)

Mr. G. Vere Irving read an elaborate paper on the ancient standard weights and measures of the kingdom of Scotland, which will appear in a future *Journal.*

The public meetings were then adjourned over to Wednesday the 23rd of November; but the chairman announced that there would be a meeting, held for the further examination of some of the city antiquities, in the ensuing month; and that the tenth annual Congress would be held at Rochester, during the last week in July, commencing on the 25th and concluding on the 30th.

Digitized by Google

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

OCTOBER 1853.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE ROCHESTER CONGRESS.

BY RALPH BERNAL, ESQ., M.A., PRESIDENT.

NEARLY ten years have elapsed since the rise of the British Archæological Association, and time has now sufficiently tested the solidity of its foundations, and the value and utility of its researches and proceedings.

In addressing you upon the present occasion, I am sensible of the disadvantages under which I labour. Having but very recently become a member of your body, it has not been my good fortune to benefit by the zeal, talents, and activity of those who have been long and honourably connected with it, or to improve my small stock of antiquarian information by intercourse or cooperation with them in their duties and exertions.

The selection of your president for the year having, however, been made, I must trust to your indulgent forbearance to overlook any unintentional errors and defects, which the want of experience and ability on my part may generate. Believe me, deficient as I may, in your eyes, justly appear to be in some qualifications which should of right belong to him who has the honour of being your president, I do hope that you will not find me wanting, either in a warm attachment to archæological pursuits, and in the energy (health permitting) indispensable in following them up, or in that sincerity and community of feeling which, when reciprocated with a kindred spirit, cements the bonds of any association, and adds grace and strength to every part of its structure.

The objects of the science of archæology, and the views

Digitized by Google

of this Association have been often lucidly explained at its various periodical meetings. Each succeeding year will have confirmed reflecting minds in the conviction that institutions, formed for the purposes we seek to attain, may aspire to the distinction of contributing to the happiness of our fellow-creatures, by their having opened new sources of mental improvement and amusement, accessible to every class of society. This is an important consequence: for no pursuit of knowledge or scientific inquiry, which is solely directed by a vain and exclusive selfishness, can secure that spontaneous and enduring tribute of respect which good and wise men may safely covet.

Without losing sight of the more serious tendency of antiquarian investigation, it may be observed, that the journey of life is plentifully beset with cares and anxieties. Every resource that can promise ease and relaxation to the traveller will be welcomed by him with ready gratification. In the struggles and difficulties which harass his progress, and amidst the enervating atmosphere of the "*auri sacra fames*", it is delightful to meet, if even for an interval, with some innocent aid, which can lighten the fatigue and oppression of the mind, and diffuse a healthful and purifying feeling around it.

And such an aid it may, without exaggeration, be asserted is to be found in the influence of the pursuits of archæology. And although some too ardent follower of the science, misled by his kindling imagination, may sometimes stray from the cold and sober paths of inductive reasoning into the bright and tempting regions which border on romance, there is so much of the prosaic in every day life in this utilitarian age, to which we have to submit, that we become easily disposed to deal with his wanderings in a lenient spirit. But do not let it be supposed that it is my desire to depart, in the slightest degree, from the wholesome principle,—that in all antiquarian investigations, strict and undeviating accuracy is absolutely necessary. In the search for truth, the polar star of all knowledge, and under the conviction that "*Magna est veritas, et prævalebit*", the archæologist should be fastidiously cautious in applying any favourite and long-cherished theory to the results of the discoveries he may have been successful in making. The patient toil, the severe ex-

Digitized by Google

aminations which must have preceded the triumphant Εὕρηκα of the mathematician should never be forgotten by the conscientious antiquary.

Archæology is to be regarded as the faithful and diligent auxiliary of history and ethnology, and ought never to be degraded into the character of their mere servile attendant. It is not the bare chronicling of dates and facts, or the simple registering and communication of discoveries, that can satisfy the meritorious student. In the endeavour to penetrate the Cimmerian darkness of past ages, and with the honest intention of elucidating their records by the light of truth, the pursuits of archæology may fairly assume an elevated station. When we recall to recollection the distinguished names of Leland, Stow, Camden, and Gough, we believe that men of learning and integrity will always be found in the antiquarian ranks fully competent to handle, with powerful effect, the important subjects of their investigations, and to prove, by their literary efforts, that the functions and duties of history and archæology are co-ordinate.

Could time and opportunity allow the digression, it might be amusing to trace for some years back the gradual increase in the national taste for antiquarian research; it might be satisfactory to draw a correct contrast between the state of archæological knowledge, at the present day, and its condition in the early portion of the reign of George III. But without intending to weary you, it may be asked, while looking at the creations of the imagination of the artist, and at the productions of those styled men of taste some eighty or ninety years past, would the glaring mistakes and the ludicrous anomalies, too often perpetrated by them, be tolerated in the year 1853? Would such errors, always reflected in the popular mirror of passing life, the stage, in the illustration of Shakespere and of other dramatists and poets, be endured at the present day?

No! a widely-spreading determination to arrive, as nearly as possible, at accuracy of detail, in every point connected with the fine arts, prevails throughout society. Hence the rise of antiquarian and archæological bodies, and the voluntary infusion of so much new blood into them. Individual exertion can accomplish much; combination, of

Digitized by Google

course, must effect more; and union being strength, the ability of such institutions to work out what is so generally desired becomes plainly apparent and readily acknowledged.

Our country is great and prosperous, and the age in which we live is rife with magnificent improvements. Works of stupendous character have been undertaken, and are in course of execution throughout the kingdom. The daring agencies of steam and electricity are developing their mighty powers, under the master wills of genius and science; yet these marvels, tending to the eventual welfare of mankind, under the protection of an all-merciful Creator, have been the results of private skill and enterprise. They have been brought into operation, without much (if any) direct encouragement on the part of the state. It is not to be expected, therefore, that the pursuit of archæology, and the objects contemplated by its professors, should have experienced any greater allowance of favour, or a more propitious fate, than that which has attended the splendid undertakings already alluded to. In other lands, great liberality and activity have been displayed in the founding and supporting of museums and institutions for the preservation of national monuments and historical relics. Collections, illustrative of the customs, habits, and arts of past ages, have been carefully formed and skilfully classified. In Paris, the two separate collections, placed in the Louvre and in the Hôtel de Cluny, under the control of the government and the municipality of that city respectively, are receiving from them fresh objects of interest and a uniform continuance of fostering attention. In Denmark, Saxony, and other countries, their respective governments have sedulously provided for the encouragement of the study of archæology. May I here be pardoned for mentioning that, some years back, I attempted to draw the attention of those who were in authority at the time in this country to a proper feeling on the subject, in order (amongst other purposes) that a mediæval museum might be established, for the reception of all objects relating to the history of our forefathers, their institutions, customs, habits, and arts. The attempt was unsuccessful. But at length the dawn of a brighter and more genial day appears to have opened.

The British Museum, though unfortunately under the

Digitized by Google

disadvantage of following late in the footsteps of foreign national societies, has now turned its attention to the acquisition of objects to which the thoughts and solicitude of the trustees of that establishment were formerly but rarely directed. Still the funds for such purpose are, as it is well known, limited and uncertain, and dependent upon the contingency of parliamentary liberality. The new institution, "The Department of Arts", I believe is forming some collection of ancient objects as models for the School of Design.

The glory, the happiness of Great Britain, are preserved by the virtuous energy which abounds throughout all classes of its inhabitants. Private enterprise, as I have before remarked, here effects what, in other countries, the state assumes as its own peculiar province to originate and superintend. With reference to the subject of archæology, we have witnessed the success of the unaided efforts of its enthusiastic followers, in the increased and vigorous products of the fertile fields of information which they planted and cultivated. Societies formed for the purpose of archæological research are springing up in provincial and distant localities. Let us hope that all these various associations may work efficiently, in the genuine spirit of harmony, and in no other feeling of rivalry but that of evincing a generous courtesy and friendly good-will to each other. Let us trust that they will be equally guided by the same governing principle, and be directed to one common end, the removal of error and prejudice, and the diffusion of truthful information.

The progress of our own association has been steady and satisfactory. The reports of its respected officers, so intimately conversant with its details, will, I am confident, warrant me in congratulating you upon past success and future prospects. The journals published from time to time, and to which the members, associates, and the public at large can have recourse, will best prove what the association has been able to accomplish, and what it has laboured to effect. Without presumption, may I venture an opinion that when there exists such an unlimited space for its labours, it is far more prudent to do a little thoroughly and well, than to attempt to do a great deal superficially?

Digitized by Google

It has been already mentioned, that the British Archæological Association dates from the year 1843. Let me, in addition, remind you, that, in the year 1844, its first provincial congress took place; it having been held in this county, in the city of Canterbury. The objects of interest which abound in Kent, the numerous historical events connected with it, render it a district of primary importance to the archæologist. It would occupy the time of many a congress (could it be so applied), to undertake a satisfactory investigation of all the striking relics of interest to be found in this county, and to do justice to the illustration of its annals. The men of Kent, prodigal of their blood in the defence of their native soil, resisted with unflinching valour the successive inroads of the Roman, the Saxon, and the Dane. Without having recourse to doubtful authorities, or to exaggerated accounts, it may be certainly affirmed, that the district of Kent, upon and after the Norman invasion, tenacious of its ancient and peculiar customs and privileges, succeeded in preserving them, in all their pristine force, when the remaining portions of England succumbed to the stern sway and feudal tenures of the Norman conqueror. The perfect freedom from bondage, or villainage, the law of descent of landed property, and the other privileges of gavelkind, enjoyed by the hardy yeomen of Kent, after William had ascended the throne of England, are remarkable instances of the resolute spirit which enabled them to wrest such large concessions from so warlike a ruler.

The city within whose limits we are now holding our tranquil sittings, once a considerable Roman settlement known under the name of "*Durobrivis*", continued to be a military station in the time of the Saxon rule. It suffered severely in the internal contests of the kings, between whom the whole of England was divided. It was repeatedly ravaged by the merciless Northmen, whose fleets sailed triumphantly up the Medway. That rapid and beautiful river, no longer polluted by the blood shed in savage and unrelenting strife, now flows in uninterrupted security, bearing on its peaceful waters the blessings of commerce and industry.

The bridge of Rochester has, in common with all other mortal works, undergone frequent and considerable mu-

Digitized by Google

tations. Originally constructed of timber, in the reign of king Edgar, it was maintained by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and by the contributions of other great owners of lands in the adjoining districts. It was often extensively repaired. In the reign of Richard II, the stone bridge was erected by sir Robert Knolles, and John, lord Cobham, at their own cost. Estates of some value were granted in perpetuity for the repair and support of the fabric, which was completed between the seventeenth and twenty-second years of Richard II. In the time of Elizabeth, an act of parliament, the result of a previous commission of inquiry, was obtained, by which two wardens and twelve assistants were directed to be elected annually, for the management of the concerns of this bridge, the rental of the estates appropriated thereto being considerable. Material repairs and alterations have been, from time to time, effected in the structure; and now, under the authority of the legislature, an entirely new bridge is in course of erection.

The Record-room, or Bridge-chamber, stands near to the east-end of the bridge. Underneath the same, is the site of a porch of a chapel or chantry, which was founded by John de Cobham, at the time of the building of the bridge. This chapel, formerly called *Alle-solven*, or *All Souls*, was intended chiefly for the use of travellers; and three chaplains were appointed to officiate in it, at a salary of six pounds each yearly, payable out of the income of the bridge estates. It had ceased to be a place of divine worship, by disuse, before the fourteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth, and in the course of subsequent years it was used as a dwelling house.

Some very old houses, which have struggled against the silent inroads of time, and the bustling progress of modern refinement and improvement, are still to be met with in Rochester; they present valuable illustrations of the ornate and domestic architecture of their respective periods.

Remains of the city walls are yet to be seen, affording proofs of the taste for solidity in which their builders indulged.

The castle, so distinguished an ornament in the features of this picturesque locality, stands on the site of the original Roman castrum. Whatever might have been its state at

Digitized by Google

the period of the heptarchy, it was put into efficient repair, and considered to be a strong and important fortress in the reign of William the conqueror. It is well known that the castle, as it exists at the present day, affords a fine example of Norman military architecture. Gundulph, bishop of Rochester, under William Rufus, was the skilful architect, who designed and erected (if he did not wholly complete) the celebrated keep, or great tower. During the period which intervened between the time of this important addition by bishop Gundulph, and the accession of Edward I, the castle sustained several sieges in the frequent civil contentions that disturbed the nation; since then, no events of any particular interest are to be found in its history. Sadly neglected before the reign of Henry VIII, it was finally dismantled in the days of James I. Sir Anthony Weldon obtained a grant of the castle and its appendages, and in the course of years this famed stronghold was stripped of all its grandeur; its massive rafters and tough floorings were sold, and devoted to the less romantic purposes of a brewery.

The ecclesiastical history of Rochester dates from very early times; its see, one of the most ancient in the kingdom, was founded, about the year 600, by Ethelbert, king of Kent, together with a priory of secular canons, in honour of St. Andrew. Twenty-eight bishops held the see prior to the Norman conquest, Justus, a Roman, being the first. Gundulph, appointed in the year 1077, by untiring efforts, raised the fallen fortunes of the see of Rochester from the ruinous decay to which they had been consigned, through the losses incurred in former contests, and the subsequent spoliations of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the half-brother of the Norman William.

The cathedral was rebuilt by Gundulph, but not completed until some years after his decease. He died in the year 1108, and the ceremony of the dedication of the sacred edifice did not take place till the year 1130. The structure afterwards suffered greatly from more than one conflagration, which occasioned its partial destruction; and the venerable building was not finally repaired and restored until the year 1240,—during the bishopric of Richard de Wendover.

Amongst the several matters deserving attention, con-

Digitized by Google

nected with the interior of the cathedral, is the fact of the two important and celebrated manuscripts, the "*Textus Roffensis*", and the "*Costumale Roffense*", having been preserved in the library of the chapter. The former work was compiled by bishop Ernulph before the year 1124, and the latter manuscript was written, or collected principally, by John de Westerham, a monk and prior of this church, before the year 1320.

But my intrusion in even alluding to these topics is almost impertinent, when we are looking forward to the gratification of receiving from some of our accomplished companions here valuable and complete information on these matters, to which their industry and talents have been usefully applied.

Other points of interest have been marked out for our inspection within this ancient city and its vicinity,—the hospitals of St. Catherine and St. Bartholomew, and the building and site of Temple farm. I will only briefly hint that St. Catherine's hospital was founded and endowed in the year 1316, by Simond Potyn, for the charitable maintenance of twelve poor people. Potyn represented this city in parliament during the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. The other charitable institution was founded under the will of Richard Watts, who devised his house, called Satis, in this city, to be sold for such purpose. The benevolent design was that of temporarily lodging six poor wayfarers, or travellers, being "no common rogues, nor proctors". For the honour of the legal profession, I must not pass by the insinuation, that the exception of "proctors" was levelled at the lawyers. I, therefore, cannot avoid recalling to your recollections that very good authorities have pronounced that the term may more justly be held to apply to the "*procuratores*", the dangerous and itinerant emissaries, who were suspected of being engaged in the intricate plots, countenanced by foreign powers, when Elizabeth held the sceptre of England.

Temple farm, in the manor of Strood, occupies the site of the old manor-house, or grange of the knights templars, as it is generally supposed. An ancient vaulted cellar now only remains, situated beneath the present more modern dwelling. It is proposed to visit, under the kind permission of its noble owner, Cobham hall: this was the

Digitized by Google

celebrated residence of the old and distinguished family of that name, and which was afterwards, on the attainder Henry lord Cobham, granted, with other property, to Lodowich Stuart, duke of Lennox, by his kinsman, James I. From the Stuart branch, these possessions have descended, through the female line, to the noble family who now hold them. The church contains several ancient and handsome brasses, commemorating the family of Cobham. The college, founded for the reception of a limited number of inmates, selected from Cobham and other adjoining parishes, was erected in the year 1598, on the site of the original college founded by John de Cobham in the year 1362.

The churches at Cliff, and Shorne, and Cowling castle, are objects requiring our attention. The fabric at Shorne is of ancient date, and dedicated to St. Peter; it formerly contained several monuments and brasses relating to the Cobhams and the Pages.

Cliff was, in early times, of some importance, and was the place where several ecclesiastical synods or councils were held in the days of the Saxons. Its church, dedicated to St. Helen, was formerly ornamented with richly painted glass windows, and it also possessed some relics of antiquity, worthy of examination. Cowling castle, now converted into a farmhouse, was once the fortified and castellated manor-house of John de Cobham, who, in the reign of Richard II, built or added to the old dwelling-house.

Many other interesting localities and buildings are to form points for our inspection and notice. Kit's Coty house, and other cromlechs in the parish or neighbourhood of Aylesford have been long celebrated. The district about Aylesford was the scene of many a fierce encounter between the Britons and the Saxons. A most sanguinary battle, in the year 455, was fought there between the Saxons, under their famous leaders, Hengist and Horsa, and the Britons under Vortimer. The latter were victorious. In this battle, Horsa, and Catigern, the brother of Vortimer, were both killed. The rude cromlech, called Kit's Coty house, is believed to be the burial-place of Catigern. Horsa, it is thought, was interred nearer to Rochester, at Horsted. Various engagements, in after years, took place in this neighbourhood of Aylesford between the Anglo-Saxons, under Alfred and Edmund Ironside, with the Danish invaders.

Digitized by Google

The church of Aylesford, dedicated to St. Peter, contains memorials of several old Kentish families, and, amongst others, of the Colepepers, Banks, and Sedleys. The Friers, at Aylesford, was formerly the priory, founded by Richard, lord Grey, of Codnor, in the year 1240, in the reign of Henry III, on his return from the Holy Land. It was a Carmelite establishment, and, I believe, the first house of its kind in England. The illustrious family of the Wyatts, in after years, were the possessors of the demesne of this priory, and, on the attainder of sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, the Sedleys became the grantees of it, when the conventual buildings were converted into a dwelling-house.

Before the year 1700, this property passed to the family of the present noble owner, the earl of Aylesford. Preston Hall, in the parish of Aylesford, was, in the reign of Edward III, a residence of a branch of the important family of the Colepepers; and in the demesne there exists an ancient barn, having a window, over which there occurs a very early and singular sculptured date. This has given rise to some speculation and controversy concerning the genuineness and correctness of such date.

The ruins of Allington castle, on the banks of the Medway, are said to date from the Saxon times. In after centuries, this edifice was the residence of many distinguished persons. It was rather an embattled mansion than a place of military strength. These ruins will recall to our minds one of its celebrated possessors, the renowned sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, whose various excellencies, accomplishments, and qualities, procured for him the marked favour of his sovereign, the eighth Henry, while, if the tale of the times be credited, the fair Anne Boleyn was not insensible to his merits. The Astleys, on the attainder of sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, became the grantees of the site and buildings of Allington castle, with the other property of the Wyatt family; and in the eighteenth century it passed, by alienation, into the family of the present owner, the lord Romney. Mote is a modern edifice of that noble person; but, in the park, there stood formerly an old mansion, once the property of the Leybournes; and subsequently passing through various noble families, to the ownership of Woodville, earl Rivers, it at last centered in

Digitized by Google

the line of the Wyatts, and became subject to the ruinous fate which befell their large estates, on the suppression of the insurrection excited by sir Thomas Wyatt the son, in the reign of Mary Tudor.

Malling Abbey, now a private residence, presents some very interesting remains of Norman architecture. It was, originally, in the year 1090, a Benedictine nunnery, founded and endowed by bishop Gundulph.

The flourishing town of Maidstone would, if we could find sufficient time, require considerable notice. For the present let it be briefly remarked, that it was the scene of the rebellion of the unfortunate but well-intentioned sir Thomas Wyatt against the queen Mary. Here, also, in the year 1648, the Kentishmen proved their determined loyalty to their sovereign, Charles I, in a most desperate battle with the parliamentary forces, under Fairfax. The gallant townsmen of Maidstone, after an obstinate contest, of several hours' duration, against very superior numbers, were defeated, with lamentable slaughter. The church at Maidstone, of considerable dimensions, was, in the reign of Richard II, rebuilt by archbishop Courteney, who, through royal license, made the establishment collegiate, dedicating it to All Saints; and he, on his death, was buried in the chancel. There are some sepulchral monuments within this sacred edifice.

The college was also built and founded by the archbishop Courteney, about the years 1395 and 1396. The estates formerly appertaining to this foundation have passed to the Romney family. Some remnants of parts of the college are yet visible.

Little is left of the buildings of Boxley Abbey, once a Cistercian house, founded, about the year 1146, by William d'Ipres, earl of Kent. This monastery, it will be remembered, was celebrated for the cunning imposture of the holy rood of grace, a crucifix which, by ingenious mechanism, was made to exhibit many varieties of gestures and motions, a deception which, in the gross superstition of those times, procured for it the reputation of being miraculous. At the dissolution of the religious houses, it was publicly exposed in the year 1538 at St. Paul's Cross, in London, and burnt with contempt and disgrace. The church of Boxley was of considerable pretensions as to ex-

Digitized by Google

tent, and dedicated to All Saints. Some monuments relating to the Wyatt and other families were erected therein.

Leeds castle, so well known by its connexion with the celebrated name of lord Fairfax, stands probably on the site of a fortress built in Saxon times. In subsequent centuries, it was a spacious castle, of considerable strength, and was vested in the crown, till the reign of Edward VI, when it was granted, with the manor, to sir Anthony St. Leger, lord deputy of Ireland. This property, alienated by his son to sir Richard Smyth, of Westenhanger, became afterwards, by purchase, the property of sir Thomas Colepeper, of Hollingbourne; then passing by marriage into the Fairfax family, it has now devolved to Mr. Wykeham Martin, the representative, in the female line, of the last lord Fairfax.

Hollingbourne, the parish in which that once opulent and ancient family, the Colepepers, possessed two seats or residences, boasts of a handsome church, dedicated to All Saints. Some very good monuments of the Colepepers and their connexions are contained in it.

But so much that is deserving of notice remains, that it would be unpardonable to fatigue you, by any more lengthened detail or summary of what it is intended to visit. Our friends, who attend the present provincial congress, will, I trust, be satisfied by the arrangement of proceedings provided for the week's occupation. To those who have not yet been induced to honour the association, by adding their names to its ranks, I would particularly address myself. Let me respectfully ask of them, to reflect on the real and innocent pleasures which the proper study of archæological knowledge affords for enjoyment. The pursuit of that study is not only to be recommended for its useful ends, and its capability of administering to mental exercise and amusement; it merits sincere respect, from its firm alliance with deep religious sentiment. The antiquary, wandering through the countless ruins of bygone days, while beholding with admiration the marks they exhibit of ancient genius and exertion, witnesses with reverential feeling the confirmation they afford of inspired prophecy. He contemplates, with humbled mind, the decay of nations and the desolation of cities. In the mournful wind, that moans through the mouldering arches, he hears

Digitized by Google

the awful voice of the Almighty, whispering, amidst the gloom and sadness of destruction,—that there is no permanence in earthly things, and that stability is alone to be found in his divine and immutable Word!

We must all look with anxiety and interest on the efforts and progress of those of our fellow-subjects who, emigrating from the country of their fathers, carry with them the energy and resolution of their race to distant and unpopulated regions. It is their lot to become the pioneers of civilization, and the founders, we may hope, of new and flourishing societies. But there will always exist in the human breast a lingering fondness for old haunts and old associations. There is a chord in its inmost recesses which, jarred or untuned as it may be by the rude collisions and vicissitudes of life, will ever sound in responsive harmony to the impulse of ancient recollections. We have the happiness to inhabit a land rich in historical and sacred monuments, and teeming with exciting and memorable associations of past events. The hallowed temples of the worship of our ancestors,—the noble castles which, menacing or protecting by turns the freedom dear to Englishmen, always bore testimony to their perseverance and courage,—the sites of the domestic hearths of our forefathers,—the graves which sheltered their last repose,—the venerable groves, scenes of their sports and pastimes, whose leafy arches and lofty trunks were the fit models from which the pious architect of early ages formed his sculptured curves and solid columns, devoutly remembering that God made the country, and man made the town,—all, all are entitled to claim our direct and enthusiastic attention and admiration. They are bound by ties of close and endearing affinity with the institutions and constitutional establishments of our country.

From every consideration of what is just, good, and patriotic, let me earnestly call upon you not to suffer them to fall a prey to chilling apathy, barbarous destruction, or mischievous ignorance. Let us all venerate them with sincere and affectionate attachment; and while exerting ourselves to diffuse that feeling generally throughout the land, let us cordially unite in applying our best abilities to their preservation, maintenance, and protection.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLATE. 28.

Drawn by G.F. Sargent.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ROCHESTER CASTLE.

BY WM. BEATTIE, M.D., HON. SEC. FOR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

The subject on which I have the honour to address you claims a first-rate position among that class of antiquities with which the kingdom at large, and this county in particular, is so richly studded and embellished. The interest it awakens is not confined to that which merely engages the attention of the antiquary: it embraces, in an eminent degree, those features which the painter contemplates with delight, and which fascinate every lover of the picturesque. It is a great landmark in our native annals, on which no stranger can ever look with indifference. It speaks a language intelligible to all: and whether of Saxon, Roman, or Norman blood, the traveller who meditates amidst the crumbling walls of Rochester castle converses—if I may so express it—converses with a spirit that is never silent, that "spirit of the past" whose words, like those of a great moral teacher, find a ready avenue to every heart.

The antiquary, whose proper field of inquiry is in the past, finds "sermons in its very stones." It is a treasure-house, from which he draws forth, at pleasure, the hoarded relics of ancient times; where every object that meets his view whispers in his ear the deeds of heroic ancestors, and the first dawnings of national freedom and independence.

To the poet, carried away by another influence, the scene of Rochester castle seems like a region of romance, a dreamy land of reverie. Before his eye visions of the past seem to float in endless succession. The royal banner still waves from its battlements; the measured tread of the sentinel is still heard in its paved courts; men at arms—the richly caparisoned steed and his rider—are seen issuing from its massive gates; while the sudden clang of the dropped portcullis, as its iron teeth are again dashed into the pavement, startles its long slumbering echoes like a thunder peal.

But all is changed! The visions of a romantic age, the gorgeous mantle of chivalry, vanish before the stern

Digitized by Google

realities that here surround us. War and wassail, camp and ambuscade, siege and storm, have long subsided in these walls, and been followed by the sweet home-felt convictions of peace and security. The baron's clarion has long been hushed; but in its leafy avenues the lover's lute—happy contrast!—invites to softer enterprises; while the martin builds her nest in the hollow grooves of the arch, and the owl and night hawk have established their domicile in the baron's hall.

The special province of the antiquary, however, like that of "Old Mortality", is to discover, revive, and rescue from oblivion those honoured records of the pen and chisel which the iron hand of time, the culpable apathy of mankind, and the accidental circumstances of daily life, are consigning to waste. To preserve, restore, and consecrate, so to speak, the historical monuments of his country, is the grand object of his study and ambition. And if it be, what it ever has been, a task of no ordinary merit to present to an enlightened age some ancient classic (as some of our number have done, and done ably) in his original garb, it is not less meritorious to restore the landmarks of national history; to exhume, so to speak, the monuments of our ancestors, with whose noble darings the walls before us are so closely associated.

The origin of Rochester castle, like that of others with which the country was once strengthened, and is still adorned, is involved in obscurity. Some contend that it is of Roman origin—a twin fortress with that of Dover; others, that it is of an epoch long posterior to the Roman occupation. But that it was a strong military station, under the Cæsars, we have the united testimony of history and tradition. Kilburne, a staunch advocate for its antiquity, would have us believe that Julius Cæsar himself commanded the castle to be built "according to the Roman order, to strike awe into the Britons; and gave it the name of Medway castle. But time and tempests", he tells us, "bringing the same entirely to decay, Uske, king of Kent, about the close of the fifth century, caused Hroff, one of his chief counsellors, and lord of the place, to build a new castle upon the old foundation; and thence forward it took the name of Hroff's-ceaster, softened in the lapse of time to Rochester. We need not stop to question this

Digitized by Google

passage. But that upon which all are agreed is, that when the Romans, by a successful course of operations, had reduced these shores to the condition of a conquered province, there was a station called *Durobrivis*, where, at this very point, the Medway was crossed by the great military road, which formed the line of communication between London and Dover. This station was the modern Rochester. Considering the ground, its commanding position on the banks of a tidal river, the frontier of a country still unconquered, and a people unconquerable,—a people who resolved to transmit to their descendants the enviable motto of "*Cantia invicta*",—it would seem highly probable that the Roman fortress was only replaced by that of the Conquest, namely, the castle, to which our attention is now specially directed.

In the ruins of this castle, coins of at least ten Roman emperors have been discovered; a proof, so far, of its having been a Roman garrison from their first invasion, perhaps, to the decline of the empire, and the final retirement of those formidable legions which for ages had connected the Tyber with the Medway.

About the middle of the eighth century, an interval of nearly three hundred years, we have historical evidence that Egbert, king of Kent, gave to the church a certain portion of land, described as "situated within the walls of Rochester castle". In less than a century later, Ethelwolf, king of the West Saxons, gave to his minister, named Dunne, a house and lands to the south of the castle, *in meridie Castelli-Hffrofii*. But as king Offa, in his grant to bishop Waermund, styles his prelate "*episcopum castelli quod nominatur Hroff-ceaster*, "bishop of the castle, called Hroff-ceaster", and, again, as the extent of land mentioned by Egbert, *unum viculum è duobus jugeribus intra mœnia castelli*, it has been conjectured that by these expressions is meant the whole town as it then existed, and not any particular fort or castle within it. This is the argument of those who maintain that, until after the conquest, no castle, properly speaking, existed in Rochester; and that "*mœnia castelli*", here quoted from the ancient records, are to be understood in their original sense as the fortified enclosure surrounding the church; and "*viculum*" as a small street on the Medway.

Digitized by Google

Prior to the vast changes introduced by the conquest, we have no legal deeds in which descriptions are given of any particular fort or stronghold, nor in which any allusion is made to a place of strength. The two words employed are simply *murus* and *mœnia;* and hence, on the other hand, it is contended that a town and castle are distinctly indicated by these words, *murus* signifying, as already observed, the unfortified, and *mœnia* the fortified walls of the town.

But without prosecuting a subject which will be brought before you by my able and learned colleagues, I will leave the question for a moment *sub lite*, but in the pleasing assurance that the discussion to which it may give rise will terminate in a settled opinion. I forbear, therefore, to trespass on their province, and proceed to make a few general observations, coupled with historical facts, and endeavour to connect the past with the present, the grandeur of the "royal" stronghold, as it was (in the palmy days of chivalry) with the roofless and deserted ruin as it now stands, in all the majesty of desolation. With "its square ghastly walls (as described by Mrs. Radcliffe), and their hollow eyes rising over the right bank of the Medway; gray, and massive, and floorless, nothing remaining but the shell"—such as at this moment we behold it.

About the close of the ninth century, during one of those sanguinary inroads to which the coast was so frequently exposed, Rochester and its supposed castle were taken and sacked by Hasting, the Dane: and so complete was the desolation that marked this invasion, that the castle appears never to have emerged from its ruins until the crown of England was settled on the brows of the conqueror. By the Normans, jealous of their newly-acquired sway, the advantages of this position were instantly perceived. The new structure gradually sprung up under the skilful direction of those great men who left their "monument" in its walls. It became one of the prime fortresses of the kingdom, well calculated to inspire a rude and half vanquished people with a wholesome awe of their conquerors:—

"Whose walls and battlements,
And towers, that loomed in shadows o'er the land,
Compelled subjection; and proclaimed the power

Digitized by Google

Of him who came to conquer; him who held
The chain of conquest with an iron hand."

We shall now, in accordance with the limits assigned to this imperfect sketch, briefly advert to those historical events which, in the lapse of nearly eight centuries, have left their stamp upon its walls, and peopled, so to speak, its gray ramparts and its grassy courts with the phantoms of departed greatness.

When at the command of the first William, as we have said, the castle arose from its Roman or Saxon foundations, and the Norman banner first waved from its gateway, it is probable that his half brother Odo resided at Rochester as the spiritual and temporal chief of Kent, and superintended the progress of the work. Odo, though better fitted to wear the casque than the cowl, appears to have found a golden "Baieux" on the banks of the Medway, and confessed that the "lot had fallen to him in pleasant places!" He is accused of protecting his new "see" as a wolf protects the flock; and of plundering more churches than he ever endowed. By teaching his clergy the practical lessons of virtuous poverty, he himself became rich. But after a few years, such was the weight of his earthly treasure, that in his flight towards Rome, where he aspired to the triple crown, he was pursued, captured, and thence conducted a prisoner to Rouen, where he had time to reflect that riches are literally what Bacon calls them, the *impedimenta virtutis*.

Time, however, that settles all accounts soon or late, was already preparing for Odo's enlargement. The king was on his death-bed at Rouen, and being admonished by his ghostly confessor to give tangible evidence of that mercy and forgiveness for which he himself was a dying suppliant, he consented to an amnesty, by which bishop Odo was set liberty, and retired with a sharpened appetite to the fertile "pastures" of Kent. Acting up to this spirit of the amnesty, Rufus gave him a kind reception; and, by royal ordinance, reinstated him in all his former dignities and domains; and as a post of great trust, placed in his hands the castle of Rochester. Once in possession of this stronghold, and at ease in his possessions, Odo returned to his old habit of plotting treason, and pillaging the very subjects he had sworn to protect. Taking part

Digitized by Google

with Robert, duke of Normandy, he was, in the course of the same year [1088], in open rebellion against Rufus, and succeeded in drawing over to his standard many of the king's subjects, who now came forward in support of duke Robert.

Incensed by the treachery and ingratitude of this audacious rebel, Rufus hastily summoned his nobles, and, at the head of his army marched direct upon Rochester. But finding that the perfidy of Odo had alienated from his service some of the noblest and best of his retainers, and that his subjects did not fly to his standard with all the alacrity he expected, he issued a royal proclamation, that whoever did not, at sound of the first trumpet, hasten forward to the lines in front of Rochester castle, should incur the king's heavy displeasure, forfeit all claims to "manhood", and bear upon his very forehead the brand of a "coward-knave" ("niding"). By a warlike race like "the men of Kent", such an imputation was not to be endured. Before many days, or rather hours, fathers, and sons, and brothers were all in their fighting gear, and with lusty step, and many a loyal oath, were thronging forward to join their king at Rochester. Thus reinforced, the king's troops passed the river, entered the town, and planted their battering engines under the walls of the castle. And then—

"From gate and battlemented tower
Fell the warder's iron shower—
And swift and sharp, from twanging yew,
The feathered shafts incessant flew."

The siege was prosecuted with vigour, and as manfully resisted, for the space of six weeks. But at last, the garrison ran short of provisions, a fatal distemper broke out among the besieged; the lieutenant of the ambitious, turbulent, but now humbled Odo, was constrained to offer terms of capitulation. Rufus, however, who felt that heaven and earth were now leagued against the perfidious rebels, hesitated to accept their submission, and for a time pushed on the siege with redoubled energy; but overcome, at last, by the entreaties of his nobles, he consented to an armistice. The rebels, glad to accept life on any terms, were generously treated, and permitted, on the for-

Digitized by Google

feiture of their estates, to depart the kingdom. Odo, whose double treason had merited the heaviest punishment, but over whose head the sacred office of priesthood threw its protecting halo, was first sent to the castle of Tunbridge, and then permitted to follow his unhappy partizans into Normandy. "And so for once", says the ballad,—

> "And so for once the sacred stole,
> He wore with so much dignity,
> Saved him, as virtue saves the soul,
> And foiled the king's malignity:
> While he confessed that hatching treason
> Is never safe at any season."

So much for the first siege of Rochester castle, as it has come down to us in the chronicled traditions of that remote age.

After its evacuation by Odo, the castle ceased to be a place of regular defence. The outworks had been greatly damaged or destroyed; while Rufus, who may have suspected even the loyalty of Gundulph, with a partial leaning towards his episcopal brother, condemned or compelled him, by way of penance, to forfeit a grant of the manor of Hadenham, which had just been given to the church. But by a subsequent compromise, Gundulph, at the king's command, engaged to expend the sum of sixty pounds in repairing the castle; and on this condition he was allowed to retain possession of the manor. Gundulph, as we all know, was the great architect of an age when architecture was held in the highest honour,—when strength of arm and solid stone walls were the only safe fund-holders in the country. Under his direction was completed the White Tower of London; and his next great undertaking was the main tower of Rochester castle, universally known as Gundulph's tower.

The fine of sixty pounds, however, was soon expended. And as no royal grant appears to have been made until the following reign, it has been thought that the great tower, begun by Gundulph, was carried up and completed by some less famous architect, who, nevertheless, fully understood the principles of his master, and carried out the original plan to the very letter; so much so, that it is

Digitized by Google

impossible to discover at what stage of the building the former resigned the plummet, and the latter took it up.

Gundulph, however, appears to have only resigned the building of the castle that he might apply himself exclusively to that of the cathedral,—a task more congenial to his taste and the sacred duties of his office. And it is pleasing to reflect on the spot we occupy, and looking alternately to the "castle" and the "cathedral", that they rose up together, as if for mutual protection. But how happy for this "happy country", that in the one, the "pomp and circumstance of war" have long ceased; while in the other, the "halleluia" is still heard at the wonted hour; that the incense of prayer still ascends from its altar; that the scourge of war is unknown in the land; and that we are taught to feel this great truth, that good faith and the favour of Heaven are the only "national defences" that can never be thrown down.

The next historical fact we meet with in the history of Rochester castle (after the completion of the great tower), is the imprisonment of Robert, earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I. Being taken prisoner at Winchester [in 1141], after he had gallantly secured the retreat of his sister, the empress Maude, he was delivered into the custody of William d'Ypre, and sent a close prisoner to Rochester castle. But as king Stephen himself was at the same time a prisoner of the empress, an exchange was soon effected, and the illustrious captives were both set at liberty.

Passing again over a long series of years, marked by no startling incident or historical event, we come to that turbulent, and yet glorious period, when king John, after being compelled to ratify the Magna Charta,—the grand palladium of British liberty,—had retired to the Isle of Wight, there to concert measures for crushing the newly-acquired rights and liberties of his subjects. Ambassadors were sent to the court of France, secret emissaries to Rome; and in the hope of forming a league of the spiritual and temporal power, no scheme was left untried to re-plunge the country into civil war.

The thunders of the Vatican, and the arms of France were each purchased at an enormous sacrifice,—present and prospective. Our shores were invaded by foreign

Digitized by Google

mercenaries; the papal bull, in rampant inanity, attacked the "heroes of the Magna Charta"; the king was absolved from his oath; the heaviest anathemas were pronounced against the barons unless they abandoned their chartered rights, and submitted to the king; and to archbishop Langton was committed the awful responsibility of seeing these spiritual commands carried into practice. That high-minded prelate, however, loved his country, and nobly resisted the "ultramontane" authority, that would have blasted the tree of English liberty in the bud. One of the first measures taken by the barons was to seize Rochester castle, commit it to the custody of William D'Albini, and be armed at all points for the impending struggle. King John, burning for revenge, and with both France and Rome for his abettors, resolved to concentrate his whole force in a sudden attack upon Rochester; and marching a large army to the Medway, sat down before the castle, and conducted the siege in person.

The strength of the place was unquestionable: but its hasty occupation by the barons, the urgency of the cause, doubts or hesitation on the part of some, and the unavoidable absence of others, had all combined to prevent the necessary preparations for a long and vigorous defence. The garrison, though unanimous, were few; the provisions, hastily thrown in, were coarse, scanty, and quite insufficient for a siege. However noble the cause, however resolute the champions of freedom, yet to fight with the certain prospect of famine before them, had naturally a depressing influence upon the besieged; while on the minds of the assailants it acted as a powerful and still increasing stimulus.

In the mean while, Robert Fitzwalter was solemnly pledged to relieve the castle, by forcing the king to raise the siege; and placing himself at the head of an army, reported to have been twice as large as that which he was called to oppose, he marched as far as Dartford, and then, strange to say, "marched back again", without ever striking a blow. The circumstances which led to this contradictory demonstration are not clearly explained. All that we know for certainty is, that Fitzwalter retraced his steps to London, leaving the small band of heroes, who defended these very walls, to fight, famish, or surrender, at discretion, —victims to the "tender mercies of king John!"

Digitized by Google

Apprised of the sudden approach, and equally sudden retreat, of Fitzwalter; acclamations resounded through the royal camp, and the siege was pushed on with increased vigour. Battering engines were brought into full play upon the walls; the outworks gradually yielded to their shocks, while the showers of feathered shafts that swept the battlements slew or disabled the best of the little garrison, whose patience, under the keenest privations, was only matched by their intrepidity,—the intrepidity of men who, having once tasted the blessings of freedom, are resolved to sacrifice their lives in her cause.

"Sudden, on the assailant's head,
Blocks of stone and molten lead,
O'er the foe descending—gushing,
Scorching as they fell, or crushing
Helmèd warriors in their fall,
Guarded each embattled wall."

At length, after prodigies of valour, performed under the greatest discouragement, and without the slightest prospect of relief from any friendly quarter, D'Albini held a council of war. Provisions were totally exhausted; they had been living on horse flesh, till the last of the noble animals that so often had borne them to the knightly combat, the tournament, or the field of battle, had been sacrificed, to ward off, even for an hour, the rapid approaches of famine. The men, unable to stand under the weight of their armour, were dropping down at their post on the ramparts. The best and the bravest were more like spectres than men; and however formidable the enemy without, they had one still more formidable within. What was to be done? There was but one alternative,—death by famine, or death by the sword. Better surrender at discretion, brave the fury of the king's vengeance, than protract a miserable and inglorious existence in a fortress, that must soon fall with its defenders.

King John, in the true spirit of a tyrant, was no sooner apprised of their submission, than he resolved to sacrifice the whole garrison to his revenge. To him the spectacle of brave men falling by the axe, or suspended from the gibbet, would have been a most gratifying and triumphant close to the siege. Among those about him, however,

Digitized by Google

some ventured to insinuate that acts of cruelty and injustice would assuredly alienate, instead of attaching, his subjects, and infuse into all who should incur his displeasure a fierce spirit of resistance and desperation. The war (said Sauveric) is not yet over. We, in our turn, may be in the same position as the prisoners; precedent, retaliation may be pleaded as an excuse for every odious excess. We who are victorious to-day may be vanquished tomorrow. May it please you, my liege, to adopt a milder policy! Such are the chances of war, that the victor in one field is the victim in another.

Moved by these arguments, the king, though with an ill grace, consented to abate the extreme rigour of his sentence, and condemned Albini and his associate chiefs to be imprisoned during pleasure in different fortresses. The cross-bowmen, whose deadly shafts had made such havoc among the besiegers, he spared for his own service; while the common soldiers, famished, but still preserving an air of defiance, were ordered to be gibbeted without mercy. But of this, happily for the honour of human nature, there exists some doubt. We need only observe in this place, that the success of his operations against Rochester castle seemed to inflame all his worst passions; and that the subsequent progress of the tyrant was marked by fresh acts of the most flagrant cruelty and injustice. In this desperate position of their affairs, the barons, in their turn, had recourse to foreign assistance. Philip of France, who calculated upon certain results in this quarrel, highly favourable to himself, entered warmly into the views of the barons; and preparing a great armament, placed the dauphin, his son, at its head. Seven hundred ships, we are told, left the French coast, and, laden with men, horses, and all the material of war, landed at Sandwich.

King John, not daring to face the intruder, made good his retreat to Winchester. But Gualo, the pope's legate, was not so easily intimidated. Hastening to the French camp, he launched a storm of fulminations against the dauphin and his army, who had thus dared to profane what he arrogantly called the "patrimony of St. Peter", and placed them under the "ban of excommunication". A momentary terror spread through the camp; the superstitious soldiery were stricken with a sudden dread of

Digitized by Google

annihilation. But when they perceived that the tents were not blown to atoms; that the ground did not yawn under them; that the pestilence did not waste—that the angel of death did not scatter his shafts among them; in short, that the elements of heaven did not conspire with the legate, they took courage, and in their march westward, invested and took possession of Rochester castle for the barons.

In this case, the operations employed for its capture must not be dignified with the name of siege. The castle, from previous disasters, was probably in a half dilapidated state; the resistance it offered was short and inefficient; but as the success attending the first blow which he had struck on the English soil inspired his followers in the cause with fresh courage and resolution, the dauphin proceeded direct to London. In the mean time, the turbulent reign of king John was suddenly closed by death; and on the accession of his son, Henry III, a compromise was effected between the barons and their new sovereign.

In the twelfth year of his reign, the custody of Rochester castle, with those of Dover and Canterbury, was given to Hubert de Burgo,[1] grand justiciary of England. Henry's blind partiality to foreigners soon brought down upon him the keen resentment of his own barons. After his release from the Tower, castellans of his own appointment were in possession of the strongholds. The custody of Rochester was given to Edward, earl Warren, and under him it was repaired, armed, and provisioned to sustain a siege in the royal cause. On the other hand, the redoubted Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, kept a sharp eye upon all the king's movements, and baffled him in every enterprise directed against the barons. After a suspension of arms, which had taken place on the king's making certain concessions after his release, but which he had virtually repudiated, both parties, king and barons, agreed to take the French monarch as mediator between them. With this view, the king and prince Edward set out for the continent; while Leicester, in consequence of a severe fall from his charger, was unable to follow.

In the mean while Rochester castle continued to display the king's banner; and, for a time, the cause of the barons, the sacred cause of freedom, remained dormant, but not ex-

[1] Hollinshed, p. 188.

Digitized by Google

tinct. The attempt, laudable as it was, to effect a reconciliation between the king and the barons, fell to the ground. "An excepting clause", says the chronicle, in one of the articles of the treaty was considered by the barons as subversive of their liberty, and therefore to be rejected. The consequence was open war. The king, assembling a strong body of troops, marched upon Northampton, then in possession of the league, and summoned it to surrender. His summons being rejected, orders were given to make a breach in the walls. The town was accordingly stormed and taken. In the efforts to repulse the besiegers, Simon de Montfort, son of the earl of Leicester, was thrown from his horse in the melée, and brought prisoner before the king. Dispirited by this incident, the barons resigned the contest and surrendered at discretion. But the failure at Northampton roused into activity all that were friendly to the cause in London; where Leicester, having the command, lost no time in putting the capital into a state of defence.

The castle of Rochester at this time was held for the king by earl Warren, supported by many of the nobility, among whom he was popular. On this point therefore Leicester immediately fixed his eye. By a hasty march through Kent, he soon found himself on the left bank of the Medway (the Rubicon of the day). The post was strongly defended. Fully apprised of his advance, the king's forces were ready to dispute with him the passage of the bridge; while, on the opposite side, under the castle walls, the river was protected by a strong palisade, behind which stood the inhabitants in armed files, all ready to support earl Warren, as the king's lieutenant. Nothing daunted, Leicester resolved to carry all opposition before him. The word was issued; his troops, confident of success wherever he led them on, descended the slopes of Strood hill like an avalanche, which no human effort could arrest or turn aside; while on the south the famous Gilbert de Clare commenced an attack upon the town. Leicester was now on the bridge, within a bow shot of the castle itself: but the passage was so manfully disputed, that the attempt to cross the river seemed hopeless. From arms, he had recourse to strategy. He caused vessels or boats to be filled with combustibles; to be set fire to, sent adrift on the stream, and thus borne down upon the bridge the timber caught fire: the central tower

Digitized by Google

of the same material, was soon involved in a mass of flames. The king's troops retired in consternation. Those of Leicester advanced with intrepidity, and under cover of the smoke and confusion of this sudden conflagration, they passed the river. Warren shut himself up in the castle. The resistance offered to the "bold baron" was short and soon overcome. Before many hours, the town of Rochester had changed masters. Leicester entered the city in triumph; and while the priests were timidly chanting vespers on Good Friday, armed men rushed into the cathedral and began to pillage the shrines.

But the grand object was the castle. There the royal standard still waved: the warder blew his trumpet in defiance; armed men crowded the battlements, while the warlike engines of the time were already employed with deadly effect against the assailants. Where Leicester met Warren, "Greek met Greek". They were men of chief mark, cool, skilful, experienced, and under their leadership their respective troops were boundless in courage and confident of victory. The siege continued seven days. Assault and repulse followed each other in quick succession: they were "men of Kent", and each looked forward to a triumphant result. The impetuosity of Leicester's men had carried and taken possession of various outworks, which must have insured the ultimate surrender of the castle itself. But at that critical moment, heralds arrived to apprise Leicester that the capital was menaced by the king in person, and called for his immediate presence and counsel. Under these circumstances, Leicester could neither continue the siege in person, nor leave behind him those who could. But all that in such an emergency could be done, he did. He left a detachment to conduct the operations; but in the presence of a force like that of the garrison in the castle, the "devoted remnant" was speedily reduced by slaughter, or dispersed in flight. This siege, however, was speedily followed by the battle of Lewes, where, on the 14th of May, the earl of Leicester gained a complete victory, leading captive the king himself, prince Edward, and the king of the Romans.

And here close the military annals of Rochester castle. The castle of Rochester was given by Henry III to Guy de Rochfort, one of his foreign favourites; but, on his banishment, it reverted to the crown. In the 48th of the

Digitized by Google

same reign, the office of constable of this castle was conferred upon William Saint Clare, whose ancestral residence was at Woodlands (Kingsdown), in this county, and who died in office the same year.

Of the great officers who, from this period down to the accession of king James, filled the office of "royal warden" of Rochester castle, history has transmitted little more than the names. I take the record as I find it in the local history:—

In the second year of Edward I, Robert de Hougham, of Hougham, near Dover, died constable of Rochester castle. In the following year, Robert de Septuans, from whom the Harfleets of east Kent are descended, had the custody of the castle. In 1304, Stephanus de Dene succeeded to the same honour. He was a declared enemy of the monks, and, therefore, a "bad governor"; for he caused these holy beadsmen to be taxed for their "close", and other places about their convent, which had never been done before. But the monks were more than a match for the "constable"; they brought the question to trial in the exchequer; and having the public, if not justice, on their side, the governor was cast, and turned out of office.

In 1328, the governor was William Skarlett, who is recorded, in right of his office, to have made a distraint upon one Simon Sharstede, in Watringbury, for "castle guard".

In 1382, fifth of Richard II, while the nation was in a ferment, caused by the rebellion of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and others, a party of the rebels laid siege to the castle, and by force set one of the prisoners at liberty.

In 1413, William Keriel died constable of the castle; and after him the office was bestowed upon Thomas, lord Cobham, who held it until his death, in 1472.

In 1461, at the commencement of his reign, Edward IV caused the walls of the castle and the city to be repaired; and this, probably, was the last instance in which any attempt was made to arrest the silent progress of dilapidation. In the next century, it became of little or no importance as a royal fortress. It rested among the other manors of the crown, until, in 1610, king James granted it, with "all its services annexed", to sir Anthony Weldon, of Swanscombe.

When at last, like so many of its contemporaries, this

Digitized by Google

castle was finally deserted as a habitable dwelling, it was stripped of all its carpentry, the hewn stone composing the stairs was removed, and all the materials that could be turned to money were announced for public sale. The old timber, consisting of the oak joists, on which rested the roof and floors of the principal apartments, was bought up and employed in the construction of a brewhouse.[1] But in attempting to remove the solid materials of the walls, the operations were suddenly arrested by this conviction, that it was much easier to quarry from nature than from such a reservoir of art; for the pickaxes made so little progress in the demolition of these massive walls—the very mortar of which is harder than the stones it cemented together—that the enterprise was soon given up in despair, as the chasm now left in the outer wall fully demonstrates.

The master tower, the *donjon* of feudal times, and which meets the traveller at the distance of many miles, is the grand and imposing feature of the scene. It rises in solitary state over the subject walls and towers, by which it is flanked and surrounded, and lifts its castellated, cranelated head, like a giant amidst a retinue of attendant dwarfs. Among the various countries abroad through which it is has been my fortune to pass, and among the grand imposing objects of feudal art which these countries present, I remember nothing, as a whole, that may be compared with Rochester castle. I had seen it on my first quitting England; seen it from Strood hill, and the impression I carried away with me continued to haunt me in all my peregrinations. If among "the Alps, the Appennine, the Pyrenean, or the river Po"; if among the fastnesses of Switzerland, or the solitudes of the Black Forest; on the banks of the Rhine or the Danube: all rich in monuments of feudal times, my attention was riveted by some baronial or monastic fortress, I fancied I heard this whisper always in my ear,—"Yes, very fine in its way, but nothing like Rochester castle". So I returned home; and as I came once more in sight of this ancient city, I exclaimed,—"True; nothing after all like the old CASTLE OF ROCHESTER!"

[1] For particulars, see my *Castles and Abbeys*, vol. i. For the Plate 28 accompanying this paper, the Council have to express their thanks to my publisher, Mr. Vertue.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Drawn & etched by Thomas Hugo, M.A. F.S.A. &c. &c. 1853.

Digitized by Google

A MEMOIR OF GUNDULF, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER;

WITH NOTICES OF THE OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL FOUNDERS OF THAT CHURCH AND MONASTERY.

BY THE REV. THOS. HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., F.L.S., M.R.S.L., ETC., HON. SEC.

There is a metaphysical connexion between the doer and the thing done. Our minds naturally recur from the thought of the one to that of the other. And in no case, perhaps, is this more conspicuously as well as more constantly evidenced, than in the instance of objects such as those which we have here met together to visit, to examine, and to study. The sight of mouldering ruins, blanched by the storms of centuries, full of solemn and suggestive peculiarities, and around which society has been changing age after age, forces upon us the thought of those who first erected and successively augmented the stately structures of which what we see are but the *disjecta membra*, the crumbling and picturesque remains. I desire, in what shall follow, to respond to and assist in the realization of this instinctive yearning of the mind, by presenting you with the history of those eminent ecclesiastics towards whom our thoughts turn as we tread the streets of this ancient and interesting city, on the edifices of which they have left their ineffaceable mark. The accounts which we have of them are, I grieve to say, with one happy exception, lamentably meagre. "Deficient siquidem multe scripture codicellorum et cartarum vetustate consumpte, alie per negligenciam, malam custodiam, et combustionem tempore guerre, sublate. Nam nunquam fuit locus certus nec securus deputatus ad reponenda munimenta, set quando in ecclesia cathedrali, vel in manerio de Hallynges, erant derelicta; et ideo si hoc registrum sit insufficiens, non imputetur compilantibus peccatum."[1] And William of Malmesbury follows on in the same strain of apology, "dicendorum enim penuria pauca dicenti amolietur invidiam."[2] Another

[1] Registrum Roffense, ed. Thorpe, fol., Lond., 1769, p. 3.
[2] Willielmi Malmesburiensis, de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum; ed. Henrico Savile, fol., Lond., 1596, lib. i, 132a.

Digitized by Google

difficulty, though one far more easy to overcome, is, that these notices are spread over a variety of writers, and are oftentimes presented in a form which requires from merely classical scholars a second education to elucidate its meaning, and even to understand its language. Relying, however, on your kind indulgence, so often afforded to me hitherto, I will proceed to give you, in chronological order, the notices which, after some little amount of research, I have been able to collect of all the subjects of this investigation, save one; and I will then enter, in detail, into the other main feature of my present communication—the previously omitted biography, which, as was stated before, happily furnishes an exception to the general meagreness of the rest.

I have examined the MSS. in the British Museum with a view of selecting what was applicable to my purpose; and I find that the majority of those relating to the monastic history of Rochester, including almost all of interest, have been already printed. The volumes in the Cottonian collection, marked Tiberius, B. v, Galba, E. iv, Vitellius, E. xiv, and Faustina, C. iv, are mostly on other matters. From Nero, A. viii, I shall frequently quote. Nero, D. ii, contains extracts from the Rochester monk (printed in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii, pp. 273-292) and others, introduced amongst general history. Vespasian, A. xxii, of great use to me, contains a very interesting chronological table, a Registrum, and a transcript of parts of the *Textus Roffensis*. From Domitian, A. x, I shall extract; and Faustina, B. v, has been given in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i, p. 356, etc. Of my numerous printed authorities, it will be better to state the edition, volume, and page, as I proceed.

The church of Rochester is one of the most ancient in England, and owes its foundation to the piety of Ethelbert, king of Kent. Originally a heathen, he had married Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris. The princess was a Christian, and was attended to England by a prelate named Luidhard, through whose teaching and exemplary life many of the courtiers were converted to the faith. The way was thus prepared for the arrival of S. Augustine and his brethren, whom S. Gregory sent from Rome to convert the Anglo-Saxons, A.D. 596. These missionaries succeeded so well in their holy labours, that, within three years after

Digitized by Google

their arrival, many thousand converts were baptised, and numerous churches erected. The king first of all founded the metropolitan see of Canterbury, and soon afterwards, at the instance of S. Augustine, the bishoprics of London and Rochester. It is stated in the *Textus Roffensis* and other authorities,[1] that Ethelbert founded the church of S. Andrew of Rochester in the year from the Incarnation 600. Of the original structure we possess no account, and, in fact, know nothing about it, except that it was the burial-place of several of the very early bishops. S. Paulinus was interred in or near the sacristy;[2] S. Ithamar in the nave;[3] and Tobias in the portico of S. Paul, which he had himself erected as the place of his burial.[4] The monastery at Rome, from which S. Augustine and his brethren were sent, was dedicated to the same apostle; and this circumstance has been supposed to furnish a reason for the selection of him as the patron saint. The *Textus* proceeds to inform us that king Ethelbert gave to the church "a piece of land called 'Prestefeld', and all the land which is from Medu Waie, as far as the east gate, in the south part, and other lands outside the city wall, towards the northward."

Justus was the first bishop, which is the sole reason that I mention him. Edmund de Hadenham says that he was consecrated bishop of Rochester, in the year 604, by Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury;[5] and Bede and others are authorities for the same statement.[6] He was a Roman by birth, and was sent to England by S. Gregory, in the year 601, to assist S. Augustine in propagating the faith. On the death of Ethelbert, which took place on the 24th of February 616, his son Eadbald relapsed into heathenism, and compelled a surrender of all the lands with which his father had endowed the church. The persecutions of this apostate king drove Justus into exile; but, on the reconciliation of Eadbald, he returned to his see, at which he

[1] Textus Roffensis, cap. 92, ed. Hearne, 8vo., Oxon, 1720, p. 152; Registrum Roffense, p. 3; Wharton, Angl. Sacr., fol., Lond., 1691, i, 333; Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, by Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, fol., Lond., 1817, etc., vol. i, p. 153.
[2] Beda, Eccl. Hist., l. iii, c. 14; fol., Cantab., 1643, p. 198.
[3] Weever, Anc. Fun. Monum., fol., Lond., 1631, p. 311.
[4] Beda, Eccl. Hist., l. v, c. 24, p. 482, ed. predict.
[5] Annales Eccl. Roff., ex Hist. Eccl. Edmundi de Hadenham, Monac. Roff. in Wharton, Angl. Sacr., vol. i, p. 341.
[6] Beda, Hist. Eccl., l. ii, c. 3, p. 116; Consecratus anno 604; Chron. Sax. 605, Florent.

Digitized by Google

remained till the year 624, when he succeeded Mellitus as archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

I must not omit the third bishop, Paulinus the saint, the companion of S. Augustine and Justus. He was consecrated archbishop of York in the year 625, and accompanied to the north Ethelburga, daughter of Eadbald, and wife of Edwin king of Northumberland. Here he converted and baptised the king and most of his court, together with a vast multitude of the neighbouring population. He was driven from his see, on the victory over Edwin by Cedwalla king of the West Saxons, and Penda king of the Mercians, Oct. 12, 633; and, arriving at Rochester, was forced to accept the vacant see, which he held till his death, Oct. 10, A.D. 644.[2] Bede gives us a most graphic portrait of him. He represents him as "vir longæ staturæ, paululum incurvus, nigro capillo, facie macilenta, naso adunco pertenui, venerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu."[3]

S. Ithamar succeeded him, whom I select for mention as the first Englishman who presided over the see. He died in 655; equalling, in the judgments of William of Malmesbury and Edmund de Hadenham, any of his predecessors.[4] The former speaks of him as "Anglus quidem ortu, sed in quo nihil perfectæ sanctitatis quantum ad vitam, nihil elegantiæ Romanæ quantum ad scientiam desiderares."[5]

A long list of bishops, of whom little more than their names is recorded, now succeeds. Of these, therefore, I shall say nothing, but introduce you at once to the great personage whose name must be so familiar to Rochester antiquaries, the pious and accomplished Gundulf. I shall reserve for the body of my paper the details of his life and character, and shall content myself with remarking in this place, that, according to the list in the *Textus*, he was the twenty-eighth bishop of Rochester; that he was consecrated by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1077; and that he died A.D. 1108.[6]

Ernulf was the thirtieth bishop, according to the same authority, as he followed Radulf, who was the immediate

[1] Bp. Godwin, De Præsulibus Angliæ, fol., Cantab., 1743, p. 519; Dugdale, Monast. Angl., vol. i, p. 153.
[2] Bp. Godwin, De Præsulibus, p. 651; Dugdale, Monast. Angl., i, 153.
[3] Beda, Eccl. Hist., lib. ii, c. 16, edit. predict., p. 149.
[4] Will. Malmesb. de Pontif., l. i, f. 132; Edm. de Haden. Angl. Sacr., i, 341.
[5] Will. Malmesb., loc. cit.
[6] MS. Cott., Vesp. A. XXII, ff. 26b, 27b, 124b; Angl. Sacr., i, 333.

Digitized by Google

successor of Gundulf. He claims regard as occupying the second place among the ecclesiastical founders of this church. The *Registrum Roffense* speaks of him as "pater noster post episcopum Gundulfum."[1] He was a Frenchman by birth, and a pupil of Lanfranc, at Bec; then monk of the monastery of S. Lucian, at Beauvais, next of the church of Canterbury, soon afterwards prior of the same, then abbot of Peterborough, and lastly, bishop of Rochester. He was elected on the 28th of September, 1114; enthroned on the 10th of the October following; and consecrated at Canterbury, by archbishop Radulf, on the 26th of December, 1115, according to Eadmer.[2] He held possession of his see for nine years and a few days, and died, at the age of eighty-four, on the 15th of March, 1124. He had been invited to England by Lanfranc, and his subsequent life fully justified the archbishop's preference. "Grave quidem memoratu," says William of Malmesbury, from whom, chiefly, the foregoing details respecting him are borrowed, "quantæ probitatis et prudentiæ in omnibus officiis fuerit."[3] "In his day", says another, "everything was good, and joy, and peace, because the king and his nobles loved him, and always called him their father. At Rochester he imitated Gundulf, and was, by the monks of that society, considered a second Gundulf. The reverence in which they held the memories of these two prelates was such, that their anniversaries were observed with the same sacred rites and hospitality as the double festivals."[4] The monk of Rochester, his contemporary, from whose *Life of Gundulf* I shall presently have occasion so frequently to quote, describes him as "vir laude dignissimus, in scientia literali et religione diu probatus."[5] Like his great predecessor, he was an accomplished architect, and every place of his residence bore testimony to his exquisite taste and consummate ability. At Canterbury he rebuilt the east end of the church, and made it so splendid, with glass windows, marble pavement, and paintings in the roof, that its equal could not be seen in England.[6] At Peterborough he is said to have erected the chapter-house, the

1 MS. Cott., Vesp. A. XXII, f. 88; Registr. Roff., p. 120.
2 MS. Cott., Vesp. A. XXII, ff. 27b; Dugdale, Monast. Angl., i, 155, and Godwin, De Præsulibus, p. 526.
3 Will. Malmesb. de Pontif. l. i, f. 133a.
4 See Thorpe, Custumale Roffense, fol., Lond., 1788, p. 160.
5 Wharton, Angl. Sacr., vol. ii, p. 292.
6 Will. Malmesb., loc. cit.

Digitized by Google

dormitory, and the refectory; and when these had suffered by fire, to have made preparations for rebuilding them. He also increased the number of the monks, and made the house a model at once of architectural excellence and of correct discipline. At Rochester there was but little scope for the exercise of his powers, as the "vivacitas",[1] the thoroughly alive activity, of Gundulf had anticipated the diligence of all his successors; yet, either in restoring the old or in erecting new buildings, he was perpetually engaged in some work or other to display his architectural skill. He built the refectory, the dormitory, and the chapter-house.[2] Of the latter, I need not tell the members of this Association that the remains still existing are a most exquisite specimen of the work of his age, and are, without doubt, correctly attributed to him. He was also an eminent divine and an acute casuist, and occupied a conspicuous place in the controversy respecting the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. A catalogue of his writings is given by bishop Tanner in his *Bibliotheca;*[3] and the *Textus Roffensis*, which has been ever hitherto attributed to him, is a most convincing and valuable proof of his diligence and antiquarian zeal. Edmund de Hadenham has left an inventory of his various benefactions to the church of Rochester—among which are conspicuous his erection of the conventual buildings already mentioned, his gifts of the church of Hadenham, with half a hide of land and a house, and of the churches of Codinton (or Cutintune, *Reg. Roff.*), and Kingsleye, together with various requisites for the performance of the divine offices; as, for example, several magnificently embroidered vestments, "casulam principalem cum arbore de auro brudatam, et capam principalem cum skillis argenteis, et albam cum amictu lapidibus pretiosis inserto, etc., et dalmaticam principalem, et alias duas de albo serico," etc.; "a best chasuble embroidered with a tree in gold; a best cope with silver bells; an alb, with the amice inlaid with precious stones, etc.; a best dalmatic, and two others of white silk, etc.; also, a book containing the Gospels and lessons for the festivals; a missal; a benedictional; and a capitular; two candlesticks of

[1] Will. Malmesb., loc. cit.
[2] Registr. Roff., p. 120; Edmundi de Hadenham, Ann. Angl. Sacr., i, 342.
[3] Bp. Tanner, Bibliothec. Britan., p. 264; Thorpe, Cust. Roff., p. 161.

Digitized by Google

silver gilt curiously wrought, and a wine ampulla for mass of silver gilt."[1] In addition to these benefactions the *Registrum Roffense* adds the following:—(I request the learned reader's attention to the rich vocabulary) "Stolam et phanum de alba purpura, et duas casulas, scil. nigram cum tassello super humeros de auro brusatam, et aliam de viridi samith, et tunicam epistolariam violaciam similem casuele principali, et ciphum cum aperculo de mazre qui servit at principalem mensam in refectorio. Dedit etiam thurribulum argenteum, et in tabula argentea ante majus altare accrevit duas listas de esmalo. Item duas tunicas violacias et duas rubeas."[2] Such are the facts which we can glean of the life, labours, and character of bishop Ernulf; and they are abundantly sufficient to prove, that, though the record is on the whole so meagre, the subject of it was only second to his great predecessor himself.

In the years 1138 and 1177 (or, according to Gervase, in 1137 and 1179),[3] the church and priory suffered much by fire. It is certain that in one or other of these disasters the choir and transept of Gundulf's work, and a considerable portion of the conventual buildings, erected by Ernulf, were greatly injured, if not wholly reduced to ruins.[4]

The thirty-seventh prelate, according to the list of bishop Godwin,[5] was Gilbert de Glanvill, a native of Northumberland, who, at the time of his election, was archdeacon of Lisieux, in Normandy. He was consecrated on the 29th of September 1185. This bishop gave the monks sundry utensils, vestments, ornaments, and books; and two windows of glass at the altar of SS. John and James.[6] He also erected a new cloister of stone; furnished their church with an organ; and discharged for them a debt of thirty pounds, which loan had been contracted of the Jews, and the usurious interest on which was incredibly enormous.[7] After this it may excite a smile to read that one of the two books bequeathed by him to the monks was *Bartholomæus adversus Judæos*; the other was a copy of the *Pentateuch* in two volumes. Besides his other gifts, he greatly benefited the bishopric, by restoring the dilapidated offices, rebuilding the palace at Rochester, and erecting a

[1] Edmundi de Hadenham, Ann. Eccl. Roff.; Angl. Sacr., i, p. 342.
[2] Registrum Roffense, p. 120. [3] Gervase, Decem Scriptores, fo. 1138.
[4] Edmundi de Hadenham, Angl. Sacr., i, 343, 345.
[5] De Præsulibus, 528. [6] Registrum Roffense, p. 121. [7] Regist. Roff., p. 633.

Digitized by Google

new mansion at Lambeth. Unhappily, however, almost the whole of his episcopate was spent in tyrannical persecutions and vexatious litigations. He demanded, and violently wrested from the monks many of their manors and other possessions; and certainly justified the character which was given him of *a confounder among founders.* The monks were at length reduced to such extremities as to be obliged to coin the silver shrine of S. Paulinus into money.[1] Gilbert died June 24th, 1214, having held the see for thirty years. "To end his character in one word," says Edmund, "all things excellent and commendable that Gundulf, whilst he lived, was solicitous to establish, that miscreant did his worst to demolish." "Ut breviter de eo concludamus: omnia quæcunque bona vel honesta Gundulfus dum viveret studuit ordinare, iste destruere diligenter insistebat;"[2] entirely forgetful of the pious commands which blessed Gregory had given for a very different line of conduct. He further calls him "the first disturber of the church of Rochester, 'inter fundatores confundator'; by birth a north countryman; and proving thereby the truth of the adage, that every curse comes from the north!"[3] He was buried on the north side of the church; and the chronicler rather exults in the fact that, on account of the interdict under which the kingdom then lay, no funeral solemnities were performed over his remains. The vengeance of heaven was held to be manifested in this arrangement; as the persecutor was thus deprived of those prayers which are offered even for heretics and faithless Jews.[4] Lastly, we have given us by Weever the following doggrel epitaph (which, however "uncharitable", is in my opinion by no means "ridiculous", as a modern author has affirmed), descriptive, apparently, both of his character and his deserts:—

"Glanvill Gilbertus, nulla bonitate refertus,
Hic jacet, immitis et amator maxime litis.
Et quia sic litem, dum vixit, solet amare,
Nunc ubi pax nulla est, est aptior inhabitare."[5]

To Walter de Merton, the forty-second bishop, and lord chancellor of England, I need only allude, as although a most eminent prelate, his favours were bestowed on his

[1] Edm. de Hadenham, Ann. Angl. Sacr. i, 346.
[2] Angl. Sacr., i, 346.
[3] *Eod. loc.*
[4] Angl. Sacr., i, 347.
[5] Weever, p. 313.

Digitized by Google

magnificent college at Oxford, and elsewhere, rather than at Rochester. He was consecrated on the 21st of October, 1274, and died on the 27th or 29th of the same month, 1277. He gave to the bishopric two manors, Colehambery (or Cobehambery, MS. Cott., Faust, B. v., f. 6 b.) and Myddyltone; but "though he was a man of great ability and power, he gave nothing of any value to the prior and convent," adds the chronicler.[1]

The last of the more ancient bishops to whom I shall direct your attention is the forty-sixth on the list, Haymo de Hethe. There was some difficulty in the way of his appointment, arising from the nomination to the see, by pope John XXII, of John de Puteoli, a Frenchman, confessor to Isabella, queen of Edward II. Haymo was at last consecrated at Avignon on a late day in August 1319, the twelfth of Edward II. He is particularly noted as a great restorer of the buildings of his see, especially for the improvements which he effected at his palaces of Trottiscliffe (or Trottysclyve, Willelmi de Dene), and Halling.[2] A number of instances are detailed by the chronicler of his sensible and judicious government, and of the address with which he extricated himself from the various troubles of those unhappy years, when intestine commotion was added to the difficulties ordinarily attendant on the faithful administration of his official duties.[3] He offered at the high altar, on the festival of the Conversion of S. Paul, 1327, a costly mitre, which formerly belonged to S. Thomas of Canterbury, and which he had purchased from the executors of the bishop of Norwich.[4] In 1331, he gave two hundred marks towards the rebuilding of the refectory and a long bakehouse.[5] In the year 1343, the eighteenth of Edward III, he raised the bell tower of the cathedral, with stone and wood, and covered it with lead. He placed in it four new bells, which he called Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc.[6] In the following year, about the festival of S. Michael, he restored the shrines of S. Paulinus and S. Ithamar with marble and alabaster, at a cost of two hundred marks.[7] About this time also was constructed the beautiful

[1] Edm. de Hadenham, Angl. Sacr., i, 352.
[2] Willelmi de Dene, Hist. Roff. Angl. Sacr., i, 363, 368, 374, 375; Godwin, De Præsulibus, p. 532; Dugdale, Monast. Angl., i, 156.
[3] Will. de Dene, Angl. Sacr., i, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, etc. [4] Regist. Roff., 125.
[5] Angl. Sacr., i, 371. [6] Will. de Dene, Angl. Sacr., i, 375. [7] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

internal doorway leading to the present chapter house. The last years of the good bishop's life were marked with gloom of no ordinary kind. A dreadful pestilence raged in England, and he lost almost all his chaplains and domestics. Two abbesses of Malling died presently in succession, one after the other. During the whole of this arduous time, however, he acted in a most exemplary manner, encouraging his clergy, and sharing their labours. Many of the parish priests fell victims to the disease; and the bishop is represented as employed at Halling and Trottiscliffe, "sollicitus de mirabilibus mundi, et ordines celebravit in utroque loco certis interstitiis temporum."[1] Still later, in the year 1349, we find him lamenting over the losses and decay of his church. His active and eventful life at length began to tell. He is represented as "senex et decrepitus, languens et dolens de subita mutatione sæculi."[2] The infirmities of age were at length too much for him, and he petitioned the pope to be permitted to resign his bishopric; but the request was refused. Haymo had not long, however, to wait for his release. He died May 4th, 1352,[3] and was buried by the north wall in his own cathedral.[4] He was beyond question one of the most able prelates that ever occupied the throne of Rochester.

I shall here close my notices of the bishops of this see, as none of the succeeding prelates are remarkable for their donations either to the church or the priory. This indeed may be inferred from an inspection of the buildings, all of which, with a few trifling exceptions of the perpendicular era, are anterior to the date down to which the history has now arrived. I need scarcely remark, however, that many of the later bishops have been men of exalted virtues and transcendent ability. The names of Lowe, 1444; Fisher, 1504; Ridley, 1547; Warner, 1637; Dolben, 1666; Turner, 1683; Atterbury,[5] 1713; and Pierce, 1756—not to mention those of our own age—are sufficient to bring to our recollection those who have occupied foremost places at the most stormy periods of this country's history, or whom in more peaceful times literature has called her own.

A few others, though not members of the episcopal order,

[1] Angl. Sacr., i, 375. [2] Angl. Sacr., i, 376. [3] Angl. Sacr., i, 378.
[4] Weever, p. 314.
[5] "Vir non dicendus neque tacendus sine cautela; quem non omnino laudare tam inhonestum foret, quam ultra modum laudare periculosum."—*Godwin, de Præsulibus Angl.*, p. 541.

Digitized by Google

must not be omitted in this enumeration of the Rochester founders. The *Registrum Roffense* contains ten pages of the names of benefactors, both clerical and lay, to this church.[1] A number of these were donors of lands, tithes, and parochial churches; but the majority were contributors of embroidered robes, sacred vessels, and other adjuncts to divine service. I shall notice those only who are mentioned as having erected any portion of the fabric either of the church or the priory.

Martin, chamberlain, monk, first built the mill below the castle.[2]

Hugo de Trotesclive, monk, afterwards abbot of S. Augustin, built the chapel of the infirmary. He also built a church for lepers, which was dedicated to S. Bartholomew.[3]

Thomas de Nessendene, the elder, gave all the materials towards a new roof for the chapter-house.[4]

Silvester, prior, 1178, removed a private house which aforetime adjoined the dormitory, and made three windows at the east end of the chapter-house.[5]

Alured, prior, 1185, afterwards abbot of Abingdon, made a window in the dormitory beyond the bed of the prior.[6]

Thalebot, sacrist, made the old lavatory, and a great clock, which down to the time of the chronicler was called Thalebot.[7]

Osbern de Shepey, sacrist, afterwards prior about 1189, finished, whilst sacrist, the history of Peter, and the breviary of the chapel of the infirmary, the commentary on Isaiah of bishop Ascelin, the book de Claustro Animæ, and the great psalter which is in the choir fastened with a chain. He got made a window at the altar of S. Peter, and made for himself a chamber next the infirmary.[8]

Radulf, or Ralph Bretun, made the washhouse of stone, which was before of wood. He also made the Arthur window in the dormitory, and the mill. At his death, he gave a sum of fifteen marks, of which he had become possessed through the death of his brother, who was drowned in crossing the river, towards the making of a bell, for the

1 Registr. Roff., pp. 116-125.
2 Reg. Roff., p. 119.
3 Reg. Roff., p. 119; MS. Cott., Vesp. A., xxii, f. 87.
4 Reg. Roff., p. 120.
5 Reg. Roff., p. 121.
6 Reg. Roff., p. 121.
7 Reg. Roff., p. 121.
8 MS. Cott., Vesp. A. XXII, f. 89; Reg. Roff., p. 121; Angl. Sacr., i, 393.

Digitized by Google

soul of the deceased. The money was entrusted to Ralph de Ros, then sacrist, who took a broken bell which had for a long while been lying useless in the nave, and got from London a new bell, which was called Bretun, and cost forty-four marks.[1]

Radulf, or Ralph, de Ros, sacrist, afterwards prior in 1199, built, whilst sacrist, the bakehouse, and the greater and lesser chambers of the prior, and the stone houses in the churchyard, and the hostelry, and the grange in the vineyard, and the stable; and caused the great church to be covered, and most of it leaded. He also gave a goblet which was said to have belonged to S. Dunstan.[2]

Helyas, prior, who succeeded him, 1222, also added to the monastery. He leaded the great church, and built a stable of stone for himself and his successors, and leaded a part of the cloister towards the dormitory. He also built the lavatory, and the door of the refectory, and purchased the shingles which form the roof of the cloister towards the refectory.[3] As long as he was sacrist he never gave less than twenty pounds sterling a year towards the expenses of the new work. He had indeed a great character for liberality and judicious expenditure on the conventual buildings. "Semper ad necessitatem primus fuit," says the chronicler, "qui dixit, Ego dabo, vel faciam, vel ibo."[4]

Heymeric de Tunebregge, monk, built the cloister towards the infirmary. He also made a window in the crypt at the altar of S. Michael, and at the altar of the Holy Trinity.[5]

Robert de Hecham gave a window at the altar of S. Katharine; and at his expense there were made two windows in front towards the great altar.[6]

Durandus Wisdom, perhaps a layman, gave one window in front towards the great altar, and another in the crypt.[7]

William Potin, perhaps a layman, gave one window in front towards the great altar.[8]

Theodoric, monk, obtained from a woman of Halling the cost of a window in the crypt at the altar of S. Mary

[1] Reg. Roff., p. 122. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*; Angl. Sacr., i, 393.
[4] Reg. Roff., p. 123. [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.*
[7] Reg. Roff., p. 123. [8] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

Magdalene; and recovered from Alured Cook half the cost of one window in the crypt.[1]

I ought not, I suppose, to omit (though he does not properly belong to the list) Hubert de Burgh, justitiary of England, who gave the middle window at the shrine of S. William.[2]

Peter, the precentor, during the continuance of his office, gave never less than twenty shillings a-year to the new work.[3]

James Salvage, perhaps a layman, was a donor to the new work of the church.[4]

Roger de Saunford, monk and cellarer, made the bake-house of stone, and lime, and tiles.[5]

Richard de Eastgate, monk and sacrist, began the north transept of the new work, towards the gate of S. William, and brother Thomas de Mepeham just completed it.[6]

Richard de Waledene, monk and sacrist, built the south transept towards the court. He also made, with his own hands, the beam over the great altar, with the Apostles carved on it, and S. Andrew at the head, and gave a bell called Andrew, which cost twenty marks.[7]

William de Hoo, sacrist, elected prior, June 25th, 1239, built, whilst sacrist, the whole choir from the afore-mentioned transept, with the offerings presented at the shrine of S. William.[8] The choir was completed, according to Edmund de Hadenham, in 1227.[9]

Lastly, Geoffrey de Hadenham erected the altar of S. Edmund in the crypt.[10]

The concluding benefaction in the original list is that of the mitre, by Haymo de Hethe (see page 239), and bears date A.D. 1327.[11]

These entries, meagre as they may be considered, are not without their interest even to the general reader, as highly illustrative of the times to which they refer.

I will now proceed to furnish you with a more detailed memoir of the master-spirit of the whole—the learned and saintly Gundulf. I wish I had the power of picturing him to your mind's eye as vividly as I can to my own.

[1] Reg. Roff., p. 124. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*
[5] MS. Cott., Vesp. A. XXII, f. 92; Reg. Roff., p. 125.
[6] MS. Cott., Vesp. A. XXII, f. 92b; Reg. Roff., p. 125. [7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*; Angl. Sacr., i, 393. [9] Angl. Sacr., i, 347. [10] Reg. Roff., 125. [11] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

Not that even then should I be likely to do him justice. But I would either sketch him with his active frame, his swarthy[1] face and intelligent eyes, narrowly watching the progress of his builders, deciding on every detail, examining every bearing, overruling every obstacle, simplifying every difficulty. Or I would introduce you to him as he lived with John, and Maurilius, and Lanfranc, and Anselm, among the great and good of the earth, the centre of many affections, and the idol of many hearts. I would not presume to force myself on his hours of private devotion; but I would paint him in his church, the thrill in his eye, and the tear upon his cheek, as he listened to the melodies which he loved so well, and which were so exquisitely in unison with the music of his noble nature. This must, however, be a desire rather than a realization; and in its stead I must be content to follow along a humbler track (yet not wearisomely, as I hope), whilst I endeavour to give you as clear a glimpse as I can of one whom the dust of so many centuries has now covered; and since whose day the Church which he loved, and the nation which he benefited, have suffered so many and strange mutations.

Gundulf's fame as an architect has happily been one great cause of our learning about him from so many and various sources. He was not a writer, and therefore his biography does not occur among those of literary men; but it is especially to the records of monastic life that we must look for the history of his varied career. I may add that that career was in many respects one which a monastic chronicler would delight to trace, and in the delineation of which he would feel himself peculiarly at home. A keenly perceptive sagacity in worldly matters on the one hand, and on the other, devotion to art and to the yet higher and holier duties of his sacred calling, made up indeed a character which no age can contemplate without respect, and which, with all our modern progress and so-called light, it would be hard to parallel. At the outset, therefore, I confess myself a warm admirer of this great and eminently practical prelate; and wonder not for a moment at the enthusiastic admiration with which he was regarded both by contemporaries and successors.

Nothing is known of Gundulf's ancestry save the names

[1] "Semper nigrum soliti erant videre." Angl. Sacr., ii, 291.

Digitized by Google

of his father and mother. "Patre Hatheguino, matre Adelesia genitus",[1] is the brief notice of his affectionate biographer, who was his contemporary, and professes to have derived the whole of his information either from his own personal sight and knowledge, or from the accounts of eye-witnesses. "Omnia tamen quæ de illo scribere proposui"—I quote the words as very important—"aut ipse cum eo conversando vidi, aut ab iis qui videre, vel ab ipso audiere, et ipse auditu percepi."[2] Of the father of Gundulf nothing more than his name, above-mentioned, is known; but of his mother we are told in a subsequent passage,[3] that, after her son had become a monk, she was induced by him to make a similar profession, and entered a convent at Caen, founded by Matilda, wife of duke William, and afterwards queen of England, where, after a long course of holy obedience, she departed this life.

Gundulf was born in the diocese of Rouen, "in territorio Vilcasino", but the exact year is nowhere recorded. His youth gave promise of the future man. From a child he was noticed as fond of learning; and, as soon as his age permitted, he studied grammar at the college at Rouen. I am aware that one of the modern historians of Rochester has been pleased to throw discredit on his acquirements, and has actually quoted against him the words of his friendly biographer, by asserting that this writer mentions only his progress in grammar! Now, not to insist on the fact that the term *grammar* is, in the language not only of that day but of many since then, rather general than particular, the assertion in question is gratuitous and unfair. William of Malmesbury expressly calls him "religionis plenus, literarum non nescius."[4] And the *Textus Roffensis* goes even further, and pronounces him, at the time of his consecration, "in omni sapientiæ et prudentiæ sensu diu probatus."[5] Besides this, it is admitted that he was the regular correspondent of the great S. Anselm. That eminent ecclesiastic writes to him, some years after, among other loving words, "Rogitas me tuis nunciis, hortaris me tuis literis, pulsas me tuis donis, ut memor sim tui. Ad-

[1] Vita Gundulfi, episcopi Roffensis, authore monacho Roffensi coætaneo. Wharton, Angl. Sacr., ii, 274.
[2] Vit. Gund., Angl. Sacr., ii, 273.
[3] Angl. Sacr., ii, 276.
[4] De Gestis Pontif., p. 132, ed. predict.
[5] Textus Roffensis, p. 143; Angl. Sacr., i, 337.

Digitized by Google

hæreat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non sum memor tui, si non proposui Gundulfum in præcipuis amicitiæ meæ."[1] "You implore me by your messengers, entreat me with your letters, and urge me with your gifts, that I should remember you. May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I remember you not, if I have not given you a chief place among the best beloved of my friends." Added to all this, the contemporary author, already quoted, is not, strange to say, less silent on his architectural skill than on his literary acquirements; and I hardly need hint that of the former there never has been, and there never can be, the slightest suspicion. We will dismiss, therefore, if you please, all doubt as to the fact that our prelate was in every respect eminently gifted, and deeply versed in all those various branches of learning which then constituted the education of the day.

His contemporary biographer, whom I shall very frequently quote in the succeeding memoir, was himself of a deeply religious tone of mind, and delights to enter into private and minute details of his friend's life and character. Of this singularly interesting biography it is my intention, if leisure be granted me, to prepare and publish a translation, for the use of those of my readers who may not be so conversant with monastic Latin as I have the happiness to be. No translation, so far as I am aware, has ever appeared; and the original, a MS. of eighty-nine pages, preserved among the Cottonian treasures in the British Museum (Nero, A. VIII), has been printed by only one editor, the learned Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, from an indifferently executed transcript. And let me remark, before I enter into the more prominent events with which the memory of Gundulf is associated, that such a portrait of him (I mean, so far as it is characterised by its religious colouring) is more than ordinarily valuable. And for this reason. The majority of modern writers on subjects similar to that on which I am at present engaged, have taken an apparently malicious pleasure in misrepresenting these ancient churchmen. Into the question, indeed, of this one or that of their theological opinions, this is neither the time nor the place to enter; I am speaking now of their daily life, and the tendency which it manifested to evil or to good.

[1] Anselmi Epist., Paris, 1675, lib. i, ep. 4, p. 313; Angl. Sacr., ii, p. 277.

Digitized by Google

Of this the moderns are justly chargeable with the sin of bearing a false witness. They have drawn a monstrous and repulsive caricature, and have presumed to call it a likeness. They have painted the men as, with few exceptions, grossly ignorant, and as invariably proud, self-indulgent, covetous, and cruel; as having eyes only for worldly wealth, and hearts only for worldly power; and the system as nothing else than a gigantic wrong, a tissue of falsehood, vain-glory, priestcraft, and impurity. For half a dozen generations and upwards this has been sedulously and systematically done, till the falsehood has sunk deep into the mind of England. Even the most elementary books used in our schools have reiterated the unworthy slander, and most of us have begun to learn it in our earliest childhood. And the main authority on which these histories have been founded has been, not the unprejudiced testimony of those who lived during the various ages which they professed to delineate, but the extorted confessions of the last owners of the religious houses themselves—confessions, on the records of which no reliance can justly be placed, as they were reported by the deadliest enemies and bitterest persecutors of the victims; violently wrung from them, either by the torture, or by the alternate hope and fear of the clemency or anger of a sacrilegious and bloodthirsty tyrant; and with which our only wonder connected is, that, considering the number of religious houses visited, and the industry, pertinacity, adulation, and rapacity of the commissioners employed on this atrocious work, no worse account was returned. The fate which befel their possessions shows beyond all doubt the real *animus* of the attack upon them. Unhappily, it is from such adjudicators as those just described, personally opposed to the men whose cause they were sent to judge, and ravenous for the spoil which was to be at once their reward and the evidence of their zeal and loyalty, that the mass of these calumnies was originally derived. Succeeding writers have generally adopted the reports without examination; and hence has arisen the popular misconception of the truth on this subject, which we now deplore. I do not desire a worse specimen of this mischievous class than Lambarde in his *Perambulation of Kent*, in a large proportion of whose pages these blots are conspicuous. His condemnation of

Digitized by Google

others applies preeminently to himself. "Truly," quoth he, "the credite of our Englishe historie is no way so much empayred, as by the blinde boldness of some, which, taking upon them to commit to wryting, and wanting (either throughe their own slothfulness or the iniquities of the time) true understanding of the originale of many things, have not sticked, without any modestie or discretion, to obtrude new fantasies and follies of their own forgerie, for assured truthes and undoubted antiquitie."[1]

To return. We left Gundulf among his studies; and, we will now suppose him to have so far advanced as to be fit for admission into holy orders. His education had brought him nearer to the true fitness for this change of life than that of some aspirants among ourselves to the same vocation. For he had learned "qualiter Deo potissimum possit placere, discens ab Eo lectione interna quemadmodum mitis esse valeret et humilis corde;"[2] "how, above all things, to please God, mentally learning from Him how he might be meek and lowly in heart." He first served in the church of S. Mary the Virgin at Rouen, and was such a pattern of excellence as to attract the special notice of William the archdeacon, afterwards archbishop of the same church. He made him known to Maurilius the then archbishop, and induced him, for the sake of his conversation and company, to occupy his own house and share his table. The pair soon afterwards made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem,—a sight of which city, and the reverent examination of its various localities, which had such a religious charm for the men of those ages, seem to have more than compensated for the dangers and fatigues of the journey. The scenes of our Lord's Incarnation, Passion, and Ascension were successively visited, and the travellers participated in all the pleasure which the sight of the holy places could so justly inspire. At length they set out on their return, in the course of which they suffered much, both from the difficulties of the way and the treachery of the infidels. On one occasion, indeed, Gundulf had all but lost his life. As the pilgrims were one day on their road, he suddenly fell sick, and being unable either to keep pace with his companions, or even to stand, was unintentionally left behind. At the foot of a hill, which, on account of

[1] Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, pp. 293, 294; 4to., Lond., 1576.
[2] MS. Cott. Nero, A. VIII, f. 40; Angl. Sacr., ii, 274.

Digitized by Google

its steepness, was difficult to climb, the party halted. One of the travellers, "quidam Nobilis", missing Gundulf, and hearing that he had been left behind alone, was greatly distressed, and, making the best of his way to the spot where they had parted from him, found him fainting, and apparently at the last gasp. As he was utterly unable to proceed, this true-hearted friend lifted him on his shoulders, and manfully facing the hill with his burden, did not rest till he had carried him in safety to the spot where the company were resting. Through the mercy of heaven, "superna clementia respiciente", he soon recovered, continued his journey, and ever afterwards regarded with filial affection the man who had so nobly saved his life.[1]

An event, however, was at hand which changed the whole course of Gundulf's subsequent history.[2] On their voyage homewards the vessel narrowly escaped shipwreck; and Gundulf and his friend the archdeacon, "docente timore et amore Dei", "inspired at once by the fear and the love of God", vowed to adopt the monastic habit if favoured with a safe return. We may not say that the oath was accepted; but at least a safe return was granted,—"cadit tempestas, redit serenitas,"—and Gundulf was left to perform his vow.

We have now arrived at the second stage of his career. We have seen him "clericus"; now he is "monachus". His companion, the archdeacon, did not immediately fulfil his obligation; but the eager and truthful soul of Gundulf could rest satisfied with no delay, and we read of him immediately afterwards as a monk at the famous abbey of Bec, in Normandy.[3] Here he diligently and successfully studied the rules of his order, that of S. Benedict, under the tuition of Herluin the abbot, and Lanfranc the prior, with the latter of whom he afterwards acted a most important part. The pupil was at once the delight and pride of the master,—"merito sanctitatis ac beatæ religionis præ ceteris omnibus adamavit";[4] and the love was warmly reciprocated. Even here he had some faint presentiment of his approaching lot. It is related by William of Malmesbury,[5] that while he was a student at Caen (though

[1] MS. Cott. Nero, A. VIII, f. 41, b. Angl. Sacr., ii, p. 275. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* [4] Text. Roff., p. 142; Angl. Sacr., i, 337.
[5] De Gest. Pontif., p. 132. MS. Harl., 261, f. 132, b.

I cannot help conjecturing that Bec was the scene of the occurrence), he proposed to two of his friends to consult the *sortes evangelicæ*, with a view of learning their future destiny. This consisted in opening the New Testament, and appropriating the text which first presented itself. The passage which met his eye as he opened the volume, was, "The faithful and wise servant whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household."[1] The second, by name Walter, lighted on the words, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."[2] The third was not so happy; and the chronicler does not mention either his scripture or his name, from an unwillingness to insult over the misfortunes of another,—"quod, etsi audivi, libenter oblitus sum, quia ingenuæ mentis non est alienis insultare malis." Gundulf's lot was interpreted by Lanfranc to be a bishopric; that of the second, an abbey. The former became bishop of Rochester; the second, abbot of Evesham; "tertius abiit in vanum." All this, adds William, is the more wonderful, as Lanfranc had no idea of ever being an archbishop, or even of ever going to England.

His life as a monk at Bec was all that could be desired. He was remarkable, even amongst remarkable men, for his obedience, zeal, and earnest piety, and not less for his acumen in secular matters, and in the habits of business which the government of such an institution imperatively requires. "Erat enim vir obedientiæ multæ, abstinentiæ magnæ, orationis assiduæ, compunctionis præcipuæ," writes the monk of Rochester:[3] "in rebus forensibus acer et elimatus," echoes William of Malmesbury.[4] He soon became custos and sacrist of his abbey; but his elevation did not make him arrogant, or in any respect weaken the virtues for which he had been conspicuous in his lower position.

A new friend must now be introduced. In the same year that he received these appointments, another eminent personage was added to the brotherhood at Bec. This was no other than Anselm, afterwards raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Between Gundulf and Anselm a most ardent attachment instantly arose, a friendship which continued till the grave for a while severed the connexion. Anselm delighted to be called another Gundulf; and Gun-

[1] S. Matt. xxiv, 45.
[2] S. Matt. xxv, 21.
[3] MS. Cott. Nero, A. VIII, f. 42, b; Angl. Sacr., ii, 275.
[4] De Gest. Pont., 132.

Digitized by Google

dulf another Anselm. One heart and one soul was in them—their chief inquiry, how to ascend to higher and holier states; and their only emulation, which should be the best. Anselm, more deeply versed in Scripture, was the more frequent speaker; Gundulf "quia in lachrymis profusior erat", whose tears came the fastest and the thickest, the more frequent listener. "The one spake, the other wept; the one planted, the other watered",—"ille plantabat, iste rigabat; Christi vices ille, iste gerebat Mariæ";[1] "the one acted the part of Christ", who enunciated doctrine; "the other, that of Mary", who sat at His feet and heard His word. One day Anselm said to Gundulf, "Do you always want to sharpen your knife on my hone? Speak, I beseech you, that the profit may be mutual; for, alas! I am ever blunted with the multitude of my sins, but your ardent and heavenly mind is ever sharpened in the contemplation of God." "Dixit et ille bona quæ potuit. Succenduntur ambo; et sic se reficiunt dulcedine superni desiderii."[2] Such was Bec in the eleventh century; and a very charming picture it must be allowed to be. No wonder that from such a school the giants of those days went out and conquered the world.

I dwell upon the events of this portion of Gundulf's life with peculiar pleasure, because they are doubtless so new to most of us, and because they furnish such a picture of the "dark ages" as to modern readers is somewhat uncommon. He was not, however, to enjoy its quiet and sweetness for any lengthened period. It was first interrupted by the departure of Lanfranc. Duke William had preferred this learned ecclesiastic to his lately founded abbey of Caen; and Lanfranc prevailed on Gundulf to accompany him, associating him with himself in the government of the house.[3]

But neither did this arrangement last long. William conquered the English army at Hastings, and among the first acts of his reign was the elevation of Lanfranc to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The friends, however, were not separated by this change. Lanfranc brought Gundulf with him to England, not only on account of his "sanctissima religio", but also for his "prudentissima sæcularium rerum administratio."[4] By this time, as the chronicler in-

[1] MS. Cott. Nero, A. VIII, f. 43, b; Angl. Sacr., ii, 276. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

forms us, Gundulf had acquired the graces of the character of Martha in addition to what he before possessed of Mary.[1] The union of the active and contemplative virtues—an union which Lord Bacon, many ages afterwards, declared to be the perfection of human nature—was strikingly instanced in him; and around him was an abundant field for its operation and display. A terrible famine was then in England, and Gundulf's hand was the instrument of Lanfranc's charity.[2] His attention to the victims of this visitation was unbounded, and his patience, humility, and modesty accorded with the other graces of his character. Meanwhile his friends at Bec did not forget him. Several letters of Anselm[3] are extant, addressed to him, which breathe almost the language of woman's love rather than that of man's rough-handed friendship, and show how closely he had wound himself into the affections of his late society. "When I offer to write to you, my very dearest life," he says in one, "when I offer to write to you, I hardly know whence best to begin. For whatever I think of you is sweet and pleasant to my heart; whatever I wish for you is the best thing that my imagination can fancy. For I have seen you so as to love you, you know how affectionately; I hear of you so as to long for you, heaven knows how ardently. And thus it happens that whithersoever you go, my love overtakes you; and wheresoever I remain, my longing embraces you. For how can I forget you? He who is imprinted on my heart like a seal on wax, how can he be obliterated from my memory? Why do you complain so bitterly, as I hear you do, that I do not write; and beg so lovingly that I should write often, when you have a participation of my very self? Even when you are silent, I know that you love me; and when I am silent, you know that I love you. You have a knowledge of me that I have no doubt of you; and I am a witness to you that you are assured of me. Reciprocal are our participations; reciprocal be our wishes, our pleasures, and our pains."[4] And in another he begs to be "enshrined in the inner chamber of his memory," and takes his leave of him

[1] Angl. Sacr., ii, p. 276. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Anselmi Epistolæ, ed. Paris, 1675, lib. i, ep. 4, p. 313; lib. i, ep. 7, p. 314; lib. i, ep. 20, p. 319; Angl. Sacr., ii, 277, 278, 279.

[4] *Ibid.*, lib. i, ep. 4, p. 313.

Digitized by Google

with "vale, vale, amice, ideo dulcissime quia verissime!"—"the sweetest, because the truest."[1]

In the midst of all this, the friendship of Lanfranc and Gundulf continued unimpaired. As I have stated in a former part of his history, he was the archbishop's instrument in the carrying out of his reforms: "Eum omni domui suæ immo rebus omnibus suis quas in archiepiscopio habuit, solum post se præ omnibus aliis præposuit."[2] But at this period the fortunes of Gundulf once more suffered a change, which, though most honourable to himself, was regarded with fear and solemn misgiving. Arnost, bishop of Rochester, after a difficult government of a few months, was suddenly removed by death in the month of July 1076; and on the 19th of March, 1077, his successor was consecrated. That successor I hardly need name. It was the monk of Bec, the beloved of Anselm, the tried, able, and faithful coadjutor of the archbishop himself. He was consecrated by Lanfranc on the day above mentioned, which on that year fell on the third Sunday in Lent, as we find from a circumstance which will be related in its proper place. On the death of Arnost, Lanfranc was much troubled at the state of the church of Rochester, and the decay which was only too conspicuous both in the material fabric and the society to which it belonged. He therefore took counsel with various eminent individuals, and, aided by their advice, promoted his favourite to the vacant throne.[3] William of Malmesbury, however, expressly attributes his elevation to Divine Providence, and asserts that the choice was a result of superhuman interposition.[4] The *Textus* also alleges that Lanfranc was inspired, "divino admonitus instinctu," to make the selection.[5] The archbishop then sent beyond sea to solicit the king for his royal assent. This was most graciously given, as William was rejoiced at the opportunity thus afforded of raising to a high position one whom he had long revered from the report of his great worth and eminent sanctity.[6]

From this point, no longer the agent of another's will, but the active executor of his own, he commenced those various labours which have immortalised his name. He found the

[1] Anselmi Ep., lib. i, ep. 7, p. 314.
[2] Text. Roff., p. 142; Angl. Sacr., i, 337.
[3] Angl. Sacr., ii, 279.
[4] Will. Malmesb., lib. i, f. 132a; MS. Harl. 261, f. 132, b; Regist. Roff., p. 6.
[5] Text. Roff., p. 143; Angl. Sacr., i, 337.
[6] Angl. Sacr., ii, 279.

Digitized by Google

church in ruins, the canons reduced to five, and the lands of the house either alienated through the negligence of former holders, "antiquorum negligentia extractæ atque dispersæ,"[1] or forcibly withheld by powerful nobles. Believing that reforms should originate at home, he began by restoring the ancient constitution of the society. It must be recollected that, like his patron, he was himself a monk, and, naturally enough, had exalted ideas of the superiority of these orders over the canons or secular priests who occupied the place at the time of his accession. Besides this, they learned that monks had been the original holders, and considered it right to return to the ancient statutes, and restore the house to its primitive possessors. His success was most gratifying. From five clerics whom he found at his consecration, he soon had upwards of sixty monks under his paternal rule.[2] And lest any of my audience should suppose that either ignorance or sloth was encouraged in this society, a supposition by no means obsolete, I would remark that the character given of them is that they were "bene legentes et optime cantantes in servitio Dei et apostoli sui, Deum timentes, et super omnia amantes"—"excellent readers and the sweetest of singers in the service of God and S. Andrew, living in the fear of God, and loving Him above all things".[3] To these he was whatever their state required—a mirror in which they could see a faultless image, a book in which religion could be studied, a rod of correction when the cause of their falling was wilfulness, a staff of support when it was weakness. His biographer exhausts his powers of language in attempting to describe the devotion which he paid to his private duties, the government of his monks, and the care of the poor.

Anselm warmly supported him in these labours, as is evident from more than one letter still extant. The style is changed, but the love and admiration is as deep as ever. "Olim dilectissimo fratri, nunc dulcissimo patri, olim et nunc reverendo Domino, venerabili episcopo Gundulfo frater Anselmus semper tuus,"[4] is the commencement of a letter chiefly occupied in encouraging him to persevere in

[1] Text. Roff., ed. Hearne, p. 142; Angl. Sacr., i, 336.
[2] Text. Roff., p. 143; MSS. Cott. Nero, A. VIII, f. 52, b; D. II, f. 104, b; Vesp. A. XXII, f. 122; Angl. Sacr., ii, 280; Dugdale, eds. predict., vol. i, 175.
[3] Text. Roff., p. 143; Angl. Sacr., i, 337. [4] Anselm. Epist., lib. i, ep. 69.

Digitized by Google

the good course so happily begun. And in another, he asks him, "Why should I depict on paper my love to you, when you constantly preserve its true image in the casket of your heart? For what else is your love for me, but the reflection of my love for you?" "Quid enim aliud est dilectio tua erga me, quam imago delectionis meæ erga te?"[1]

The great work which now demanded our prelate's attention was the rebuilding of his cathedral church. For this, the bent of his mind, the course of his studies, and his early travels, had each preeminently qualified him. Though he did not admire the architecture of the east sufficiently to attempt to transplant it into his native soil, his oriental journey must have taught him not a little both in the way of arrangement and mode of erection. In whatever way, however, he became master of his art, one thing at least is certain—he was the first architect of his age. The *Textus* describes him as "in opere cæmentarii plurimum sciens et efficax";[2] and evidences more than sufficient exist to place the truth of this assertion beyond a doubt. These powers he turned to the noblest use. "Ecclesiam S. Andreæ, pene vetustate dirutam, novam ex integro, ut hodie apparet, ædificavit";[3] "he built new from the foundation the church of S. Andrew, which was all but in ruins from age, and left it as it now appears."

I scarcely need tell the learned audience which I have the honour of addressing, that the style of all the western part of the nave which time and accidents have spared to us, is of a purely Norman character; and I may add that, in my opinion, it is without doubt rightly attributed to the great master whose transcendent labours I am endeavouring to record. I understand, however, that the western front has been attributed by a learned member of the Association to bishop Ernulf, on account of the similarity which he considers apparent between it and the front of that prelate's chapter-house. With all the modesty which an amateur should evince when presuming to offer an opinion at variance with professional authority, especially an authority so deservedly held in respect and estimation as that of the gentleman to whom I am allud-

[1] Anselmi Epist., lib. i, ep. 33.
[2] MS. Cott. Vesp. A. xxii, f. 122b; Text. Roff., 146; Angl. Sacr., i, 338.
[3] MS. Cott. Vesp. A. xxii, f. 121b; Text. Roff., p. 143; Angl. Sacr., i, 337.

Digitized by Google

ing, I humbly beg leave to dissent from this judgment, and to advance four reasons for a contrary decision. First, the work in the interior of the nave, which is acknowledged on all hands to be that of Gundulf, is itself of a most richly ornamental character; more so indeed than almost all other examples of Norman work that I have ever seen. The ornamental character of the west front, then, so far from inducing us to suspect the hand of another artist, really presents us, from the very circumstance of its high ornamentation, with a *prima facie* evidence of the presence of the same. Secondly, the front of Malling Abbey, also an acknowledged work of Gundulf, is of a character precisely similar to the west front of Rochester: therefore, probably, by the same builder. Thirdly, the architectural works of Ernulf at Rochester, Canterbury, and elsewhere, are so minutely and faithfully recorded, that, had he erected this west front, mention of it would, I think, unquestionably have been made. But, fourthly, so far from this, history and tradition go precisely the opposite way, and assert positively that this part of the church is entirely by Gundulf. The compiler of the *Textus* speaks of the whole church, as it existed in his day, as of Gundulf's work, and that it remained as he built it—"ut hodie apparet ædificavit." Here we have four reasons, each of which, though briefly and barely stated, seems to me to possess great weight, and the union of the four to be irresistibly conclusive. I may further add that if our learned associate, Mr. W. H. Black, is correct in his opinion, as I understand him, that the *Textus* was the work of an age later than that of Ernulf, the whole question is settled at once, so far as ancient authority goes, and assurance made doubly sure.

I am, further, of opinion that Gundulf *completed* his cathedral church. As it is a point usually denied, I may perhaps be allowed to go a little into detail. Gundulf built his church, "ut hodie apparet," "as it appears at this day," adds a writer who wrote from ten to fifteen years after that prelate's death. "Opus omne perficitur,"[1] adds the monk of Rochester. It is allowed that he built the nave; and he must have completed the choir also: inasmuch as, "perfectis omnibus,"[2] he translated the relics

[1] Angl. Sacr., ii, 280. [2] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

of S. Paulinus to his new church;[1] and we are told distinctly that S. Paulinus was enshrined in the choir.[2] Further, if his ancient tower on the north side opened originally into the church, as is likely, it would most probably have formed the northern termination of the transept, which is similar, as many of us know, to the arrangement at Exeter. Here, therefore, we have nave, choir, and transept—the complete church. Nor do I think that the mention of a consecration (" in Dominica Ascensionis", Flor.) A.D. 1130, by archbishop William,[3] at all militates against my argument. Reconsecrations of churches were frequent. The church of Canterbury was consecrated again and again, on what would now be considered very insufficient reasons. I believe, therefore, that Gundulf's church was first consecrated by Lanfranc, at the same time as the translation of the remains of S. Paulinus above referred to (done at the archbishop's instance, and the silver shrine and cross upon it his offering), sometime about the year 1084.[4]

Three other ecclesiastical structures claim him for their founder, in addition to his monastic buildings, which soon gave place to others. The first is the ruined tower, just referred to, on the north side of the cathedral, which probably communicated with the Norman church, as traces of a semicircular arch exist on its southern, that is, its internal side; though it was not included in the design of the restorers when the eastern portions of the church were rebuilt after the successive fires. It is still called Gundulf's Tower, and is a very picturesque and venerable ruin, and evidently, to an architect's eye, of the period under review. The leper hospital of S. Bartholomew at Chatham, a part of the chapel of which still remains, was another of his foundations.[5] And the third was the beautiful abbey of Malling,[6] already alluded to; most exquisite portions of which, in the Norman style, still evidence the master-mind and indomitable energy of this remarkable man. The institution engrossed much of his thoughts, and was an object of his special care. He founded it for nuns of the Bene-

[1] Angl. Sacr., ii, 280.
[2] Thorpe, Custum. Roff., p. 153.
[3] Chron. Sax., ed. Gibson, 4to., Oxon., 1692, p. 235; Thorpe's Custum. Roff., 163.
[4] Regist. Roff., p. 120.
[5] Bp. Tanner, Notitia Monastica, fol., Lond., 1744, p. 211; Bp. Godwin, De Præsul., p. 526.
[6] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 69; Angl. Sacr., ii, 287; Bp. Tanner, Not. Mon., 211.

Digitized by Google

dictine rule, by the advice and with the assistance of S. Anselm, in order, together with his monastery at Rochester, to furnish a retirement for religious of either sex. The abbey eventually became very wealthy, and at the suppression possessed an annual income of £245 : 10 : 2.[1]

The impaired revenues of the priory were ill able to meet the heavy expenses attendant on these magnificent erections; and Gundulf was compelled to resort to legal proceedings against several noble offenders for the recovery of lands belonging to the church. Among the depredators with whom he thus came into collision are especially noticeable Pichot, viscount Grendebruge, and Odo, bishop of Bayeux, half-brother of the Conqueror, and earl of Kent. The former had obtained unjust possession of some lands at Fracenham and Giselham; but after a spirited course of litigation, it was clearly proved that the witnesses of the defendant had been guilty of perjury, and consequently the estates reverted to their lawful owners.[2] The bishop of Bayeux was in the same manner compelled to disgorge his ill-gotten spoil. He had violently appropriated sundry lands belonging to the churches of Canterbury and Rochester, and Lanfranc and Gundulf determined to recover their alienated possessions. They represented to the king the wrong which Odo had perpetrated, and prayed for judgment accordingly. Hereupon his majesty issued a precept that all the men of the county should meet at Pinenden, and deliberate on the matter. The issue of this deliberation was that the manors of Detlinges, Estoces, Prestetun, Dænitun, Falcenham, and several other parcels of land of smaller extent were recovered.[3] The other estates belonging to the priory were conveyed to the possessors more securely, and with fresh zeal and activity fresh streams of wealth flowed in.

Besides the buildings already enumerated, I must not omit to mention two other architectural works of Gundulf, which especially deserve notice, as works of which the builder in any age might well be proud. The first is an edifice which has still a world-wide reputation, and with which the heart and imagination of every Englishman are

[1] Godwin, De Præsul., p. 526; Weever, Anc. Fun. Mon., p. 312.
[2] Textus Roff., p. 149; Regist. Roff., p. 31; Angl. Sacr., i, p. 339.
[3] MS. Cott., Vesp. A. XXII, ff. 120, 121; Text. Roff., p. 142; Regist. Roff., p. 27; Angl. Sacr., i, pp. 334, 335, 336; Godwin, de Præsul., p. 526.

Digitized by Google

most intimately associated—the White Tower in the Tower of London. That Gundulf was the accomplished architect of this magnificent pile we possess unanswerable and unsuspected proof; for the *Textus* informs us of a grant of which he became possessed, "dum, ex præcepto regis Willelmi magni, præesset operi magnæ turris Londoniæ"[1] —"whilst he was superintending the work of the great Tower of London." During the time that he was thus engaged, he lodged with Eadmer Anhænde, a London burgess, who gave him the moiety of a certain fishery, called *Niwe Were*, for the term of his life, and after his death the whole of the same, together with all his land and houses in London, on condition that himself and his wife should be forthwith admitted into membership of the bishop's monastic society, and on their decease should be carried to Rochester, and there buried, and that a yearly commemoration should be observed on their behalf.[2]

With regard to the other specimen of Gundulf's powers, I need scarcely hint that it is the very solemn structure ("turrim nimirum prægrandem," as bishop Godwin calls it[3]) which we have visited to-day—the great keep of Rochester Castle—whose superlative excellence alone would make allowable any eulogium in which a lover of Gundulf might wish to indulge. The *Textus Roffensis* gives an amusing account of the circumstances which induced our prelate to engage in this great work.[4] The manor of Hedenham, in Bucks, had been given by the first William to archbishop Lanfranc, for the term of his life. On his decease, his son and successor, William Rufus, demanded back the manor, according to the conditions of the gift, professing, however, at the same time, his willingness to authorize its perpetual retention by the church in consideration of the payment of a hundred pounds. It seemed an enormous sum indeed, and a most unreasonable demand! "Consternati valde archiepiscopus et episcopus pariter responderunt, illam tantam pecuniam neque tunc in promptu sese habere, nec etiam unde eam acquirere potuissent sese scire." "They were dreadfully alarmed, and professed in reply to this offer, that they neither had at hand such a

[1] Textus Roff., p. 212; Regist. Roff., p. 32; Weever, Anc. Fun. Mon., p. 312.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] Godwin, De Præsulibus, p. 526.
[4] Textus Roff., p. 145; MS. Cott., Vesp. A., XXII, ff. 122, 123; Angl. Sacr., i, 337.

Digitized by Google

huge amount of money, nor even had the slightest notion how to raise it." On this, two noblemen, Robert Fitz Hamon, and Henry earl of Warwick, friends of both parties, jealous alike of the king's rights and of the church's honour, solicited his majesty's will and pleasure, as to how far the great architect of whose powers he was well assured ("in opere cæmentarii plurimum sciens et efficax," as he was) should, instead of this money payment for the manor, erect of his own proper cost a castle of stone at Rochester. This attempt at adjustment, however, seems to have been even more distasteful to the ecclesiastics than the original demand. It appeared to open the door to perpetual annoyances and dangers. As soon as any injury, they argued, occurred to the building, that moment would reparation of the mischief be insisted on. The church and bishop would thus be at the king's mercy to the end of the chapter. The manor was not worth so costly a price. They had far rather that the place should be at the bottom of the sea, "ipsum manerium in profundo maris potius situm iri malle," than that the church should be everlastingly a victim to regal exactions. Neither archbishop nor bishop would have any of it—"Absit hoc a me, inquit archiepiscopus; absit quoque a me, inquit et episcopus." It was no easy matter to reconcile these differences, you may be sure. The prelates would not move a jot from their position, but steadily resisted all attempts to infringe the freedom which their church enjoyed. One of the mediators, earl Henry, could not help saying half angrily, that "up to that time the archbishop had seemed to him one of the very wisest men in all the world: he would not now presume to call him a fool, but he would not dare to assert that his ancient wisdom continued unimpaired and in its pristine vigour!" However, after a long continuance of negotiations, it was at length agreed that Gundulf should erect a castle at the cost of sixty pounds, and that when the work was done and delivered to the king, all further responsibility on the part of the church should cease. Thereupon was erected the superb structure, of whose subsequent history our erudite associate, Dr. Beattie, has given us to-day so graphic and interesting an account; "meeting," as he justly said, "the eye of the traveller at the distance of many miles, the grand and imposing feature

Digitized by Google

of the scene, and lifting its castellated head, like a giant amidst a retinue of attendant dwarfs." The concluding sentences of the original *Textus* are very curious. Speaking of this magnificent edifice, the chronicler remarks, "Quod quamdiu in seculo subsistere poterit, pro Gundulfo episcopo manifesto indicio quasi loquens erit, æternum quidem illi ferens testimonium," "a standing and speaking witness to the end of time." Of his fame, think you? No. Gundulf built not Rochester castle for fame, but for what he and his encomiast held to be a much more durable possession,—"quod manerium Hedenham ecclesiæ et monachis Sancti Andreæ ab omni exactione et calumnia regis et omnium hominum permanebit liberrimum et quietissimum in secula seculorum!"[1]

The political life of Gundulf was hardly less active than his life as a churchman. "He was God's soldier under three kings", "militavit Deo sub regibus tribus",[2] says one of his biographers; and by each was he singled out for honour. They reverenced him so much as to fear to offend him.[3] We have already heard of the Conqueror's satisfaction at his appointment to the see of Rochester. The same monarch cordially entered into his plans for rebuilding his cathedral,[4] and at his decease bequeathed to it one hundred pounds, together with his royal robe, and other costly gifts.[5] William Rufus, although by no means disposed to smile upon ecclesiastics, made an exception in favour of the church of Rochester; and not only spared its possessions, but liberally enriched it with many valuable donations.[6] In the contest between William and Odo of Bayeux, earl of Kent, Gundulf acted as mediator; and it is specially recorded that even during the siege of Rochester castle he had free ingress and egress, being equally beloved and revered by the besiegers and the besieged.[7] In the unhappy differences between S. Anselm and Rufus, Gundulf was the only bishop in England who sided with the primate;[8] but even this did not weaken the king's affection for him, or stop the flow of his libe-

[1] MS. Cott., Vesp. A. xxii, f. 123; Text. Roff., p. 148; Angl. Sacr., i, 338.
[2] MS. Cott., Nero, A. viii, f. 72; Angl. Sacr., ii, 288.
[3] MS. Cott., Nero, A. viii, f. 60; Angl. Sacr., ii, 283.
[4] Angl. Sacr., ii, 288.
[5] Reg. Roff., p. 120; MS. Cott., Nero, D. ii, f. 105.
[6] MS. Cott., Nero, A. viii, f. 60b.
[7] Angl. Sacr. ii, 284.
[8] MS. Cott., Nero, A. viii, f. 65; Angl. Sacr., ii, 285.

Digitized by Google

rality.[1] He granted to the church of Rochester the manors of Hedenham, Lambeth, and Eastun, and certain land at Strood; the first of which he permitted to be given by archbishop Lanfranc, and the latter he offered of his own royal will.[2]

During the lifetime of king William Rufus, Gundulf lost his friend archbishop Lanfranc, "gloriosum et magnificum patrem Lanfrancum,"[3] as Eadmer calls him. At first he was inconsolable, as between him and Lanfranc had existed from the first hour of their acquaintance the warmest affection, respect, and sympathy. Indeed, had it not been for the archbishop's unbounded and repeated liberality, it would have been almost, if not quite, impossible for Gundulf to have carried out his views, or for the "res ecclesiæ" to have been "sub eo" so "auctæ magnifice."[4] He presented to the church of Rochester various costly gifts, among which are enumerated many superb robes of silk and gold embroidery, two crosses of gold, a censer of silver, and candelabra of silver gilt.[5] He was in the habit of entrusting to Gundulf many of the duties of his office; and in consecrations of churches, ordinations, and confirmations, the latter usually officiated in his stead.[6] Our prelate's name also almost invariably appears associated with the archbishop as one of his invited coadjutors in the consecration of bishops;[7] and I may add here that in all solemnities throughout the land his presence and cooperation were earnestly sought for.[8] Guido, abbot of S. Augustin's at Canterbury, for example, when he translated the relics of that saint and his companions to a more costly and appropriate shrine, applied for and obtained the assistance of Gundulf's hand;[9] "ut per munditiam manuum ipsius tantarum rerum celsitudo tractaretur."[10] His heart-sickness at the loss of Lanfranc was greatly relieved by the accession to the see of Canterbury of S. Anselm, also, as you will recollect, one of his dearest friends from his youth upwards. It was with his cooperation that the election was made;[11] and the reunion of the long separated compatriots,

[1] Angl. Sacr., ii, 285.
[2] MSS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 60b, D. II, f. 105a, b.; Vesp. A. xxii, f. 84; Angl. Sacr., ii, 283; Registr. Roff., 116.
[3] Eadmeri Historiæ Novorum, ed. Joh. Selden, fol.. Lond., 1623, p. 106.
[4] Will. Malmesb., lib. i, f. 132b, ed. predict.
[5] MSS. Cott., Nero, D. II, f. 105b; Vesp. A. XXII, ff. 87b, 88; Reg. Roff., p. 120.
[6] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 63; Angl. Sacr. ii, 285. [7] Eadmer, pp. 35, 37, 67, etc.
[8] Angl. Sacr., ii, 285. [9] *Ibid.* [10] *Ibid.* [11] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

and the revival of their claustral conversations, tended not a little to lighten the burden which the infirmities of age were beginning to induce.[1] During the latter portion of the reign of Rufus, through the differences to which I lately alluded, S. Anselm lived in exile at Lyons; but on the death of that sovereign, and the accession of his brother Henry, he was instantly recalled, and his friendship with Gundulf continued unimpaired.[2]

With the first Henry our prelate was, if possible, even on better terms than with his predecessors. The monarch testified his deep respect for and entire confidence in him by employing him in difficult and delicate negotiations with his disaffected subjects; and it was purely owing to the persuasive eloquence of Gundulf that the kingdom was again and again spared from the horrors of intestine war.[3] "He represented to the malcontents the scandal and the sin of discord, the evils which arise from its unrelenting licence, and the punishment which is certain to overtake the perpetrators. He also showed them how closely allied to God and the holy angels are they who cultivate peace, and manifest its principles in their life and conduct"—"quam sunt proximi Deo et affinitate sanctis angelis conjuncti, qui semina pacis in cordibus suis suscipiunt, et hæc in manifesto per operum executionem ostendunt."[4] By these means he won them over to loyalty and concord, and reconciled the differences which before seemed certain to end in bloodshed. It may be easily understood from this how valued and how valuable his influence was on society at large. Matilda the queen made him her spiritual adviser, and loved and reverenced him so much, that she selected him to baptise her son. She was never weary of his conversation, and was accustomed to solicit his advice and direction on all matters of difficulty.[5] His high character was, indeed, duly appreciated both by the court and the nation at large—"carus regi et reginæ, carus etiam omni populo Angliæ;"[6]—and whenever mention was made of the nobles of the land, Gundulf was reckoned among them not as an equal, but as their superior, and, as it were, their father—"Gundulfus inter eos non ut socius, sed ut superior et quasi pater reputabatur."[7] His influence with Henry was

[1] Angl. Sacr., ii, 285. [2] Angl. Sacr., ii, 287. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*; MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 70b.
[5] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, ff. 71b, 72; Angl. Sacr., ii, 288. [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

no doubt the cause that that monarch solemnly confirmed all the existing rights and privileges of his church;[1] and offered in addition various donations, amongst which are mentioned the churches of Boxle, Eilesford, Darenteford, Suthtune, Wlewic, and Chiselherste, the fourth part of various tolls, the warren, the profits of a fair on the festival of Saint Paulinus, and the fishery in Green.[2] He also confirmed to the monks the fishery of Niwe Were, given by Eadmer Andænde to Gundulf, as before related, and forbade any one, on pain of severe punishment, to fish before it—"De piscaria de Niwe Wera. Henricus rex Anglorum Haymoni dapifero, et Hugoni de Boch salutem. Prohibeo ne piscatores pescant (*sic*) in Tamisia ante piscaturam monachorum de Rouecestria de Niwe Wera. Et si ulterius inveniantur piscantes, sint mihi forisfacti. Teste Walt. canc. ap. Wemost."[3]

We are now approaching the last years of this great man's career, and little more remains but to detail a few anecdotes illustrative of his conventual life, and then to introduce you to a glimpse of its saintly termination.

His gifts to the priory, not already mentioned, which find a place in the register, are the tithes of Cockelstane, Wicham, and Pole in Suthfliete.[4] He gave also a best chasuble with a border of gold, three others of purple black, two missals, etc., etc., "casulam principalem undique de auro circundatam, et alias tres de purpura nigra, et duo missalia sine epistolis et sine evangeliis in coopertorio de pallio benedictionale, albam cum parura et amictu lapidibus inserto, et tria tapetia, et alia."[5] The delight of the church, the favourite of princes, the great builder of his age, he was of all men around him the meekest and the most humble. He was, emphatically, the servant of the poor. Thirteen at least, besides his prebendaries, dined with him daily;[6] and he allowed no opportunity to escape him of liberally supplying their various wants. "Dabant ei multa multi; sed et multa dabat et ipse multis."[7] "Many gave much to him, but he also gave much to many." From his palace went food to

[1] MSS. Cott., Nero, D. II, f. 108; Domitian. x, ff. 99, 101, 102; Reg. Roff., 33.
[2] MS. Cott., Vesp. A. XXII, f. 85; Reg. Roff., pp. 35, 117.
[3] MS. Cott., Domitian. x, f. 105. Registr. Roff., p. 34.
[4] MS. Cott., Vesp. A. XXII, f. 84b.; Registr. Roff., p. 117.
[5] MSS. Cott., Nero, D. II, f. 108 b; Vesp. A. XXII, f. 88; Reg. Roff., p. 120.
[6] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 62; Angl. Sacr., ii, 284.
[7] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 58 b; Angl. Sacr. ii, 283.

Digitized by Google

the hungry, and clothes to the naked, with a minute regard to the peculiar need of each individual.[1] When he was at dinner, if anything pleased his palate more than ordinarily, he would send it hastily away to some sick man, with the remark that he was more deserving of such a dainty than himself.[2] To the afflicted and the bed-ridden, and to labouring women, he was a most liberal benefactor, and endeavoured, by his judicious charity, to alleviate, as far as possible, the anguish of disease and the pangs of maternal nature.[3] But he could not endure the faintest praise of his varied excellences. Once, nearly at the close of his life, on the festival of All Saints, when after an attack of severe illness his well-known voice was heard in the service, the people audibly expressed their delight. But he was much pained at this evidence of their feeling, and only broke a long silence to express, with sobs and tears, his disapprobation of it, on account of his utter unworthiness: "O quis est, qui pro me gaudere debeat?"[4] His habit was to celebrate mass twice a-day; the first that of the Sunday, or the commemoration of the Virgin Mary, or S. Andrew, or some other saint whose memory he particularly cherished; the second for the dead, at which he permitted none to be present but his own monks and certain of the youths.[5] In the midst of this he would oftentimes fall into a rapture, and after a while would rise and conclude the service.[6] In all his country houses he had a small oratory, in which, during his sojourn, it was the duty of one of his servants to place a book of prayers; and which he frequented for many hours, especially as a preparation for celebrating mass.[7] During his health he was never absent from the night services—indeed devotion never came amiss to him.[8] His favourite subject of contemplation was our Lord's Passion, which he reverently endeavoured to imitate by constant mortifications.[9] He would often remind his society of the last account, and ask them, "My brethren, what shall we say when the Lord shall come? We know it for a truth that our Lord Jesus Christ, solely of His merciful goodness, and without any merits of our own, redeemed us from

1 Angl. Sacr., ii, 284. 2 MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 62; Angl. Sacr., ii, 284.
3 *Ibid.* 4 MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, ff. 74b, 75; Angl. Sacr., ii, 289.
5 MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 57; Angl. Sacr., ii, 282. 6 *Ibid.*
7 MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 57b; Angl. Sacr., ii, 282.
8 Angl. Sacr., ii, 282. 9 *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

eternal death by the passion of the cross. This did He for us: what are we doing in return for Him? Our daily tears should at least equal His dying wounds."[1] His sermons contained oftentimes more tears than words; especially on the festival of S. Mary Magdalene, whose repentance and penitential sorrow used to form the subject of his address. As he spoke of her tears he both wept himself, and made the rest weep with him. The memory of that saint he specially loved, because she was "a sinner", like himself.[2] He had a great dread lest the same fate should befal him as happened to one of whom he had heard, who, as he was on the point of death, was reported to have exclaimed, "O vain and worthless glory, how many hast thou ruined, of whom I am one!"[3] When he was staying anywhere where it was difficult or impossible to find a place in the house for private prayer, he would take a candle, and, as if to see whether his servants had attended to the horses, would go into the stable, and there employ himself, during the night, in those devotions which the presence of any human eye would, in his opinion, have tended to counteract and debase.[4] On the other hand, none was more devoted and constant than he in the public services of the church, and the exercise of his high and holy office. One specially interesting trait I must not omit. He was devotedly fond of music; and oftentimes, as he listened to the sweet strains of the choir, or the melodious chime of his cathedral bells, he would sigh deeply and say, "O how great must be the joy in heaven, where, without discord, the praises of God are ever heard, when human hand or tongue has a power of its own to express such harmony!"[5] Most of us will recollect an exquisite parallel in one of the best beloved of our later writers. Speaking of the nightingale, Izaak Walton says, in words almost as laden with enchanting melody as the notes of the sweet songster that forms the subject of his praise, "He that at midnight, when the very labourer sleeps securely, should hear, as I have very often, the clear airs, the sweet descants, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling of her voice, might well be lifted above earth, and say, Lord,

[1] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 58b; Angl. Sacr., ii, 282, 283.
[2] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, ff. 66b, 67; Angl. Sacr., ii, 286. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Angl. Sacr., 276. [5] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 57b; Angl. Sacr., ii, 282.

Digitized by Google

what music hast Thou provided for the Saints in heaven, when Thou affordest bad men such music on earth!"[1]

A year before his death he suffered much from acute headache; and the weakness of age increased so much upon him, that, although he struggled manfully against his ailments, he was compelled to remit somewhat of his usual devotions.[2] Instead, therefore, of his two masses, he was able to celebrate but one, and his other hours of prayer were unavoidably reduced.[3] His charities, however, were still so profuse, as to occasion doubts in the minds of some, whether anything would be left to his successor in the see; but he soon satisfied them that the next bishop would find what was abundantly sufficient for himself and his servants, even after the poor had received his intended largesses.[4] He would not allow his infirmities to hinder his personal attention to these good objects; but, when he could no longer sit on horseback, he was carried from house to house in a two-horse vehicle, not choosing to trust to his servants what he knew required the master's eye.[5] Oftentimes, in evening, that he might not be known, he would take a monk and a couple of servants, and make a visitation of his neighbourhood, enter the cottages, and sit by the bedsides of the sick and infirm, examining attentively into their wants, sympathising with their afflictions, and apportioning his alms, whether of food or clothing, in considerate accordance with the individual need of each.[6]

As his sickness increased, his friend Anselm came to visit him; and, perceiving that he was near his departure, "facta prius pura et simplici confessione", gave him absolution and extreme unction.[7] Gundulf, amid the sighs and tears of all around him, delivered into the archbishop's hands both himself and the family which he had gathered and was now leaving; himself, for his prayers in his behalf; the family, for his pastoral superintendence and paternal care.[8] On what he believed to be the approach of death, his devotion to the monastic rule became more strikingly evident. "He would not die as a bishop, in his palace, but as a monk, and among monks, in a lower place."[9] He

[1] The Complete Angler; Major's ed., 8vo., Lond., 1824, p. 10.
[2] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, ff. 72b, 73; Angl. Sacr., ii, 288. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Angl. Sacr., ii, 289. [5] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 74; Angl. Sacr., ii, 289.
[6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.*
[9] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 76; Angl. Sacr., ii, 290.

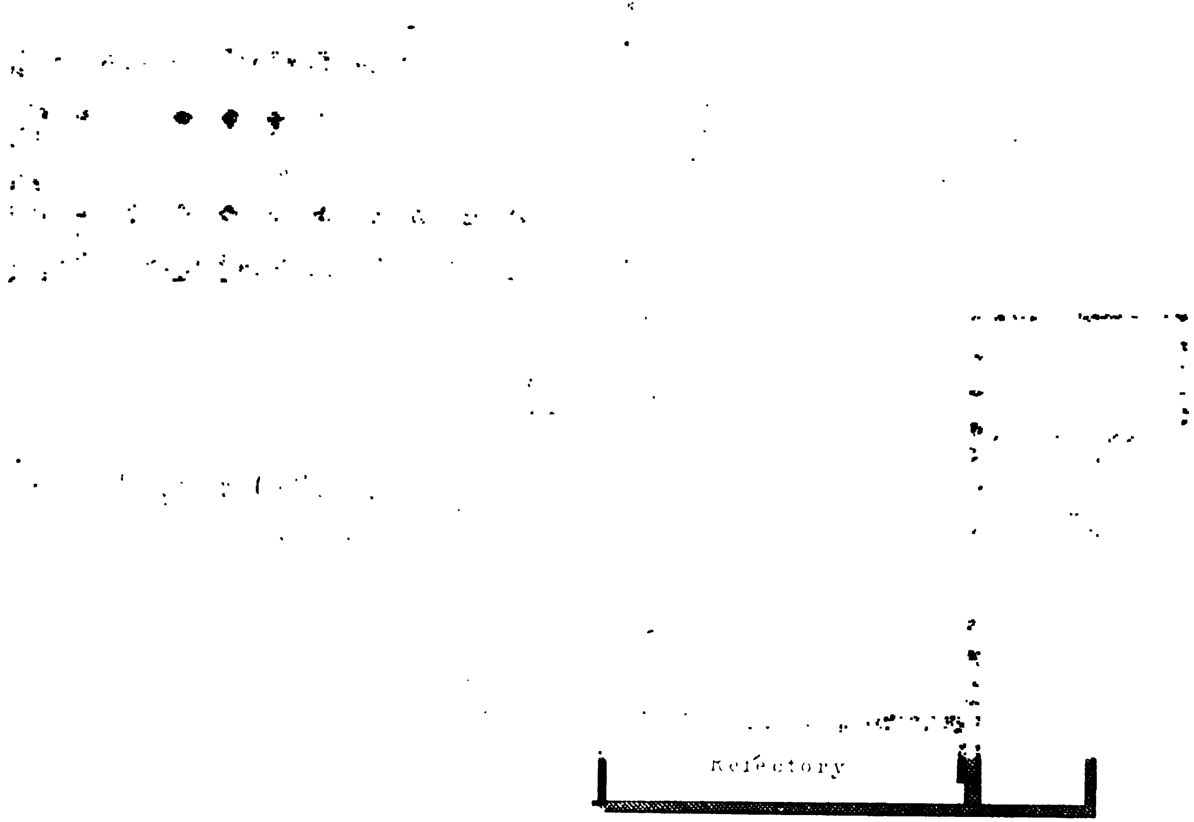
Digitized by Google

therefore caused himself to be carried by his servants into the church of S. Andrew, and thence, after many prayers and tears for himself and his monastery, to the infirmary, that he might breathe his last among his spiritual children.[1] He was induced, though much against his will, to appoint an abbess to the convent at Malling, a society which he had up to this time governed in his own person; but he obliged her at the same time to take an oath of perpetual obedience and canonical subjection to the bishop and church of Rochester.[2] He then gave away his clothes, and every garment he had, however valueless; relieving himself, "ab ignominioso proprietatis pondere",[3] of what he thought a disgraceful weight of ownership, and distributing them, as a free monk, among the brethren and poor.[4] His episcopal ring he felt a religious dread to wear, from a sense of the responsibility involved in its possession and use; and therefore entrusted it to the keeping of one of the brethren who was constantly in waiting upon him, not improbably the very writer of the *Life* which I am now quoting.[5] He was asked by some to give it to the abbot of Battle, who was on a visit at the monastery, but he declined.[6] A few days afterwards, however, his friend and compatriot, Radulf, abbot of Seez, who had resided with S. Anselm since national troubles had driven him from his own monastery, came to see him in his sickness. After some conversation, as Radulf was leaving him, the bishop asked for his ring of the monk in whose custody he had placed it, and to his extreme astonishment, placed it on the abbot's finger. He was only induced to accept it on the bishop's assurance that "it would be necessary for him; and that he was not to persist in refusing it, as it was requisite for the performance of his good wishes towards him." By all this he manifested what his biographer considers an act of prescience, inasmuch as the abbot was eventually his successor in the see.[7]

A few days after this occurrence Gundulf commanded the society to assemble, that in the presence of the brethren he might undergo personal discipline for what he deemed his numerous offences; but the monks thought fit to over-

[1] MS. Cott., Nero A. VIII, f. 76; Angl. Sacr. ii, 290.
[2] MS. Cott., Nero A. VIII, ff. 76 b, 77; Angl. Sacr., ii, 290.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.*
[7] MS. Cott. Nero, A. VIII, ff. 77 b, 78; Angl. Sacr., ii, 290.

Digitized by Google

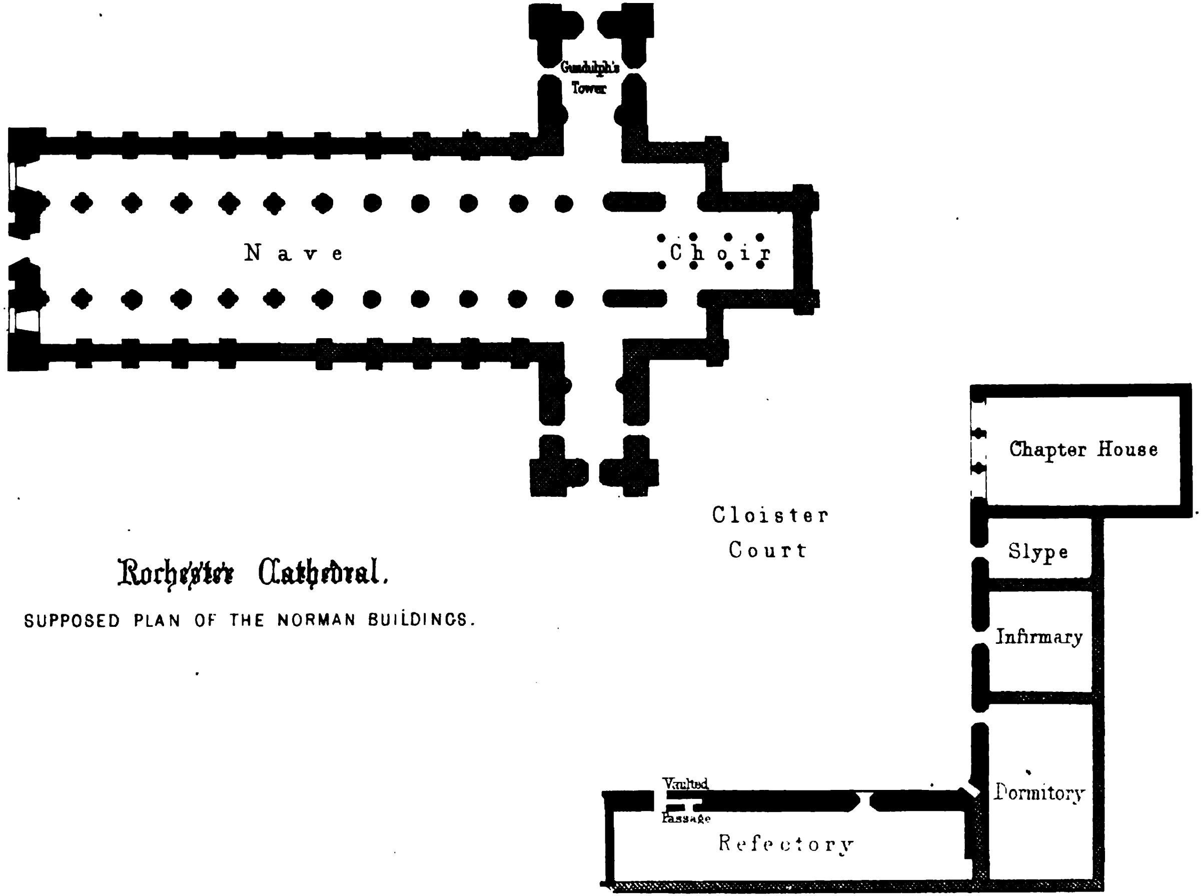


J R Jobbins

A. Ashpitel, Arch^t del

MS. Cott. Nero, A. viii, ff. [illegible]; Angl. Sacr., ii, [illegible].

Digitized by Google



Rochester Cathedral.

SUPPOSED PLAN OF THE NORMAN BUILDINGS.

J.R.Jobbins

A Ashpitel, Archt del.

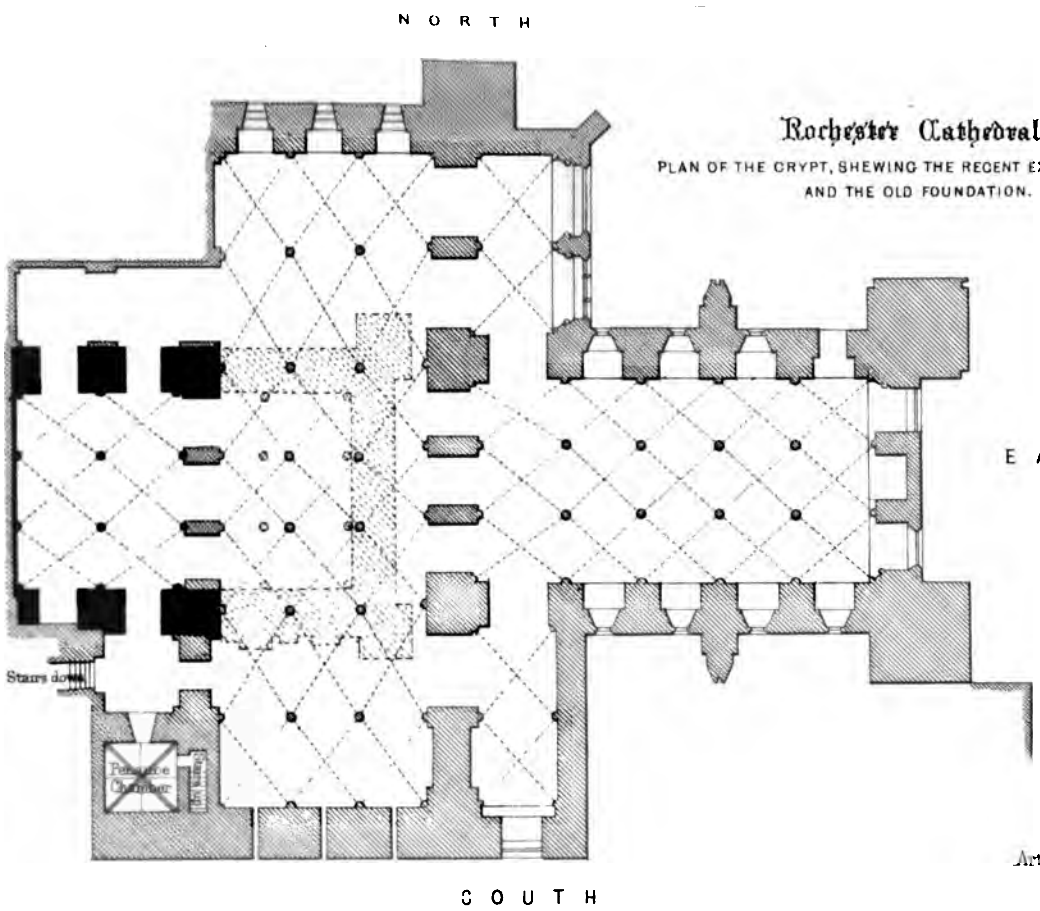
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Rochester Cathedral.

PLAN OF THE CRYPT, SHEWING THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS.
AND THE OLD FOUNDATION.



J K Jobbins.

Arthur Ashpitel. Archt del.

Digitized by Google

rule his wishes in this particular.[1] On the ensuing Saturday it was evident, from his increased weakness, that he could not long survive. He, however, ordered some alms to be distributed; and at mass, which was said in his presence in the chapel of the infirmary (at which, however, he could do little more than look his devotion), whilst the Gospel was being read, he caused himself to be raised erect, out of reverence for the mystery therein celebrated. The proper services for the hours were still continued in his presence as usual, throughout the day. As evening approached he lost his speech, and up to midnight lay without voice, but in full possession of his senses. Soon afterwards his last moments drew on. The usual signal of striking with a hammer was made, he was placed upon a hair-cloth, and the monks pressed hastily into his chamber. After repeating the Creed, and chanting the Psalms and the Litany, they began the *Commendatio Animæ*, the voice of the reader barely audible for the sobs and weeping around. Thus, "in hac tremenda expectatione", he lay for awhile, the brethren still praying and chanting for his soul's repose. Just as they came to the passage in the 79th Psalm, "Deus virtutum, convertere, respice de cælo, et vide, et visita vineam istam",[2] "Turn Thee again, Thou God of hosts, look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine", his spirit left the world. He passed away as morning was breaking, about to look upon a brighter day than ever shone on earth; and thus, calmly and blessedly, "fine sancto functus",[3] "left the vine which he had planted, to wit, the congregation of his church, which he had abundantly instructed in the study of heavenly discipline, to the care and visitation of the Almighty Creator."[4] The chronicler narrates that the attendants who watched his body saw it assume a marvellous whiteness, which they interpreted as significative of his charity, devotion, and unspotted sanctity.[5] His decease fell on the third Sunday in Lent: and it was remarked that the office which was sung on the day of his death was the very same as that on the occasion of his consecration thirty years before. "Oculi mei semper ad Dominum", it ran, "quoniam Ipse

[1] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 78b; Angl. Sacr., ii, p. 291.
[2] Ps. lxxix, 15 (lxxx, 14, vers. Angl.)
[3] Will. Malmesb., lib. i, f. 133a, edit. predict.
[4] MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, ff. 78b, 79; Angl. Sacr., ii, 291. [5] *Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

evellet de laqueo pedes meos."[1] "Mine eyes are ever towards the Lord, for He shall pluck my feet out of the net"—words which were considered especially applicable to the events of his life and the graces of his character.[2]

He expired on the 8th of March, 1108, in about the eighty-fifth year of his age, the fifty-first from his assumption of the monastic habit, the thirty-first of his episcopate, and the eighth of the reign of king Henry I.[3] His body, dressed in pontifical vestments, was borne into the cathedral church of S. Andrew, and laid before the altar of that apostle; whence it was removed a few days afterwards, and interred by S. Anselm, who had been sent for from Canterbury for that purpose, with all the honour becoming his station and deserts, before the altar of the crucifix, at the junction of the nave and choir.[4]

So lived and so died this renowned, accomplished, and saintly bishop. Here we must leave him. The pens of angels can alone record the continuation of that which was so holily on earth begun.

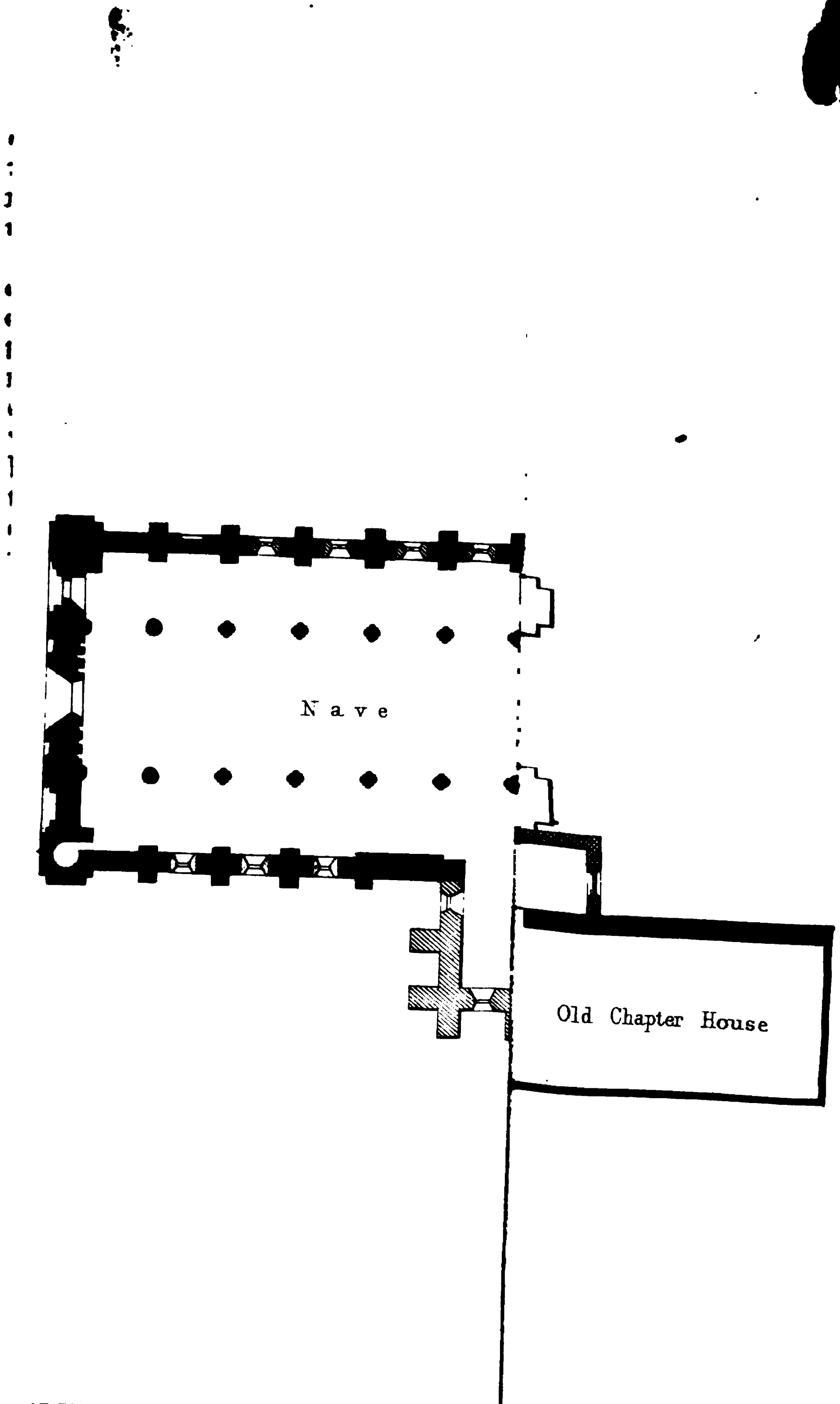
I have nothing further to add than the remark that, in one of the niches of the arcade on the west front of the north-west tower of the nave, there is a very ancient episcopal statue (see plate 29), intended, as it is thought, for Gundulf. It is very much mutilated, but enough, nevertheless, remains to shew its character. There is no tomb at present existing, which can, with the smallest degree of probability, be appropriated to him.[5] Gundulf, however, wants no such monumental record in Rochester. You have but to traverse its streets and look around you, and evidences of his presence, his energy, devotion, skill, and vigour, meet the eye on every side. Of him, as of a great though not a greater man many ages afterwards, it doubtless has been often, and may still be rightly, said—

"Si monumentum quæris, circumspice."

1 Ps. xxiv, 15 (xxv, 15, vers. Angl.)
2 MS. Cott., Nero A. VIII, f. 80; Angl. Sacr., ii, 291.
3 MS. Cott., Nero, A. VIII, f. 80b.; Angl. Sacr. ii, 291.
4 MS. Cott., Nero, A. viii, f. 80; Angl. Sacr., ii, 291.
5 Thorpe's Custum. Roff., p. 187.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



J.R Jobbins.

Arthur Ashpital, Archt. del

Digitized by Google

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY ARTHUR ASHPITEL, ESQ., F.S.A.

The architect and antiquary has great difficulties in treating of this most interesting cathedral. First, from the paucity of the records concerning its history, compared with the stores of leiger books, chartularies, and chronicles possessed by some collegiate bodies; and secondly, from the numerous alterations and restorations,—attempted with the best motives it is true, but executed at a time when the subject was not at all understood. From this cause the external character of the work is often entirely changed; and those indications of additions to, or alterations from, the original designs—those slight matters which in an untouched building catch the eye, and guide the observer to such important results, are here quite obscured or obliterated —those tests which have been so successfully applied elsewhere are here entirely lost. It is then with considerable diffidence the following remarks are offered. However defective they may be, the building itself is of such great interest, that any attempt, however imperfect, to throw light on its foundation and history, must necessarily be of some value.

The authorities I have consulted on the subject, besides the *Textus Roffensis*, as published by Hearne, and the *Registrum Roffense*, published by Thorpe, are chiefly the following MSS. in the British Museum—a Registrum Roffense, marked Faustina B. V.; another Registrum, marked Vespasian A. CXXII; and a Chronicon Roffense, marked Nero D. II. There are a few notices in the Cole MSS. 28, but of little importance. I have also gone through all the collected materials, and the sketch books, of the late Mr. Essex, who was employed, about sixty years back, in executing some repairs to the cathedral, but have found nothing in them worthy of notice. By far the most curious of the manuscripts is that marked Nero D. II, which I shall call "the Rochester Chronicle". It is a most beautiful MS. of the time of Edward III, and contains a complete history of the world from the earliest period down to those

Digitized by Google

times. The early part is taken from Scripture, the later compiled from various sources with great care, while the latest is evidently the work of the monks of the time, who recorded the events of the day, particularly anything that bore on the town and cathedral itself. Strange to state, this manuscript seems to have escaped the vigilant eye of Thorpe. The first foundation of the see of Rochester is recorded by Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* ii, cap. 3, sub anno 604, who says—" As for Justus, Augustine ordained him bishop in Kent, at the city which the English nation named Rhofescester, from one that was formerly the chief man of it, called Rhof. It contains a church dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle. King Ethelbert, who built it, bestowed many gifts on both these churches."

The *Textus Roffensis*, cap. 92 (p. 152, in Hearne's edition, 1720), says, " in the six hundredth year from the incarnation of our Lord, king Æthelbert founded the church of St. Andrew the Apostle at Rofi, and gave to it Prestefeld, and all the land which is from the Medu Waie, even unto the eastern gate of the city in the south part, and other land beyond the wall of the city to the north part."

We now lose all mention of a church till the year 725, when Bede (lib. v, c. 22), who describes in very feeling terms the death of bishop Tobias, and praises him as a great scholar, not only in the Saxon and Latin tongues, but (which was rare indeed in those times) in the Greek language, says, " he was buried in the porch (porticus or aisle) of St. Paul the Apostle, which he built within the church of St. Andrew for his own place of burial." This is but scanty notice of a church of which we hear no more for centuries. It is true there are a great many grants of land during this time to the see, but no mention of the cathedral is at all made. In 991, Ethelred thought proper to commit some serious inroads on the property of the church. Leland says (*Collectanea* I, 260), " Æthelred, king of the Mercians, incensed by I know not what insolent reply of the king of Canterbury, oppressed the whole of Kent with fire and sword, and doomed to destruction the whole lands of the bishopric of Rochester."

From 1014 to 1058 the great antiquary Dugdale tells us he could not even find a word of who was bishop through this long period. According to the chronicler, Edmund

Digitized by Google

de Hadenham (*Annal. Eccles. Roffen. apud Angl. Sac.* i, 342); anno 1075, things were in a most deplorable condition. The bishop Sigward died almost suddenly, "leaving the church", says the annalist, "in a miserable and empty condition, in want of everything within and without. In it were only four canons, living in a low state, and dressed in plebeian garments." "To correct these miseries, the wisest bishop Lanfranc", says the chronicler, "gave the see to Arnost, a monk of Bec. He only remained there half a year." "Lanfranc then appointed that most worthy man Gundulph." Of this great and good bishop so admirable a paper[1] has been already given, that it would be superfluous to say more. He is, however, described by Ernulphus (*De Rebus Eccl. Roff. apud Angl. Sacr.*) "as a man most knowing and capable (sciens et efficax) in building work" (opere cæmentario); and he adds, "he built for himself the stone castle at Rochester" (Castrum sibi Hrofense lapideum de suo construxit); and a little further on he says, "Gundulph the bishop made the castle at Rochester the whole from his own [purse] entirely (de suo ex integro totum), at a cost, as I think, of sixty pounds".

In *Domesday* we are told, "The bishop [of Rochester] had in Rochester, and hath yet, 20 mansures of land, which belong to Frandesberie and Borestele, as his own manors; in the time of king Edward, and afterwards, they were worth 3 pounds, then 8 pounds, and now they return by the year 11 pounds 13 shills. and 4 pence." It is very singular there is no mention in *Domesday* of any church at Rochester, although they are enumerated at Southfleet, Estanes (Stone), Fachesham, Oldeham, Mellingetes, Totesclive, Snodland, Coclestane, Danetone, Hallinges, Frandesberie, and Estoches (Stoke). It seems very probable that the old building was in a sad state of dilapidation. The following account of its rebuilding is given by the monk of Rochester in the singularly interesting life of Gundulph, printed in the first volume of the *Anglia Sacra*. He says:—"A very short time having elapsed, a new church, the old being destroyed, is begun, a circle of offices are conveniently disposed. The whole work in a few years, Lanfranc providing much money, was carried out. Therefore, all being finished, and from only five canons who were found there,

[1] By the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., Hon. Sec.

Digitized by Google

many others being associated, and flowing to the religious garb, the monks increased to the number of sixty and more, under the doctrine of the father Gundulph." Tradition and later historians have stated he never lived to complete the cathedral, but that it was done by Ernulphus. There seems to be some probability in this. The latter, according to the Rochester chronicle, and to Edmund de Hadenham, built the dormitory, infirmary, and chapter house. The fronts of these latter remain, and they partake of the style of the west front, rather than of that of Gundulph. The latter are decidedly of the later Norman. The former of the simpler and earlier. One of the best tests is perhaps to compare this work with still earlier work and catch such points as are common to both. Thus, as Byzantine or Romanesque sprang from Roman work, as Norman sprang from the former, and the pointed styles followed in slow succession these last, so any decided deviation in principle should be considered a probable test of their respective periods. In all Roman or classic architecture, the edge of the arch, the intersection of the face and the soffit is an arris, or intersection of two plain faces. So it is in older Norman. In the later style it begins to be moulded, till at last there is no flat soffit, but the whole forms an aggregate of massive mouldings. This difference will be clearly apparent on inspecting the two fronts. Not only is this so, but the last pier to the westward in the interior is of larger dimension, and in the triforium there is clearly found the indication of a junction of new work with old. The presumption therefore is, that the tradition is correct, and that Ernulph altered the last bay, or rather lengthened the nave one bay, and erected the splendid west front. This is still further strengthened by the fact that no consecration took place till 1133, when, according to Gervase (*Decem Scriptores*, fo. 1664), this office was performed by John, bishop of Canterbury. "On the third of the nones of May, the same archbishop dedicated the new church of St. Andrew, at Rochester." Had it been finished in Gundulph's time, it surely would have been consecrated then, instead of waiting for eighteen years after his death.

Let us now consider what the old Norman church really consisted of. (See plate 30.) The existing nave is clearly that of Gundulph, till within two arches of the transepts.

Digitized by Google

A little to the eastward of the north transept is a fine massive tower—called Gundulph's tower—and this is clearly Norman. We must now descend into the crypt (see plate 31), and there we find work of two periods—one evidently early English. The other consists of very rude early groins, supported by small plain cylindrical shafts, and heavy cushion-like capitals. So early does this work seem that it has often been called Saxon. The east end of this work is evidently mixed with the early English—in fact the extreme east column seems to have been cased within the new pier. My first idea was, that there had been a circular or octagonal apsis, but, on setting out the lines, and probing the ground with a borer down to the maiden earth, nothing of the kind was found. However, on proceeding eastward, the distance of two bays more, the foundations of a huge rubble wall were found upwards of eight feet thick. This wall appeared, as far as could be discovered (as there was no opportunity for digging—not to mention a thorough excavation), to form the straight or flat end of the old church—shewing the probability that there had been no apsis.

All the Norman work is shewn in the plan (see plate 30) by a black tint. The early English work is in outline. The later Norman, of Ernulphus' time, is cross-hatched. The caps of the columns in the crypt are very singular. They are "cushion" caps, without any portion being cut off, by a flat vertical plane, as in almost all Norman work. They differ both from those at Worcester, and those at Repton. Our examples are too few for us to pronounce with any certainty; still, from their look (and here I am borne out by the testimonies of Mr. Baily and Mr. Duesbury), they have every appearance of Saxon work. That the Saxons had crypts, and large ones too, we have the often-cited authority of Wulstan's *Life of St. Swithin*, where he describes the cathedral at Winchester, built by Athelwold, only eighty-six years before the conquest. The great probability that they are not Saxon, however, may be deduced from the fact that the termination is not apsidal. Every building known or supposed to be Saxon (except Repton) appears to have had an apsidal termination. In fact, this was the plan of the early Christian churches.

Plate 30 exhibits the probable plan of the original

Digitized by Google

edifice. I have drawn the choir as standing over the original Norman crypt, and of course of exactly the same size. This would in fact be large for a Norman choir. The nave, as it exists, on the other hand, would be too short for a Norman nave, as will be hereafter shewn. Reference has already been made to the Norman tower called Gundulph's Tower, on the north side of the choir. On looking to the *Registrum Spirituale*, of Rochester, as given by Thorpe, page 118, we find "Reginald the prior made two bells and placed them in the greater tower; one being broken was appropriated (apposita) to making another bell." Reginald, from the authorities (in the *Anglia Sacra*, "de successu priorum Roffens."), was prior from 1146 to 1154. In his time it was clear there were *two* towers. One, it is true, might have been a central tower; but it is scarcely probable, if the choir existed as I have drawn it, that two towers would have been built almost touching each other. If, however, the second tower stood on the south side, in a position exactly corresponding to the Gundulph tower, then it is probable that the lower part of these towers would form transepts; just, in fact, as they do at Exeter. Unfortunately the Gundulph tower has been sadly mutilated, all its freestone lining has gone, and all the lower openings have been filled up with rubble; but on close inspection there are vestiges of a large circular arch on its north side—the side adjoining the church. If this has been so, it must have opened into the nave itself, and my conjecture must be correct. The plate (30) shows the existing tower and its probable companion. If I am right the nave would then bear a proper proportion to others of the same period. Thus in the naves at—

Winchester, we have	13 piers,	and the length	is	250 ft.
Ely . . .	12 —	„	„	250 „
Peterborough .	11 —	„	„	266 „
Norwich . .	14 —	„	„	255 „
while at Rochester only	8 —	„	„	130 „

but if my conjecture be correct, we get the better proportion of 12 piers, and the length about 200 feet.

As to the west front, I have already stated my reasons for conjecturing it to be the work of Ernulphus; and I would add to these the similarity to that of the front of the

Digitized by Google

chapter house, and other work in the cloister. We have the distinct authority of Edmund de Hadenham that Ernulph built the dormitory, chapter house, and refectory (ut supra, sub anno 1115.) These are in a most unusual position: they are most commonly on the south side of the nave; in some instances, on the north; but, except at Lincoln, no other cloister in England is attached to the choir; and in this last instance it is on the north side, while at Rochester it is on the south side of the choir. The west front of the chapter house is of singular beauty, enriched with the most elaborate carving. There are three doors, over one of which is sculptured the sacrifice of Abraham. I conjecture these doors to have been those of the slype, infirmary, and dormitory. On the other side I suppose the refectory to have been situate. The old Norman one was pulled down, and another erected by Hamo de Hethe (vide William de Dene, apud *Ang. Sac.*, sub anno 1331); and I conjecture the south wall of the cloister to be that of this building, as there is a passage in its thickness like those leading to the place where the monk stood who read to the rest of the convent while at their meals; and that at Chester will be remembered as about the same date. The fourth side was probably occupied by the hospitium, etc. A curious mistake has crept into some books, and that is that prior Silvester built the refectory, the dormitory, and the hostelry; and nothing can show in a stronger light the necessity of going to the fountain head, and consulting the original documents themselves. Only two words are omitted; but those make all the difference. Silvester did erect the buildings as stated, but the MS. adds " at Waletune". It goes on, however, to say, " and at Rochester he removed the private house which formerly was attached (adhæsit) to the dormitory, and he made two windows in the chapter house, towards the east."

In plate 30, showing the supposed plan of the original Norman building, the black is the earlier work, or that of Gundulph; that hatched over, the work of Ernulph, or his immediate successors. Plate 31 shows the plan of the present crypt. The early work is black; that of William de Hoo, hatched over; and the old foundations, recently excavated, are hatched with dots.

The cathedral seems to have been doomed to all sorts of

Digitized by Google

trouble for the next century. Only four years after its consecration, according to Gervase the monk (*Decem Scriptores*, p. 1456), "On the 3rd of the nones of June, the church of St. Andrew at Rochester, and the whole city, with the offices of the bishops and monks, were burnt." Edmund de Hadenham (*Annal. Eccl. Roff. apud Angl. Sac.* sub anno 1138) records this catastrophe, "but places it a year later." The same author states in 1142 that "Asclin the bishop assiduously remained at Rochester on account of the burning of the offices"; and shortly after he says: "The offices being finished, Herebert the baker retired with the bishop." From this notice it seems probable that the offices suffered the most, and that the damage to the church was comparatively slight. Be this as it may, the unfortunate edifice was fated to a second trial by fire. In 1179, according to Gervase, "on the fourth of the ides of April, a sad accident (incommodum) happened to the church at Rochester. For the church itself of St. Andrew, with the offices, was consumed by fire, and reduced to a cinder (in cinerem redacta)." This second catastrophe de Hedenham places two years earlier, in 1177. The existence of the west portion of the nave shows these injuries to have extended only to its eastern portion and to the choir.

The various statements of the chroniclers, however, should now be collected in order. They are either from the *Registrum*, or the *Rochester Chronicle*, or very often word for word in both. "Alured (Alfred) the prior", says the *Registrum*, "afterwards abbot of Abingdon, gave a most excellent cope, and made a window in the dormitory beyond the bed of the prior." From the succession of priors (apud *Ang. Sac.*), and from the Abingdon records, it seems he was prior from 1185 to 1189, of course after the second fire. It is then stated that "Thalebot (perhaps Talbot) the sacrist, made the old lavatory, and a great cross with Mary and John, and a great 'clocca', which to this day bears the name of Thalebot." Whether by "clocca" is meant a "clock" in our sense of the word, or only a bell, seems uncertain. The annalist always uses the word "campana" to signify the latter. He continues: "In 1199, Radulphus the prior made the brewery, and the great and less chambers of the prior, and the stone houses

Digitized by Google

in the cemetery, and the hostelry, and the grange in the vineyard and the grange at Stoke, and the stable, and he caused the great church to be roofed and the greater part covered with lead.—Helyas the prior leaded the great church, and that part of the cloister next the dormitory, and he made the lavatory and the guests' refectory.—Heymeric de Tunebregge, the monk, made the cloister towards the infirmary; Roger de Saunford, monk and cellarer, made the brewhouse of stone and lime and tiles." It may, perhaps, be wondered at why such buildings as the brewery should be attended to before the church; but there was, as appears at the present day, quite sufficient of the nave left for the sacred offices, and it was natural for homeless men to think of their dormitories and hostelries before they went further.

A number of gifts of windows are then recorded, but without dates: one of Robt. de Hecham, one of William Potin by the great altar, one of Durandus Wisdom, and one somewhat singularly described. "Theodoric the monk", says the *Registrum*, (acquisivit) literally "*got out of* a certain woman of Halling as much money whence a window, a chasuble, and an alb were made, and many other things done in the crypt at the altar of St. Magdalen. He also acquired the half of one window in the crypt against Alured Cook." These gifts were, however, probably after the rebuilding.

In 1215 there was another calamity: king John besieged the castle, in which were "quidam barones strenuissimi," the powerful barons William de Albinet, and many others. Through some strange neglect or cowardice, Robert Fitz Walter, who laid with the army at London, refused to march to their assistance, and the castle was miserably taken, says Edmund de Hadenham, and the church at Rochester so plundered, that there was not a pix left. The church seems now to have been in the depth of trouble. Fire, sword, and pillage, had done their work, when in the midst of their despair a most singular event took place, which not only enabled the monks to rebuild the portions of the church which had been burnt, but enriched them for some time after. It occurred that a baker of Perth, who had attained a character for piety and charity, and who was said to give every tenth loaf to the

Digitized by Google

poor, resolved on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He sold all he had for that purpose, and set off for the continent; passing through Rochester, he stopt there some days, and by his pleasing manners, won the good opinion of every one. On his departure his servant, tempted by the money he carried, attacked him as soon as he went out of the town, and murdered him. His fate caused great sympathy, and his remains were interred in the cathedral. Shortly after, reports of miracles done at his tomb were spread abroad, and increased to that degree that shoals of pilgrims from all parts of the country flocked to his shrine with offerings.

The *Registrum* records the progress of the building thus: "Richard de Eastgate, monk and sacrist of Rochester, began the north aisle (alam borealem) of the new work opposite the gate of St. William, which friar Thomas de Mepeham at length finished." "Richard de Waledene, monk and sacrist, [made] the south aisle towards the [cloister] court." "William de Hoo, sacrist, made the whole choir from the aforesaid aisles from the offerings of St. William's shrine." Now these statements seem to be very discrepant—first, that Richard Eastgate built the north aisle opposite the gate of St. William. That Richard de Waledene built the south aisle. That William de Hoo built the whole of the choir. That aisles of such a construction could be built without a choir between them seems impossible. It is equally impossible that the choir with its arches and clerestory could stand without aisles, especially with a groined roof. But if we reflect that "ala" in its primitive form signifies a transept, and that transepts are very often called cross aisles, the matter seems intelligible.[1] Not only so, it explains a thing which has not been done as yet. The two transepts differ in design—one is at least forty years later than the other. The north transept is of very early English work with billeted mouldings here and there; it is composed entirely of lancet lights, and in purity of design and beauty has been compared with even the work of the same period at Salisbury. Much of the same character, but little later, if any, is the beautiful choir. Its aisles, eastern transepts,

[1] Mr. Black fully concurred in this opinion, and gave his reasons at length in a most lucid way.

Digitized by Google

lady chapel, and crypt, are evidently all of one date, all from one plan, all erected at the same time, and all the production of one hand and mind. But the south transept differs greatly; the lights are divided by large mullions, which fly off to the right and left in the head of the window, exhibiting the first departure from the style of separate windows or lancets, and shewing the first step which led to the developement of tracery. Now, if this interpretation be allowed, the whole is clear. Richard Eastgate, the sacrist, began the north aisle, which was finished by Thomas de Mepeham, probably another sacrist; and then, after an interval, we can readily conceive how a third sacrist (or probably a fourth, for William de Hoo was sacrist ere he was prior) erected the other transept in a different style at a later period. This also explains the phrase that William de Hoo built the whole choir. It was finished in 1227, sufficiently to commence the performance of divine worship therein, when the "Introitus" took place. In 1240 (continues the annalist) the altar in the chapel of the infirmary was dedicated in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary. In the same year (he continues) the church at Rochester was dedicated by the lord Richard, its bishop, and the bishop of Bangor, on the nones of November.

One great peculiarity and object of admiration in the work of William de Hoo is the spacious crypt. It is composed of seven aisles, divided by light columns, with elegantly moulded early English caps and bases. The groins are very singular; they are pointed in one direction, and circular in the other, to accommodate themselves to the early circular groining. The crypt seems to have been full of chapels, and probably from the situation of the windows, was nearly as light as the upper church. From old recollections associated with the days of the persecutions, when they were compelled to seek for refuge in the catacombs of Rome, the early Christians continued to build crypts to their churches, and they are general in Lombardic, Romanesque, and Norman churches. That at Canterbury is a very noble specimen—the largest in the kingdom. They seem to have been used latterly for burial and other solemn services, till they gradually fell into disuse. Though not so spacious as that at Can-

Digitized by Google

terbury, this crypt possesses features of peculiar beauty. The rows of columns seen in perspective, and the streaming light playing between and flickering upon the floor, remind one of the mosques of the Saracens, from whom indeed it seems highly probable that the Crusaders borrowed the idea of the style called Early English, and changed, in so short a time, the massive cylindrical column, and the ponderous semicircular arch, for the slender Purbeck marble shaft and the aspiring lancet. This is probably the latest crypt in the kingdom, as the other part is probably the earliest, except that at Repton. It is of highly finished work, and has been coloured in fresco to a very great extent, as large traces now show. There were several chapels and altars here, as the piscinæ evidence. At one corner is a small, groined cell, perfectly dark, and receiving air from above by a small sort of flue; it is approached from the church by a stair in the thickness of the wall. This was the dreaded penance chamber. Another stair ascends, also in the thickness of the wall, and leads to a large apartment above, which bears the name of the indulgence chamber.

The choir, including the lady chapel, is considerably longer than the present nave. Its eastern transepts are exceedingly beautiful.

To give an idea of the crowds of pilgrims who flocked to the shrine of St. William, it will be sufficient to state that the north aisle of the cathedral had always been used by the citizens of Rochester as a parish church, but such was the concourse of people entering by St. William's gate, and proceeding through the transept by the north aisle of the choir to the shrine of the saint, that the parochial worship was constantly interrupted, and after some considerable bickering and litigation, the monks and townspeople agreed together, and the little decorated church of St. Andrew, which stands northward of the transept, was built for the especial use of the parishioners.

In 1264, the city and castle were again besieged by the famous Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and the barons. They were defended by John de Warren and sir R. de Leybourn. The first day the besiegers burnt the barns and out-buildings belonging to the cathedral which were outside the walls. The next day they burnt the bridge and

Digitized by Google

outer work, as has been so well described by Mr. Adams.[1] They then stormed the city, and the annalist says—"These satellites of the devil entered the church of the blessed St. Andrew with drawn swords, violently took away the gold and the silver, destroyed the charters and the muniments, imprisoned the monks all night; armed knights on their horses coursed round the altars, and dragged away with wicked hands those who clung to them. Oh, mournful! oh, funereal day! in which the noble church of St. Andrew, with all its contents, was made a prey to the vilest of men, who had no more reverence for it than for a shop or pot-house. Its doors on every side were burned, the quire changed into mourning, and its organs raised in the voice of weeping. What more shall I say, but that the oratories, cloisters, chapter-house, infirmary, and even the Divine oracles are turned into stables, and filled with the dung of animals and the pollution of dead bodies." Neither Walter de Merton, the next bishop, nor John de Bradfield, his successor, seemed to have done anything for the cathedral. The annalist complains of the former, contrasting his conduct to Rochester with his liberality in founding Merton College, Oxford. But his premature death may account for the omission—he was drowned attempting to cross the river on horseback. He was succeeded by the famous Hamo de Hethe, who was scarcely inducted to his see before we find him in trouble and litigation. Some charges were brought against him to the king, in 1329, all of which appear to have been groundless. In 1331 the bishop visited Rochester, and found the church and buildings to want great repair, and a new refectory and long bakehouse to be built. William de Dene says he gave from his own purse £200 for this purpose, besides four hundred marks he had formerly given towards the reparation of the manor and grange houses. In 1343 he caused the new tower of the church at Rochester to be raised with stone and timber, and to be covered with lead. He also gave four new bells to place in the same, whose names are Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc. In the ensuing year he renovated the shrines of SS. Paulinus and Ithamar, at the expense of two hundred marks. This is the last mention we have in the chronicles of any building

[1] See Proceedings July 25.

Digitized by Google

at Rochester. This prelate was forced by trouble and persecution to resign his see to the pope, who refused to accept it, and supported him with all his power. It was, however, in vain, and he sank and died a few years after. His works are probably the magnificent doorway into the present chapter house, and the walls of its lower part; the few decorated windows there are about the south-west transept, and probably the old refectory, with its internal passage. This doorway is perhaps the most beautiful piece of Gothic carving in England. The main subject is stated to be intended to represent the two dispensations, the Mosaic and Christian.[1] The figure to the left is said to represent Judæa: the eyes are blinded, she leans on a broken reed, and the tables of the law are held in her hand in a reverent position. On the other side is a bishop holding a model of a church; probably it is intended for Gundulph himself.[2] Above are four figures, said to be the four principal bishops, Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc; but as they have no mitres, or other marks of episcopal dignity, I think it is more likely they are intended for the four great doctors of the church, Ambrose, Augustin, Gregory, and Jerome. A branch of ivy is represented as creeping behind the tracery, and puts forth its leaves and tendrils from the openings in a most exquisite way. One part of the subject seems to have escaped general notice. In the inner moulding are numerous heads, the lowest of which exhibit the most dreadful anguish in their features. This is softened as the heads approach the top, where the faces become quite calm and placid. At the top of all, angels are lifting a naked figure to the clouds. The whole probably represents the gradual delivery of souls from Purgatory to Paradise.

The work of the perpendicular period consists of a chapel called by tradition St. Mary's chapel, the great west window, some alterations at the east window, the windows of the clerestory of the nave, and some minor matters. It is reported that at the time of the Reformation the Lady chapel was thrown into the choir, and the new chapel built "in vice ejus". If this be so, it must have

[1] Exactly the same subject is painted in fresco at York Minster.

[2] It is to be regretted that, in restoring some of the figures, a few solecisms in costume have been committed, as was ably pointed out by Mr. Planché.

Digitized by Google

been done by Fisher, but there is no record of any such thing; we have only oral tradition. In fact, any removal of a lady chapel must have taken place at a time when any rededication to the blessed Virgin would have been extremely improbable. The great west window was probably of the time of Henry the Seventh. We find alterations of this kind in many churches and cathedrals, without name or notice of those who executed them. It seems to have originated thus:—As soon as it was evident that Henry the Eighth intended to confiscate the property of the church, it was immediately determined to repair the buildings in every way they could. The monks considered that there probably would be no funds to keep them up, and so they resolved they would ward off the tooth of time as long as possible; and besides, it lightened the store of money in the treasury, and made every see seem poorer than it was.

The present ground plan of the cathedral, see PLATE 31.

The *Norman* work—That of Gundulph and Ernulph (the differences of which are explained in plate 29, the former being *black*, the latter *cross hatched*). It is coloured *black*.

The *Early English*—The whole choir—eastern transepts of William de Hoo—the north transept, begun by Richard de Eastgate, and finished by Thomas de Mepeham; and the south transept of Richard de Waledene, are in *outline*.

The *Decorated* work—Of this there are some walls under the present library, the beautiful gate into the same, and *perhaps* some original windows, the work of Hamo de Hethe. It is marked by *cross hatching*.

The *Perpendicular*—The chapel of St. Mary (query of the infirmary), and a few insertions, are shewn by *hatched lines*.

A. Is the chapel of St. Mary, last named.
B. St. Edmund's chapel.
C. Chapels attached to St. William's shrine.
D. Stairs down to the crypt. The minor canons' vestry is over.
E. Stairs to S.E. transept and chapter-house.
F. Stairs to N.E. transept and St. William's shrine.
G.G. Open yards.
H. Library and chapter-house.
I. Stairs down to penance chamber, in the thickness of the wall, now blocked up.
K. Ditto up to the indulgence chamber ditto ditto.

THE BISHOPS' TOMBS.

1.	Gundulph	obiit	1107.
2.	Gilbert de Glanvill	„	1214.
3.	Lawrence de St. Martin	„	1274.
4.	Walter de Merton	„	1277.
5.	John de Bradfield	„	1283.
6.	Thomas de Ingelthorp	„	1291.
7.	Hamo de Hethe	„	1352.
8.	John de Sheppy	„	1360.
9.	John Lowe	„	1467.
10.	St. William's Tomb.		

Digitized by Google

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PORTIONS OF THE ORIGINAL WORK STILL REMAINING AT LEEDS CASTLE, KENT, IN 1853.

BY CHARLES WYKEHAM MARTIN, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE history of Leeds castle, in its more important particulars, has been so fully given already by Hasted and other writers, and I have so little in the way of new matter to add to it, that I do not now propose to enter upon that topic. I think I shall better employ the space at my disposal by endeavouring to point out the general design of the building in its original state, and to enumerate and describe the portions which still remain.

Leeds castle consists of four distinct forts, each of which is capable of being separately defended, and three of which are wholly surrounded by water. The moat, which comprises a circuit of nearly fifteen acres, is formed by throwing a dam across the lower part of a valley, through which is the course of the river Len. It is approached by three different causeways, two of which were defended by drawbridges, whilst the third leads to the outwork which was not wholly surrounded by water: in fact, it constitutes the dam, or head, by which the moat is formed; but having been walled on both sides, and leading up to a strong gatehouse, it presented no favourable access to an enemy; and further, in the event of this outwork being carried, there was, even on this side, a deep ditch, and a drawbridge defended by loopholes and gatehouse, to be passed before the barbican or second fort could be approached. From the barbican the main fortress is separated by a bridge of two arches, originally a drawbridge, constituting the third fort; and this again is separated, by a similar bridge, from the keep, the fourth and last stronghold. It should be further observed that the approaches by the three causeways were rendered the sole means of access by the fact that they each stood in water. The valley on the south-east was filled with what was termed the *stagnum exterius*, or great water, containing fully sixteen acres; and the outwork

itself also stood in water: by which arrangement the points at which an enemy could come in actual contact with the fortifications were reduced to three, and these exposed nothing but a very strongly fortified gateway to his assault.

Such being the plan of the fortress when entire, I will now endeavour to state what remains of each division in its order.

Of the outwork there remains a massive square tower, which originally contained a mill. The remains of the arrangements for the water-wheel are sufficient to show clearly where it was placed. The holes for the floor joists remain, and the loopholes by which the different stories were lighted. The plan by which the water was allowed to escape, after turning the wheel, without giving an opening for the access of an enemy, is simple but effective. The newel staircase can be traced by which the upper parts were approached. In this part is also the outlet by which the waste water was discharged when the mill was not at work; but the present arrangements for this purpose seem to be comparatively modern: possibly, as also the stone-work now forming the head of the *stagnum exterius*, they may have been executed by the Smiths (ancestors of lord Strangford), who owned Leeds castle in the reigns of James I and Charles I, or even of the Colepepers.

Separated from this outwork by a deep ditch and two drawbridges, each reinforced by a gatehouse and portcullis, is the barbican. This portion seems to have been of a semicircular form, and in it the three causeways which constituted the approaches appear to have united, one of the three having (as was before observed) terminated at the north-western gate of the outwork; but the access on this side having been practically contrived at right angles over the last named ditch and its drawbridge. The wall of the barbican facing towards the outwork, or *tête du pont*, and its loopholes, are tolerably perfect. One of the piers of the gatehouse facing to the south remains, with the massive hinges of the gate and the groove of the portcullis. That there was a drawbridge here is not only manifest from the construction, but it is recorded in a survey in 1314-15, that it had been broken down by the waggons of Aymer de Valence. The drawbridge has been removed, and the ground filled in to the level of the causeway. On

Digitized by Google

the south-eastern side there were formerly similar remains, as Hasted records their existence, but they have since disappeared.

This may, perhaps, be the best place in which to notice a singular drain, or calvert, which was discovered when the moat was cleared out in 1822-23,—the purpose of which was by no means clear. It led straight across from the probable inlet on that side from the *stagnum exterius*, to the present stables (part of the buildings of the gatehouse of the main fortress), and was constructed of large flat stones, both as to its sides and as to its covering. Its capacity was a square of from two feet to two and a half feet. The only conjecture I have formed as to its use is this, that it may have conveyed the water of the outer pond and stream to the interior of the castle, and may have been designed to meet the contingency of the moat being drained by cutting through the embankment by which it is confined. There is in the barbican what seems to have been a lodge for the porter or sentinel, as it exactly resembles, in all but size, a similar construction at the principal gate. In it there is a flue carried obliquely through the thickness of the wall; but whether for the conveyance of smoke, or merely for ventilation, is not very clear. A similar flue remains in the similar building named above. There are the remains of a tower adjoining the gatehouse at the west corner of the barbican, but it is too small to have contained a staircase; and its precise use, unless as an ornamental structure, is not very apparent. Close by there is a slip in the wall towards the moat, which is noticed in the survey of 1314, and does not seem to have been repaired since that time. The reason of this is the difficulty of getting a sound foundation at a considerable depth below the level of the water. This is noticed in the survey of 1314-16.

From the barbican, the approach to the main fortress is over a bridge of two arches with a very solid pier between them, which was evidently a drawbridge, so constructed that one bridge drew up towards the main building, and the other towards the barbican, thus insulating both sections, and rendering them capable of separate defence. Over the gateway are some very bold machicolation, but the parapet of stone, or breastwork of wood (whichever it may have been) that they carried, is gone. The holes are

Digitized by Google

still visible through which the beams and chains which raised the drawbridge passed. The portcullis groove is perfect, as also the recess above, into which it was raised; but the gates are not original. On the left of the entrance is the porter's lodge, of which the doorway is a square-headed trefoil, or shouldered arch. Adjoining this is a tall arch, partly concealed by the modern porter's lodge, which led to the outer bailey. Within a second arch are the holes on each side for receiving the beam of a wooden palisade. On the left is a staircase leading to the upper story of the gatehouse buildings. Here is a solar, or warder's apartment. From this a communication leads to another large room with an early fireplace, of which the chimney is in the thickness of the wall. This is on the right hand side of the gateway. It has the remains of some very early windows; but there are the remains of a flushing of lead in the opposite wall, at a lower level than that of the heads of the windows, by which it is clear that the main walls of the building are older than the windows. The walls are from seven to eight feet thick. In the solar or warder room is a chimney-piece of the date of Henry VII or VIII, with an inscription not very legible. There is also a kind of lateral opening or skew, the object of which seems to have been to command a view of the rampart, or to have formed a communication between the warder and those in charge of the gate and portcullis. It communicates with a passage leading to a chamber over the gateway, which contains a fireplace; but whether this was for the purpose of heating liquids to be thrown through the openings of the machicolations, or for purposes of habitation, is doubtful. The latter is decidedly the safer opinion. In the sill of the window of the solar are the usual seats. The door of the solar is original, and of a peculiar construction, giving the appearance of feather-edged board on each side, the thin edge of each board being let into a groove in the thick edge of the next.

On the left side of the entrance is the newel staircase named before, leading, on that side, to the guard room. The latter was also approached formerly, as it would appear, by an external staircase, having two doors side by side on its landing. This, it has been suggested, was to enable the guard to turn out more rapidly in case of a sudden

Digitized by Google

attack. It had a handsome window at the further end, on the side towards the moat, the external arches of which remain. What may have been the arrangements on the opposite or inner side is not quite clear; but probably there were two windows, the remains of one being very perceptible. The lower story, which does not seem to have been vaulted, is merely lighted by small oblong openings not much larger than loopholes. At the north-west corner are doors on each story, communicating with rooms now destroyed, but which appear to have extended across the outer bailey to the exterior wall; they may have even projected over the moat, and contained garderobes. On the two ends of the gatehouse buildings are plainly seen the remains of the inner wall of enceinte, of which there were also, till the alterations in 1822, still more considerable remains at the opposite extremity of the largest island, facing the keep, or old castle. The merlons of this, and also, perhaps, those of the outer wall, were very long between the embrasures, and each contained a loophole.[1] Several specimens remain, though in a dilapidated state; but it is not quite certain that there were any embrasures in the lower and outer wall. It may possibly have contained loopholes only, as in the barbican. In the entrance archway the original bench for the guard still remains; but the level of the ground has been sunk about a foot, which gives it a stilted appearance.

In the circuit of the main island are five bastions or towers of a horseshoe form, one of which still has an upper story, which was apparently rebuilt by Henry VIII. They all seem to have contained garderobes, according to the custom of those times, as noticed by Mr. Parker, in his volume on *Mediæval Domestic Architecture*. There is also a square tower, the upper part of which has been removed, but the lower contains the water entrance and boat-house. Of this tower, a portion projected into the moat sufficiently to admit of an entrance by means of an arch, which is strongly fortified by two grooves—one for a portcullis, and another for a gate or grating, which seems to have been drawn up from below. Nearly opposite to the entrance

[1] The merlons at Bampton castle, Oxfordshire, which was built by Aymer de Valence, are precisely similar. As it is recorded in the survey in Edward II's time, that his waggons had broken down one of the drawbridges at Leeds castle, the idea was probably taken from that place, which must have been familiar to him.

Digitized by Google

is a second arch in the opposite wall, which appears to lead to a kind of wharf or quay, on which the contents of the boats might be landed. The upper part contained a fireplace, and was only floored with wood. The windows in both stories were of one light, and with trefoil heads.

Adjoining the water-tower is a large building, partly built within the inner wall of enceinte and partly without it, the projecting part of which stands on the old outer wall. The bulk of what remains is certainly not older than the time of Henry VIII. There is a tradition that it was built by him for the maids of honour, but this is not generally considered trustworthy. It contains the remains of two garderobes (?), several rooms with fireplaces, etc. It is now used as brewhouse, laundry, carpenters' shops, etc. Farther on are the remains of a square tower, projecting from the inner to the outer wall of enceinte. It is not clear whether at this point, and another on the opposite side, there was a complete stoppage of the road along the outer bailey, or whether there was a continuous communication by means of an archway under the tower, as at Wrotham church, and in other places. From this point these two walls approached each other, till they met at the drawbridge leading to the keep. In the portion of the higher wall of enceinte, taken down in 1822, were several fireplaces, the flues from which ran up in the thickness of the wall, showing that buildings of considerable extent had been attached to it. Under these is a very large cellar, about sixty feet in length. The end projecting into the bailey still has a large semicircular doorway, though it is now built over and cannot be seen. A similar but smaller doorway is also concealed by modern work on the left hand side. These appear to have been plain Roman arches, and are probably the oldest portions of the building capable of being identified with any particular set of occupants. Opposite to the last is the entrance still in use, which is excavated through the rock. The doorway is modern, but after the style of Henry VIII. There is in the cellar a recess about eight feet by six, and very low; whether intended for a dungeon or not, it has quite that appearance. Just by the drawbridge leading to the keep was a kitchen of timber, from which it is probable that the hall may have been over, or nearly over,

Digitized by Google

the cellar. This is the more probable, because there was in this kitchen an ancient oven, in the thickness of the wall, part of which projected from the outside on a bold corbel; this corbel still remains; hence it is clear that the wooden kitchen was not a modern one, and it is not likely that this apartment and the cellar should be far from the hall.

A bold archway of freestone led to the drawbridge of the keep. The quadrant carefully executed in the stone work, in which the head of it traversed when raised and lowered, is still perfect, under the springing of the stone arch erected in 1822; previously to that time the two openings leading to the keep had only been boarded over, and the passage enclosed by side walls of lath and plaster. The drawbridge was not only of two arches (or rather openings) but also of two stories. It is called *Pons Gloriettæ* in the ministers' accounts of Edward III, as leading to the tower now containing the clock, etc., which seems to have been called the *gloriette*. In the lower story, the entrance is by a flat-trefoil or shouldered arch; above, the arch is part of the work of Henry VIII, who restored the whole of the upper story.

On the left of the entrance was the chapel. Three of the windows remain, and the arch which contained the rich tracery of a fourth. The entire windows that remain are of the period of Edward I, about 1280, as is also the outer arch of the richer one, but new tracery was put in about 1314-15, as it appears by the survey then taken that the original tracery had been destroyed by a hurricane. The interior subdivision of the keep is modern; but it is plain that the chapel, when used as such, was divided into two stories at the end opposite to the altar, a construction declared by Mr. Parker to be not uncommon at this period. The step to the raised altar is indicated by a difference in the level of the bases of the columns with which the jambs of the windows are embellished. A little beyond the chapel, Henry VIII seems to have pulled down a part of the outer wall, for the purpose of inserting two large windows; one of them, a bay window of octagonal character, in what was probably his banqueting room. It has been already observed that the principal hall was probably in the main part of the castle, in the inner bailey. Over the

Digitized by Google

banqueting room was a withdrawing room, and beyond it, where the larder is now situated, was probably a second kitchen, as there is an unusually large opening for a chimney, without any carving or hearth, and the flue divides itself into two in the upper story. On the eastern side there is a newel staircase, which leads to a postern opening on the moat; probably there was a wooden foot-bridge across the moat at this point, of which the portion next the building, at the least, was moveable. About half way across, when the moat was cleared out in 1822, there appeared to be a small island, the water being very shallow and the bottom hard. It is the part between the building and this island that is supposed to have been moveable. The staircase itself was probably constructed by Henry VIII, in a more peaceful age than that in which the fortress was first erected; however, there may have been some such arrangement from the first. From this staircase a door leads into a kind of cellar or store. In the corner, on the left of the entrance, was a spacious room, with a handsome chimney-piece, now destroyed, of the period of Henry VIII, with the arms of Guldeford quartered with those of Colepeper. A closet at the foot of the tower called the gloriette (to which we have now come back) was apparently a garderobe, and there is still another in the higher part of the tower. The principal floor of the keep contains three good fireplaces, with the arms of Henry VIII in the spandrils. The rose and pomegranate also occur in them, and the castle of Castille, by which it would seem that they were executed before Katharine of Arragon fell into disfavour.[1] The interior wall, as left by Henry VIII, was of timber and plaster, and the oak or chesnut cornices were richly moulded. Several of the windows of the same material have been used again in the new wall erected in 1822.

In the gloriette, now called the clock-tower, is the bell on which the curfew has been rung for many centuries, the custom never having been abandoned, and the bell bearing the date 1432. There is also an ancient clock, which strikes on the same bell, but which has no dial or hands.

[1] There was, in the upper story, a garderobe in its original state. It was constructed as such things still are in the south of France, and consisted of a low parapet, with a solid beam of oak, as a finish, on the top of it.

Digitized by Google

It is pronounced by Mr. Octavius Morgan to be of the same date with the bell (1432), with the exception of the pendulum, which has been substituted for the original balance, and some wheels, very recently added to facilitate the winding up. It probably contains one of the earliest remaining instances of the contrivance termed "the ratchet", which, in a much more perfect shape, is still used in watches, and by which the wheel on which the chain is coiled is prevented from recoiling as the winding up goes on. It only has one notch at the extremity of each diameter; this is in the striking part; in the other part there is another with four notches in each revolution. Old clocks in general have a still ruder device for this purpose, viz., a catch which lays hold of the spokes of the wheel.

Water has been laid on, from a spring in the hill about a quarter of a mile from the castle, from a very early time, by means of a leaden pipe. There is a charge for tin and solder, and the time for a plumber and his boy from Rochester to mend *pipam aqueductus*, *et in castro et in parco*, in the minister's accounts for 1367. At what precise time this luxury was first introduced there are no means of ascertaining; but, as it required repair, it was clearly not new at that time. As it appears from a passage cited in Mr. Hudson Turner's work *On Mediæval Domestic Architure*, "that there were *baths* at Ledes castle in Kent" in Edward the First's time, it may not be improbable that the conduit was made at the same time, *i. e.*, about 1280. This is the date assigned to some of the chapel windows by Mr. Twopeny.

In the new building, erected in 1822, some of the old work has been introduced, especially a handsome oak chimney-piece in the dining-room, the work of the Smyths in the reign of James I, several of the oak spandrils carved by Henry VIII, and a curious chimney back, brought from an old manor house on the estate, which appears to have been cast at the termination of the wars of the roses. It is divided into two compartments by a pattern in the shape of two arches; each arch contains a crown, of the period of Henry VII, with a rose beneath it, and the two panels are united by what seems intended for a cord. The dogs in the same fireplace were found in the room used as the withdrawing room, over the banqueting room of Henry

Digitized by Google

VIII, and have also the rose and crown and fleur de lis amongst their decorations. From this it is almost certain that they belonged to him. They are well cast and finished for the period.

Such are the principal remains of the original fabric at Leeds castle. From the time it has been in my possession it has been my constant care to preserve, as far as possible, all that remains of it from the unavoidable ravages of time. I have caused the whole of the external walls, from the top of the battlements to some distance below the water level, to be pointed afresh with strong mortar; and I hope it is in a fair way to continue for many years to come a tolerably perfect specimen of the military structures of our ancestors.

THE DUTCH EXPEDITION TO THE MEDWAY, IN THE YEAR 1667.[1]

BY THE REV. BEALE POSTE.

The British Archæological Association having assembled for the purpose of illustrating the history and antiquities of the county of Kent, it may seem to be in perfect unison with their views to endeavour to give a somewhat detailed, and, as far as it may be, an intelligible, account of the attack of the Hollanders on the naval establishments and defences of the river Medway; an event usually so briefly treated by our historians, and on the whole so imperfectly known. The transactions are not a little remarkable in their features; and in our days, from the altered circumstances of the two countries, almost seem like romance. However, Holland, now fallen, was then a formidable competing naval power; and incidentally this daring attempt, and the partial success which attended it, may be useful as a memento of the vulnerability of our

[1] In the British Museum, among the Additional MSS. (5214, arts. 28, 29), are two tinted sketches representing the destruction of the English ships at Chatham, by the Dutch, in the year 1667; drawn by Wilhelm Van der Velde. They each measure 3 feet 6 ins. by 11 ins.

Digitized by Google

coasts; and, indeed, more especially so in the present times. In introducing the subject, a few words may be perhaps necessary as to the respective attitudes of the two countries at the commencement of these transactions, to make all matters well understood.

Scarcely any subject is more intricate in our national annals than the assigning the cause of the war with the Dutch, which began in February 1665. Our best historical writers, observing that a treaty for a league and alliance had been completed with them in the year 1662, and that no grievances remained but such as were prior to that date, have declared themselves much at a loss in assigning any sufficient motive for the hostilities; and have attributed them to the inimical feeling of the people, the unpatriotic views of the monarch then on the throne, and to the influence of the king's brother, the duke of York, who used all possible means to bring on a rupture between the two countries.

Hostilities began before an open declaration of war, by an English squadron being sent against the Dutch settlements on the coast of Africa to make reprisal for two ships taken before the treaty to which allusion has been made; which may serve to shew the somewhat unusual nature of the transaction. However, all this is historical fact: but the war once begun, both sides for two years fitted out very great armaments against each other; and in the sea-fights which occurred, the advantage chiefly remained on the side of our countrymen: though there was a considerable drawback to the successes, abroad, from the French and Danes joining the enemy, and at home, from a dreadful pestilence and the great fire of London. At last active negociations were in train at Breda for peace, in the month of May 1667. They had been begun, it seems, some time before at Paris, but had been transferred to the before-mentioned place.

It will form some little illustration of the rather equivocal line of conduct which now began to be adopted by the Dutch, to observe that one of the last events of the preceding year, was a species of naval foray of the English in the Texel. According to the accounts of historical writers, they burnt one hundred and seventy valuable merchantmen at one swoop; destroyed the town of Ban-

Digitized by Google

daris, situated on one of the islands there, and occasioned a loss of great magnitude; thus the Dutch public mind was bent on a reprisal; and an opportunity it seems was sought during the negotiations.

It was at this time, as if to favour their views, that the English government of the day shewed a remarkable supineness; for though the Dutch had refused a suspension of hostilities while the treaty was pending, and £1,800,000 had been granted by the English Parliament for carrying on the war, yet, supposing that the negotiations would terminate favourably, no fleet was fitted out; but only two small squadrons, one of which was dispatched to the West Indies; and with the exception of this, all other preparations were suspended. The statesman, known in history as the Pensionary De Witte, then presided over the affairs of Holland, and appears to have taken advantage of the favourable conjuncture which presented itself with great dexterity. To this end he fitted out their fleet as usual, protracted the negotiations, and caused false intelligence to be conveyed to the dowager queen Henrietta, then in France, that the Dutch would send no fleet to sea that year; a *ruse* which completely succeeded; as she was thereby induced to write letters to England to her son, king Charles the Second, to that effect.

The plot was thus somewhat deeply laid; and as early as the first of May the Dutch had a squadron out under the command of admiral Van Ghent, which made a slight attempt on Leith harbour, but almost immediately desisted and left the coast. Steering southward, this squadron, after a short interval, joined their main fleet under De Ruyter, and the whole armament of seventy ships of various sizes, besides fire-ships, appeared off the Thames on the fifth of June, and anchored there on the seventh.

The statistics of this fleet, which, as has been said, was commanded by De Ruyter, an experienced and brave Dutch admiral, were as follows:—the greater proportion were sail of the line, as they were accounted in those days: were manned with 12,800 seamen, and had above 2000 troops aboard, and also were attended by numerous fire-ships.

Now let us turn to the position of the good people in this country. The English at this time were as much off

Digitized by Google

their guard, and as unprepared to receive the enemy, as if it had been in the most profound peace. Their ships were chiefly dismantled in all their ports: and in regard to the two naval stations in the first instance the more immediately threatened, Sheerness and Tilbury, at the first there was only an unfinished fort, provided with sixteen guns, and at the second there is said to have been not a single piece of ordnance mounted. The news of the near approach of the hostile armament arrived in London the 10th of June, when, according to contemporary writers, such a consternation immediately prevailed as had not been seen in the fire, or the plague, or indeed on any other occasion before in the city. Nor, indeed, was the terror without foundation; for had the enemy advanced immediately, they might have reached London almost without resistance; when forcing the merchant vessels then lying in the river towards the bridge, and setting them on fire, they might have burnt, as it has been asserted, the Tower, and all the suburbs in that quarter, which the fire had spared the year before, and thus struck an almost irreparable blow. As might be expected, the government was at once aroused by the pressing exigency of the case. Great exertions indeed were made in all quarters. A general fitting out of the navy began. Cannon were sent down to Tilbury Fort. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich in the narrow part of the channel to obstruct the navigation, and four at Blackwall. Batteries were formed on many parts of the Thames. Twelve thousand men were levied, and the trained bands called out; and Monk, duke of Albemarle, the then commander-in-chief, was sent down in all haste to Gravesend first, and Chatham afterwards, to do his utmost to secure those important points; and accordingly arrived at the last-mentioned place the next day, the eleventh.

We must now turn back to notice the proceedings of the Dutch. By the 8th of June, the hostile armament, selecting the King's Channel entrance of the Thames, had arrived at the back of the Long Sand, twenty-five miles N.E. by E. of Sheerness, where they appear to have come to an anchorage, and lost a day in endeavouring to capture some West India ships lying in the Thames, which escaped them by retiring higher up the river. The same day, the

Digitized by Google

ninth, the Dutch fleet were reconnoitred in their position by sir Edward Spragge, commander-in-chief in the Medway, in the Henrietta yacht. Sir Edward, in returning, landed at Sheerness, and took the command of the fort there, but was not long able to maintain it.

The only vessel of war which sir Edward Spragge had with him was the Unity frigate of forty-two guns, completely equipped and ready for sea, which lay in the harbour of Sheerness: the other naval forces, and the defences of the river otherwise, were as follows.

Higher up the river, at a place called the Muscle-Bank, or Gillingham Bank, about a mile below Gillingham church, a strong chain had been already drawn across the deep water channel, and extended from side to side between the opposite shores of the river. It was supported at intervals by floating stages, and was firmly secured by fastenings at either end. Within the chain two large ships, with only their lower masts in, with the cordage over them, but otherwise with their usual armament, were formed in line, the Matthias, of fifty-four guns, captain Richard Millett, and the Charles the Fifth, also of the same force. Between them, but some little distance above, the Monmouth, of sixty-six guns, was anchored with her broadside bearing on the chain. She had been lying at Blackstakes, or Long Reach, above Sheerness, but had come up the morning of the 10th, having, on arriving at her position, detached one hundred of her crew, by orders from the admiral, to strengthen the garrison of Sheerness; of whom, however, only forty-four reached their destination, having been embarked in small sailing vessels, which ran aground. Next to her, somewhat nearer the chain, but also opposite the interval between the two guardships, lay the Marmaduke, of forty-two guns. The Helverson, of sixty guns, otherwise called the Fort of Huningen, a Dutch prize, is also mentioned as being in this quarter, which appears to have been lying in ordinary. With this squadron were five fire-ships, afterwards sunk to obstruct the navigation of the river. Above them all, in Gillingham Reach, opposite the Crane, in or near Gillingham, wherever that was, lay the Royal Charles, of eighty-two guns, one of the largest and finest vessels in the British navy at that time. She was lying in ordinary, or nearly so, and

Digitized by Google

her subsequent capture proved one of the greatest losses in these transactions.

To return to the occurrences at Sheerness. The fort was reinforced this same day, the 10th, besides the sailors, with a company from one of the king's regiments, and another of a local description, the trained bands. It was abandoned, however, about half-past six the same evening, after being cannonaded for an hour and a half, by three Dutch frigates detached from the fleet (two of forty-six, and one of forty guns), and a body of troops being landed. The Unity frigate, upon this, made sail, and anchored on the outside of the Chain, on the right hand side, towards the Gillingham shore; sir Edward Spragge also retired to the squadron and line of defence at this place.

At Sheerness the Dutch are said to have captured naval stores of great value, which they got on board their ships the next day with great expedition, abandoning the place after cutting the dikes and laying the vicinity under water. To this day, a large iron shot, of eighty pounds' weight, is kept on the ramparts of Sheerness, on the sea-face, as a memorial of the attack. It is not denied that it may have been one of the projectiles fired into the garrison: the tradition, however, is not corroborated by the small size of the vessels which attacked the place; add to this, contemporary accounts mention incidentally that the Dutch fleet had guns of no heavier metal mounted than those which carried shot of twenty-four pounds.[1]

The 11th of June. This day the Dutch were employed in dismantling Sheerness, and two or three ships of war joined their fleet now lying at the Nore, with a reinforcement of about six hundred troops. It was also a day spent in the most assiduous preparations for defence, on the whole line of the Medway not in the hands of the Dutch. An attack was hourly expected at Gillingham, and Monk, duke of Albemarle, had arrived early in the morning in order to adopt the most effectual measures for defence. He procured cannon, planks and implements to be forwarded to the chain, and threw up two batteries hastily, one at the point of the marsh, at the end of the chain,

[1] The late Mr. A. J. Kempe exhibited, February 16, 1837, to the Society of Antiquaries, an engraving by Van Hooge, from a drawing by Visscher, giving a bird's-eye view representation of the attack of the Dutch upon Sheerness.

Digitized by Google

called the Hoo-side fort, the other on the Gillingham side. But by far his most persevering efforts were made to obstruct the navigation of the river, and so to prevent the enemy from coming up. Thus he caused three of the fire-ships to be sunk in the channel of the river, some distance in advance of the chain, at the lower Muscle Bank, in Long Reach, where the passage was narrow. This spot would seem, by the description of it, to have been about a mile from the chain, towards Sheerness, between the north-east point of Bishop's Ness and Hoo marsh at the top of Long Reach. He was, however, disappointed in his ideas of the security thus attainable, and found that two more were yet required: he accordingly sunk the other two, thus submerging all his fire-ships. However, on sounding round and about the sunken ships, another passage was discovered, not before observed, which was obliged to be left unsecured, as they had no more ships to sink at the moment. The duke then, with fifty volunteers, went on board the Monmouth, whose station and previous movements have been described, sending also a reinforcement of some soldiers to the other ships. The Monmouth[1] was commanded by capt. Robert Clerke.

Van Ghent, the second in command in the Dutch fleet, advanced with his division up the river about noon this day; but the ships sunken in advance in Long Reach, as has been just described, caused such delay in their finding a passage, that the tide began to be too much spent for their proceeding this day, and so gave more time for the batteries to be completed. Monk also made a second attempt to stop the channel in another place, which this time was within the chain, and, as it appears, close to it. Two ships, brought down since the yesterday, were submerged; but another still was requisite. He accordingly ordered down the Sancta Maria, an old fifty-gun ship,[2] which, however, in tiding down next morning ran aground,

[1] This appears to be the ship in Pepys' list of those built during the time he was secretary of the admiralty. She is thus described: "Monmouth, built 1668" (a mistake, it should seem, for 1658), "at Chatham, by Phineas Pett; length, 118 ft. 9; breadth, 36 ft. 10; draught of water, 18 ft.; burden, in tons, 856; guns, 58 on foreign stations, 66 at home." See Charnock's *Naval Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 427.

[2] This vessel is mentioned, in a list of the navy, of the date of the 22nd August, 1666: "Fourth rate, Santa Maria; capt., Roger Strickland; 180 men, 50 guns." See Charnock's *Naval Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 397.

Digitized by Google

and could not proceed. There was no remedy for this failure, so that, after all, this second passage was stopped no more than the first.

The next day, Wednesday the 12th of June, proved exceedingly favourable to the enemy for their attack. A strong easterly breeze, added to a high spring tide, gave them all the advantage they could wish. The Unity frigate, which, it will be remembered, laid outside the Chain on the Gillingham side, was first captured; which was effected in this wise. When the Dutch squadron were weighing anchor to move on to the attack, Brakel, one of their captains, whose ship had been lying in the rear of the others, having undertaken to lead, made sail upon his vessel, and was soon carried past his companions by the fine wind and tide, and bore down on the frigate, the Unity, before mentioned, and, being closely seconded by his friends, sustained but little loss in coming down and succeeding in capturing his antagonist by boarding.

The other ships of the Dutch squadron were now all advancing together, and the foremost, a large fire-ship, came in contact with the chain, and was arrested in its course by it. Another, however, quickly succeeded, and struck against it, and, with the united weight of the two, aided by the great impetus given by the wind and tide, the chain gave way, or otherwise, as it seems it was surmised at the time, was pushed under water; so that this impediment being removed, the ships lying within, stationed as before described, became accessible. The two guard ships, the Matthias and Charles the Fifth, as being in their positions nearest the enemy, were first attempted; and a fire-ship which closed with the Matthias had immediate success, so that it was enveloped with flames, and destroyed, with a great loss of those on board. The struggle now became very severe with regard to the remaining guard ship (the Charles the Fifth), on the part of the enemy to destroy it, and on the part of our countrymen to preserve it. It may give some idea of this to mention that, of two fire-ships making the attempt, the first, from the vigorous resistance made, sunk, and went down alongside; which was also the fate of the second: but this last, notwithstanding it was submerged, ignited the Charles the Fifth while sinking, which thus, like its companion, yielded

Digitized by Google

to the flames. Most of the men in these two guard-ships, we are informed, lost their lives.

No hope of success thus remaining, though the accounts imply that the batteries still offered some resistance, the English ships stationed near the chain, which yet remained unscathed, made sail up the river. These were only two in number, the Monmouth, of sixty-six guns, and the Marmaduke frigate; a third vessel in this quarter, the Helverson, being taken. The first two mentioned vessels were borne forward by the tide and the strong east wind before spoken of, and, continuing their course, the Monmouth came to moorings opposite the then dockyard, now the gun wharf, while the Marmaduke anchored at Upnor. About the time they left, the batteries were silenced by the fire of the Dutch squadron, and the troops abandoned them.

After this success the Dutch anchored in Gillingham Reach, and took possession of the Royal Charles, the three-decker, which, as before related, was lying there. This loss proved a source of great national chagrin, it being one of the finest ships in the navy, and in perfect repair. At the time of its capture it had thirty-two guns aboard, but no other material of war. It is easy to imagine that the public consternation, already existing to a great extent, was much augmented by the events of this day.

The commander of the division of the Dutch fleet which made the attack, as before noticed, was Van Ghent; but no one appears to have acquired greater renown on the occasion than Brakel before mentioned, captain of the frigate Vreede, of forty guns, who not only, as we are informed, led this attack, but also the former one on the fort of Sheerness. His country was not insensible to his services, as, on the return of the expedition to Holland, he received the decoration of a medal and gold chain, and was recommended for promotion; and he and the crew of his ship received exclusively the proceeds of their prize, with the further sum of 12,000 livres added to the amount. As a mark of distinction from his admiral, he had been detached to convey the two prizes to Holland (the three-decker and the frigate, which service he safely performed.[1]

[1] A memorial existed of him in the Dutch navy one hundred and thirty years afterwards, as a fifty-gun ship named after him, the Brakel, was taken by admi-

Digitized by Google

The main Dutch fleet was now come in from the mouth of the Thames, and had been for a day or two assembled at Sheerness and the Nore. This day also the train of artillery from the Tower, which had halted the preceding evening at Gravesend, arrived at Chatham, and various batteries were raised there along the line of the river and below Upnor. Upnor Castle also at this time was further reinforced by a company of foot. The defence of this place had received attention the day before, captains Wintowne and Scot being put in command, and a troop of horse being stationed near to prevent parties of the enemy from landing.

The next day, Thursday, the 13th of June, taking advantage of the tide, and of the same strong wind which still continued, the Dutch advanced again. They detached on this occasion a squadron composed of frigates and sloops of war. It consisted of three ships of thirty-six guns, one of thirty-two, two of twenty, and one of eighteen; in all seven, and they were accompanied by five fire-ships. Two of the men of war led on the fire-ships, and with them passed the lower defences, and advancing abreast Upnor Castle (which then had an exterior work or ravelin towards the river), mounted with guns, now removed, dropped their anchors and immediately began cannonading it.

In the meanwhile some fire-ships, accompanied by boats, passed on to grapple with the men of war higher up, lying in ordinary, or unequipped, whilst the rest of the squadron were fighting it out with the batteries at Cockham Wood and below Upnor, where Spragge commanded. The fire-ships were very successfully applied. They burnt the Royal Oak, of seventy-six guns, lying in the Reach above Upnor, to which a captain Douglas had been detached with a party of men to defend it, who is said to have perished in it, refusing to quit it; but according to another account no life was lost on board that ship. They also involved in the same fate the ship called the Loyal London, of ninety guns, in distinction from another of the same name called the East India London; and a vessel called the Royal James, or Great James, of seventy guns, all

ral Mitchell, in the Texel, in the year 1797. The same vessel is mentioned by Dr. Clarke in his travels, in the year 1801, when it formed part of general Abercrombie's expedition to Egypt. Subsequently it long lay in ordinary at Chatham as a receiving ship.

Digitized by Google

which last had been sunk as low as the depth of the water would allow, so that only their upper works were consumed, and the lower parts of their hulls left. They were, indeed, reported repairable afterwards; but whether it was ever done does not obviously appear. The Marmaduke frigate again retired higher up the river.

Some further damage was done among the shipping, resulting from the precautionary measures taken against the enemy, and may be reckoned among the disasters attendant on the expedition. The duke of Albemarle, after the unfavourable results experienced on the Wednesday in endeavouring to maintain the line of defence below Gillingham, had ordered the ships lying in ordinary to be cut from their anchors and allowed to drive on shore at hazard; thinking it to be the greatest security from the fire-ships of the enemy. Through this some of them became in danger of being lost. Among the number was the Royal Henry, pierced for seventy-two guns, and of about 1070 tons burthen, which, according to writers on naval architecture, was the size of vessels of the same class at that period. This ship having got adrift was set on violently by the tide, and ran against Rochester Bridge so forcibly that it was feared a part of it would have been thrown down. The vessel we are informed afterwards went ashore near the bridge.

Tradition relates that the Dutch sustained their greatest loss on this occasion from Cockham Wood fort, and the batteries below Upnor, where Spragge is said to have been.[1] It is mentioned in some account that the fire from the castle was directed too high, injuring the rigging principally; and a local work says, that there were only four guns in it; a statement apparently without authority. In queen Elizabeth's time it mounted eighteen: and in the duke of Albemarle's narrative in the Journals of the House of Commons, it was specified as being in pretty good condition.

[1] Cannon balls are occasionally dug out of the bank at or near Cockham Wood fort; they are said to be not perfectly spherical, but of a somewhat irregular figure, doubtless the effect of one side of the shot having suffered more from corrosion than the other. Several of these balls were found about the year 1832, in grubbing part of Cockham Wood adjoining the side of the fort towards Upnor, to form a plot of garden ground. They had penetrated the ground near an oaken stubb; and one of them is judged to have struck and shattered it.

Digitized by Google

The successful daring of the Dutch on this occasion must on the whole much surprise us. The largest of their seven advanced vessels which penetrated to Upnor and its vicinity, could not have been more than five hundred tons burden, according to the usual scale of ship building in those days, and their metal consequently must comparatively have been light. With a force so small they had ventured into a narrow reach of the river, where they were in a measure surrounded by their enemies. There was no deficiency in the means of defence against them, as every dockyard is of course a place supplied with cannon and implements of war. Besides, the train of artillery from the Tower had arrived at Chatham, and a sixty-six and forty-two gun ship were close at hand, though indeed prevented from acting by the contrary wind. At the turn of the tide the advanced Dutch squadron retired and came to an anchor for the night.

The next day, the 14th of June (Friday), their whole force turned down the river, according to the nautical phrase, the wind still being in the same quarter. They experienced some difficulty in getting the Royal Charles away, on account of the obstructions that had been effected in the channel, but after a few days they all assembled at the Nore or at Sheerness, and by the 18th had left this part of the coast for a short interval on other enterprises.

As to the respective losses: that of the Dutch amounted to one hundred and fifty men killed, besides wounded. That of the English is not stated. Of ships the Dutch lost two, which grounded in leaving the Medway, and were obliged to be destroyed. On our side eight sail of the line, as they were then accounted, appeared to have been burnt, sunk, or taken, and one frigate; by far the greater proportion of which, as has been related, were lying in ordinary. The ships were as follow:—

Loyal London	90	Burnt.
Royal Charles	82	Taken.
Royal Oak	76	Burnt.
Royal James	70	Burnt.
Helverson, or the Fort of Huningen	60	Taken.
Matthias	54	Burnt.
Charles the Fifth	54	Burnt.
Sancta Maria	50	Burnt.

Digitized by Google

Unity, or Young Jonathan	42	Taken.
Five fire-ships used to stop the channel		Sunk.
Two ketches ditto ditto		Sunk.

To this is to be added, on the score of loss—the fort of Sheerness entirely destroyed, with the magazine, yard, and stores. Breaches dug through the land walls, and the vicinity laid under water.

In remark on the foregoing details: though the results of this Dutch attempt were both detrimental and vexatious, yet much credit is due to the prompt measures of defence taken by the government of the day when apprised of the urgency of the case: and the exertions of all, from the commander-in-chief downwards, seem to have been highly laudable in their endeavours to avert the danger of their country in the unexpected crisis which occurred.

Digitized by Google

ON THE ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF PLAYING CARDS, ETC.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(*Continued from page* 154.)

OWEN was dismissed with 1,000 guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most. He published an essay on Church government, and was not insensible to the folly of the presbyterians in the manner in which they boasted of their own opinions and denounced those of their adversaries. He had a hatred of oppression and a great love of truth. Of heresy, he says, "It is a spiritual cancer; let it be prevented by spiritual means, cutting off men's heads is no proper remedy. If state physicians think otherwise, I say no more, but that I am not of the college." Owen was chaplain to Fairfax, and preached before the troops on the day of the thanksgiving after the fall of Colchester. He died in 1683.[1]

The Two of Hearts. "Onsley Father and Sonne."

They are represented apparently in conversation; the son holding his hat in his hand. I suspect the name to be incorrectly engraved; it may be Annesley or Onslow; both figured in the time of the commonwealth.

ARTHUR ANNESLEY was one of the parliamentary commissioners in Ireland, and also a member of the new council of state upon their being forbidden to sit by the secluded members. He was also chosen one of the commissioners for trial of the king's judges, although he had been a member of parliament whilst they made war upon the king. He was afterwards created earl of Anglesey. Burnet says he was a man who "stuck at nothing and was ashamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor trusted by any man on any side, and he seemed to have no regard to common decencies, but sold every thing that was in his power, and sold himself so often, that at last his price fell so low that he grew useless."

SIR RICHARD ONSLOW was named by the protector a member of the upper house of parliament. He was also a member of the committee of state preceding the restoration. He was, however, unfavourable to republicanism. He died in 1664. His eldest son was Arthur Onslow, who was member for Bramber in the Long parliament, and he took the covenant. He represented Surry in Cromwell's parliament, and also in those of Charles II. A colonel Onslow is mentioned as commanding the par-

[1] See Neal, Granger, and Orme's *Life of Owen.*

Digitized by Google

liamentary troops at the siege of Basing House, the seat of the marquis of Winchester.

The Three of Hearts. "Sir Gilbert Gerard and his two Sonns."

Sir Gilbert has his hat on, and stands betwixt his sons, who are uncovered. He appears to be addressing them.

SIR GILBERT GERARD was related through the Barringtons to Oliver Cromwell. He yet engaged in a plot, to murder the lord protector as he was going to Hampton Court, to seize the guards and the Tower of London, and to proclaim the king. From a letter[1] by secretary Thurloe to Mr. Pell, May 26th, 1654, it appears that Middleton had been sent into Scotland by Charles II to head the Scottish insurgents in the Highlands, and that a plot (called the Gerard conspiracy) had been discovered against the protector and his government by some desperate people of the king's party, "the discovery whereof hath (he says), I hope, prevented it. The scum and feces of that party were engaged in it, and none else that I can hear of." In a subsequent letter of 2-12 June 1654, more particulars are given, and a description of the plot as "an attempt upon the protector and his council, and at the same time to have seized upon the guards at the Mews, St. James's, and Whitehall. The party engaged herein were some desperate fellows come from France, by the appointment of Charles Stuart, and had engaged several people here of desperate fortunes. The time was set for the execution, and prevented by a great providence of God. No persons of honour or in trust were engaged in it, but disowned it, but only such as have neither conscience nor estates, and certainly could hope to do nothing more by it than to put things into a sudden confusion and disorder, out of which they hoped something of advantage might arise out of it to their party. There are near twenty of these persons taken and imprisoned." A further letter, June 10th, gives the names of some of the conspirators of the old cavalier party. Those taken were sir Gilbert Gerard[2] of Worcestershire, always a cavalier; John Gerard and Charles Gerard, his brothers; one Somerset Fox; Mr. Vowell, etc. There were also committed Mr. John Ashburnham and Mr. Wm. Ashburnham, not for this immediate plot, but yet for holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, and for furnishing him with money. Sir Rd. Willis was sent to the Tower, and one Wiseman of Westminster

[1] Published by Vaughan, in his *History of the Protectorate*, from the originals in the Lansdowne manuscripts in the British Museum. 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1839.

[2] Sir Gilbert Gerrard was created a baronet in 1620. He represented Middlesex in the reigns of James I and Charles I, and was in the Long parliament. He was an enemy to Strafford, and afterwards to the king, and he joined the parliament against the king. He was paymaster of the parliament army, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and one of the lords of the upper house of parliament. He was also a member of the council of state.

Digitized by Google

was deeply in the design. The Ashburnhams and Willis were royalists, the latter had been governor of Newark. Gerard, Fox, and Vowell, were executed; the others, after some confinement, were set at liberty. A high court of justice was set up to try the conspirators. Thurloe writes to Pell, June 23rd: "Charles Stuart, Hyde afterwards lord Clarendon, and marquis afterwards duke of Ormonde, resolved upon and set on foot this assassination. You know how Charles Stuart's father came to the crown; it seems that his posterity is good at that also." A further letter, June 30th, gives an account of the arraignment of John Gerard, Somerset Fox, and Peter Vowell, on that day. They were condemned as guilty of high treason against the protector and government. Fox was reprieved to the parliament "in respect that he was ingenuous at the trial, confessing the whole design as far as he knew it." Vowell and Gerard were executed; the former was hanged at the Mews, and the latter was beheaded on Tower Hill. Young Gerard was a hot-headed ensign in the king's army, and Vowell was a schoolmaster at Islington.[1]

The Four of Hearts. "The Rump roasted, salt it well, it stinks exceedingly."

Rumps of meat suspended from a gibbet and hanging over a bonfire, the people surrounding it.

The BURNING OR ROASTING of the RUMP, represented on this card, alludes to a night of joy described as such as had not been seen in the city till his majesty's restoration. General Monk acquainted the citizens that he had sent to the house to desire a full parliament and a speedy termination to their sitting, and that he was come to stay among them and see his desires fulfilled. This declaration occasioned great joy, and was received by an immense concourse of citizens with unbounded acclamations. The news spread abroad, bonfires were kindled, and the bells set ringing throughout the city. The soldiers, who had been kept at their post throughout the day in the cold, were now regaled with the best cheer of the city, the general had no need to solicit for their lodgings, they were received as honoured guests, and every citizen begged to entertain them as a favour. The crowd was so great that the general could hardly pass in his coach, and two of his servants, being mistaken

[1] In a tract in the British Museum, forming part of the valuable collection given by George III, I find the charges to be "The murdering of his highness the lord protector as he should goe to Hampton Court on a Saturday prefixt. The seizing of all the guards about Whitehall, the Mewes, St. James's, and the making of themselves masters of the city of London and the Tower, with all the magazines within the same. The proclaiming of Charles Stuart king and chief magistrate of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and other high treasons tending to involve the commonwealth in a new bloody war." This tract represents the beheading of John Gerrard, who, having been sentenced to be hanged, petitioned the protector that he might be either beheaded or shot.

Digitized by Google

for Scott and Robinson, narrowly escaped with their lives. When the people rushed towards the coach, crying out for Scott and Robinson, their only passport was to shout out "a full and free parliament," by way of a shibboleth to distinguish themselves from the rumpers. In Evelyn's *Diary*, the following entry occurs: "11 Feb. 1660. A signal day. *Monk*, perceiving how infamous and wretche a pack of knaves would have still usurped the supreme power, and having intelligence that they intended to take away his commission, repenting of what he had done to the city, and where he and his forces were quartered, marches to Whitehall, dissipates that nest of robbers, and convenes the old parliament, the rump parliament (so called as retaining some few rotten members of the other) being dissolved; and for joy whereof were many thousand of rumps roasted publicly in the streets at the bonfires this night,[1] with ringing of bells and universal jubilee. This was the first good omen." (Vol. i, p. 335, last ed.)

The Five of Hearts. "The E. of Pem. in ye H. of Com' thanks ye Speaker for his admission."

The speaker in the chair and the members seated and covered. The earl of Pembroke uncovered and bowing to the house. (See plate 19.)

The EARL OF PEMBROKE had been a favourite with James I, by whom, on his death bed, he was recommended to the favour of Charles, as being a person of tried fidelity, and he was appointed lord chamberlain.

[1] Pamphlets with cuts representing this were printed at the time. Pepys also gives an account of the burning of the rump (*Diary*, i, 26, 3rd edition). "In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was every where to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. In King Street, seven or eight; and all along, burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the may pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side."

In the *Collection of Loyal Songs* we read:—

"Now *London* had her own desire,
For every street was pav'd with fire;
All men and bells with many a thump,
Cry'd rump, rump, rump, rump, rump, rump, rump.

"Six thousand and fifty bone-fires then,
(By twenty more than the army had men)
O monster *rump*, that thus requires,
(Though but half broyl'd) six thousand fires! (Vol. ii, p. 32.)

Digitized by Google

He did not take any active part in public affairs until the commencement of the troubles in Scotland. Expressing favour towards the popular party, he got into disgrace at the court, and after having held his office of chamberlain for sixteen years, was removed from it. Dr. Vaughan[1] gives his character as a man of more passion than judgment, and as wanting in that dignity and decision of conduct which his station demanded. But he allows him the credit of having chosen the side of the parliament sincerely, and of having been willing to suffer in its cause, though he would probably have deplored the fate that should have obliged him to become conspicuous in any cause at the hazard of his high rank and his large wealth. He continued, as long as there was a house of peers, to occupy his place there. On the 6th Feb. 1649, the house of commons resolved "that the house of peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished," and they ordered an act to be brought in for that purpose. The earl of Pembroke was one of the *three* members (the other two were lord Edward Howard and the earl of Salisbury), who, upon the abolition of the house of lords, was returned as a representative, and obtained admission into the house of commons. He took the oath to be true and faithful to the commonwealth as it was then established, without a king or a house of lords. He was returned for Berkshire. He died Jan. 23rd, 1649-50. In the satirical will and testament of the earl of Pembroke, by Butler, in his *Remains* (Lond. 1754, p. 280, *et seq.*) he makes the earl to say, "Do not lay me in the church porch, for I was a lord, and would not be buried where Pride was born." The author of *Hudibras* thus draws the earl's character:

"Pembroke's a covenanting lord,
That ne'er with God or man kept word;
One day he'd swear he'd save the king,
The next was quite another thing;
Still changing with the wind and tide,
That he might keep the stronger side." (*Remains*, p. 254.)

He was a character thoroughly contemptible, and is said to have been indebted for his rank to a handsome person and his knowledge of dogs and horses, for which he was highly prized by king James. Upon the death of the earl of Pembroke, his son, who was also a member of the house of commons, continued to sit as before.

The Six of Hearts. "Worsley an Inckle Weaver, a man of personal Valor."

He is represented at the loom, manufacturing his tape, and by his side are lying his sword and helmet. The person here represented, of whose

[1] *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, i, xi.

Digitized by Google

history I have not been able to derive any particulars, I conceive to be the colonel who attended Cromwell to the house of parliament upon its memorable dissolution, and when he declared to the members, "You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament. Bring them in, bring them in!" upon which the door was opened, and colonel Worsley entered at the head of more than twenty soldiers. Worsley was in 1655 appointed one of the major-generals assigned to one of the eleven districts, invested with great authority and empowered to raise troops, levy the taxes, disarm cavaliers and papists, inquire into the conduct of ministers and schoolmasters, and arrest and imprison dangerous and suspicious persons.

The Seven of Hearts. "Nathaniel Fines, whereby hangs a tale."

He is represented running away; the army in the distance. (See plate 20.)

Nathaniel Fiennes was the second son of lord Say and Sele. He was educated at Oxford, travelled, and returned to England with great hatred of monarchy and episcopacy. He entered parliament, represented Banbury, and next to Hampden was considered the most eloquent in the house. He took the league and covenant, obtained a colonelcy in the parliamentary army under the earl of Essex, but failed to distinguish himself in that capacity. Appointed governor of Bristol, he yielded that place after sustaining only one day's siege. This is evidently the event alluded to on the card; he was tried for cowardice, and sentenced to death, but his life was spared by the earl of Essex, and he withdrew from the army. He was a better parliamentary debater than military commander, and Macaulay describes him as "inferior to none of his contemporaries in talents for civil business," but adds that "he disgraced himself by his pusillanimous surrender of Bristol."[1] The *Collection of Loyal Songs* has reference to his cowardice:

"Lord *Fines* he will not mall men,
For he likes not death of all men,
And his heart doth go to pit to pat,
When to battle he should call men." (Vol. ii, p. 56.)

And in the *Proper New Ballad, etc.*:

"Pull out the other three, it is Nathaniel Fines,
(Who Bristol lost for fear), we'el not leave him behind's;
'Tis a chip of that good old block, who to loyalty gave the first knock,
Then stole away to Lundey, whence the foul fiend fetches him one day.
Sing hi ho, canting Fines, you and the rest to mend 'em,
Would ye were serv'd in your kinds, with an *ense rescidendum*."

[1] *History of England*, i, 115.

Digitized by Google

He was one of the parliamentary commissioners sent to Scotland to watch over the king, one of the principal leaders of the independents, and one of the commissioners of the great seal. At the restoration he was excepted out of the general pardon, and he died in obscurity at Newton Toney, near Salisbury, Dec. 16th, 1669.

The Eight of Hearts. "Lambert, K^t^ of ye Golden Tulip."

Represented in a garden, holding a tulip in his hand. He has, however, a sword by his side. (See plate 20.)

JOHN LAMBERT was major-general in Cromwell's army, and ranked second only to Cromwell for ability, courage, prudence, and capacity. His ambition was also equal to that of the protector, who certainly regarded him with suspicion. He was educated for the law, but his genius was military. Upon the establishment of the commonwealth he was sent into Scotland. The Scotch had proclaimed Charles II king, and attempts in England were made to revive the royal cause in 1650. Fairfax refused to proceed against Scotland, though ready to defend the commonwealth if England were invaded, and Lambert was one of a party sent by the council of state to confer with him upon the subject. Cromwell, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelock, constituted the other members. Whitelock was in favour of an attack upon the Scotch, Harrison urged the probability of their being invaded by them. St. John supported Cromwell in urging that the league and covenant was first broken (by the duke of Hamilton's invasion in 1648) by the Scotch, and therefore dissolved as regarded themselves. This, however, did not prevail with Fairfax; and he declared that his "conscience was not satisfied." Fairfax resigned his commission, and Cromwell the next day became captain general in chief of the forces within the commonwealth of England. The war was now entered upon in Scotland. There were few great battles fought during the civil war in which Lambert did not execute a conspicuous part. After that of Worcester, the parliament settled £1,000 per annum on him; but Cromwell gave him £10,000 in lieu of the pension. Cromwell was, however, very suspicious of him, and feared his ambition; and upon his refusing to take the oath of fidelity to the government, deprived him of his commissions, but granted him a pension of £2,000. Lambert urgently opposed the raising of the protector to the sovereign dignity, whether from principle or expectation of becoming his successor does not very clearly appear.[1] Vaughan says[2] he

[1] In Burton's *Diary of the Commonwealth*, vol. i, p. 383, we find: "Dec. 16, 1653. Major-general Lambert did, in the name of the army and of the three nations, desire the lord general to accept the protectorship, to which, with seeming great reluctance, he gave his consent."

[2] *Protectorate of Cromwell*, I, cii.

Digitized by Google

was a concealed Catholic, and could not avail himself of the religious enthusiasm of the soldiery in the name of his rival. Being deprived of his commissions and emoluments, he was, by Cromwell's sagacity, to prevent his necessities urging him to revolt, allowed a pension of £2,000. He withdrew to Amsterdam, and amused himself with his pencil, and was remarkable for his drawings of flowers, which he was equally pleased to cultivate, the circumstance in his life attempted to be recorded on this card. Upon the death of Cromwell, Lambert resumed his military posts, and seemed disposed to imitate the protector, having, Oct. 13th, 1659, placed a troop of soldiers in King Street, near Westminster Abbey, and stopped the speaker in his coach, compelling him to turn back, by which the house was prevented sitting. In this way the object of sir Arthur Haselrigge and other republicans to protect the house was frustrated, and the parliament was put an end to without violence of any kind. In the *Proper New Ballad on the Old Parliament*, the act of Lambert is thus alluded to:

"Good morrow, my neighbours all, what news is this I heard tell,
As I past through Westminster Hall by the house that's near to hell?
They told John Lambert was there with his bears, and deeply did swear,
(As Cromwell had done before) those vermin should sit there no more."

Lambert, however, had defeated sir George Booth in Cheshire, for which he received from the parliament £1,000 for a jewel. He was afterwards employed in the north against Monk, when the latter, advancing into England, obtained an order from the parliament to authorize the council of state to secure him. He was sent to the Tower, but escaped, collected an army, became formidable, and was declared a rebel, and a reward offered for his capture. Colonel Ingoldsby took him with scarce any resistance, and he was reconducted to the Tower. At the restoration, he was excepted out of the act of indemnity, tried, and condemned. His sentence was commuted to perpetual confinement, which he is stated by Hallam and others to have undergone in Guernsey, remaining a prisoner there for the long period of thirty years.[1] He indulged his taste for flowers, cultivating and superintending their management; painting them

[1] Lambert was tried in 1661, and died in the very severe winter of 1683, thus shortening the period of his imprisonment, as stated above, by eight years. In the *Notes and Queries*, vol. vii, p. 364, a quotation from a volume called *Plimmouth Memoirs*, collected by James Yonge, 1684, is inserted, from which it would appear that the last fifteen years of his life were passed not at Guernsey, but on the small fortified island of St. Nicholas, commonly called Drake's Island, situated in Plymouth Sound, at the entrance of the Hamoaze. It records in 1667, "Lambert the arch rebell, brought prisoner to this island;" and in 1683, "Lambert, that olde rebell, dyed this winter on Plimm° island, where he had been prisoner fifteen years and m°." (iv, 340.) It is likely he was removed from Guernsey to St. Nicholas. His wife and two of his daughters were with him on the island in 1673. (*Notes and Qaeries*, Apr. 9, 1853.)

Digitized by Google

also, in which he was very accomplished, having, it is said, received instruction when in Holland, under the celebrated Gaspar Barlæus. His wife was the companion of his captivity. Hume says he died a Roman Catholic.

The Nine of Hearts. "Huson, the Cobbler, entring London."

He is represented passing through one of the city gates on horseback, with military attendants carrying arms and mounted on horses.

Sir John Hewson has been said to have sprung from the dregs of the people, some asserting that he had been a cobbler, and Granger mentions a portrait of him in which he is depicted in a buff coat, and says that "he once wore a leathern apron, and from a mender of shoes became a reformer of government and religion". He was a soldier of fortune, and rose so rapidly in the army, that at the death of Charles I he had become a colonel. He was nominated one of the king's judges, sat upon the trial, and signed the warrant for execution. Noble says[1] that "immediately after the decapitation of the king, he went with a party of horse from Charing Cross to the Royal Exchange, proclaiming as he went, that whosoever should say that Charles Stuart died wrongfully, should suffer present death." He was made governor of Dublin, and a member of the council of state. He was one of the six called to represent Ireland in the parliament, and was afterwards one of the protector's lords. He was exceedingly zealous in his endeavours to prevent the citizens of London from returning to their allegiance, and marched into the city with an armed force, which appears to be the subject represented on this card. Hewson's prowess in the city is alluded to in the *Collection of Loyal Songs.*

> "Lord *Hewson*, the cobler's teeth greedly chatter,
> To carve up a 'prentice's head in a platter,
> For he will go through-stitch with the whole matter.
> Oh blessed reformation !" (Vol. ii, p. 147.)

He appears to have had only one eye, as referred to in the following:

> "Make room for one ey'd Hewson,
> A *lord* of such account,
> 'Twas a pretty jest
> That such a beast
> Should to such honour mount.
> When coblers were in fashion,
> And *nigherds* in such grace;
> 'Twas sport to see
> How Pride and he
> Did jostle for the place." (Vol. ii, p. 11.)

[1] *Memoirs of Cromwell*, i, 421.

Digitized by Google

In his *Lament*, also:

"Listen a while to what I shall say,
Of a blind cobler that's gone astray
Out of the parliament's high way;
Good people, pity the blind."

"Therefore to Tyburn I must ride,
Although it cannot be deny'd,
But that I have liv'd single ey'd." (p. 235.)

"Now 'tis not current pay, for I
Have wail'd my sins and yet they cry,
Hang him, he weeps but with one eye." (p. 236.)

He escaped from England at the restoration, and died in 1662 at Amsterdam.

The Ten of Hearts. "The Rump and dreggs of the house of Com. remaining after the good members were purged out."

A large cask, by which two are emerging from the bunghole. There are but four remaining. At the death of Charles I the parliament had been greatly reduced in numbers, not above a fifth part of the representatives being left. From this condition they obtained the name of the Rump Parliament. The name originated with Walker, the author of the *History of Independency:* "This faggot end," says he, "this *rump* of a parliament, with corrupt maggots in it." In the *New Year's Gift for the Rump,* in the 15th volume of the *Broadsides* in the British Museum, it is written:

"The rump's an old story, if well understood;
'Tis a thing dress'd up in a parliament's hood,
And like't, but the tayl stands where the head should;
Which nobody can deny."

Mr. Halliwell has reprinted from a supposed unique copy in his possession of *The Loyal Garland,* for the Percy Society, a song of fifteen verses, entitled "The Resurrection of the Rump; or Rebellion and Tyranny revived," which is exceedingly clever and curious, and from which I extract the following:

"There's a rump of beef, and the rump of a goose,
And a rump whose neck was hang'd in a noose;
But ours is a rump can play fast and loose,
Which nobody can deny.

"When the parts of the body did all fall out,
Some votes it is like did pass for the snout,
But that the rump should be king was never a doubt,
Which nobody can deny.

Digitized by Google

"A cat has a rump, and a cat has nine lives,
Yet when her head's off, her rump never strives,
But our rump from the grave hath made two retrives,
Which nobody can deny.

"That the rump may all their enemies quail,
May borrow the devil's coat of mail,
And all to defend their estate in tail;
Which nobody can deny.

"But though their scale now seem to be th'upper,
There's no need of the charge of a thanksgiving supper,
For if they be the rump, the army's their crupper,
Which nobody can deny."

And concludes with the following:

"Consider the world, the heaven is the head on't,
The earth is the middle, and we men are fed on't,
But hell is the rump, and no more can be said on't,
Which nobody can deny.

See also *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii, p. 37.

"A *rump* that the people did hate, frown, and curse,
As a devil incarnate, or of something that's worse,
Of schism and rebellion both mother and nurse,
Which nobody can deny." (Vol. ii, p. 176.)

The Knave of Hearts. "Hugh Peters shews the bodkins and thimbles given by the wives of Wappin for the good old cause."

Preaching from a pulpit, and presenting to his congregation the bodkins, etc. From his mouth proceed the words, "Here the Wives of Wappin." (See plate 20.)

Hugh Peters was the son of a merchant in Cornwall, and was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, whence he is reported to have been expelled for his irregularities. He then embraced the stage as his profession, and subsequently took to the pulpit, where he appears to have played off his buffooneries and grotesque gesticulations, one of which is exhibited on this card. Pepys, in his *Diary* (ii, 133), says that on the 3rd April 1663, he went to hear Dr. Creeton the Scotchman preach, and that he "ripped up Hugh Peters, calling him the execrable skellum (villain), his preaching stirring up the maids of the city to bring in their bodkins and thimbles." In the *Collection of Loyal Songs* also:

"And now for a fling at your *thimbles*,
Your *bodkins*, *rings*, and *whistles*,
In truck for your toys,
We'll fit you with boys:
('Tis the doctrine of *Hugh's Epistles*.") (Vol. ii, p. 47.)

Digitized by Google

"To pull down their king,
Their plate they could bring,
And other precious things;
So that *Sedgwick*[1] and *Peters*,
Were no small getters
By their bodkins, thimbles, and rings." (Vol. ii, p. 61.)

It has been happily said[2] that "when the storm rolls heavily, the monsters of the deep are thrown upon the shore"; Peters illustrates this observation, for during the tempest of the revolution he, before but an obscure character, attained great notoriety. If we are to credit the writers after the restoration, he merited the character given of him as "a monster of hypocrisy, cunning, lewdness, and ferocity." But passion and prejudice distort facts and obscure truth, and considering that he holds a place in history, and has not been entirely discarded as a ruffian and a murderer, we may now presume that he was not without some redeeming qualities. Confined in Newgate whilst Laud was in power, noblemen and others interceded and offered bail for him. He was for some time minister of St. Sepulchre, having been ordained by Mountain, bishop of London. A prosecution for *crim. con.*, however, deprived him of this position, and he fled to Rotterdam, and became coadjutor with Dr. Wm. Ames, the pastor of the English church there. Thence, deputed by the puritans, he departed to New England, and there remained about seven years. He then returned to England, where his character became either altered or developed even unto phrensy, and led at last to an ignominious death. At Laud's trial he appeared in the house of lords, and took part in the proceedings, upbraiding and contradicting the archbishop. But his presence was not confined to this scene; he attended him upon the scaffold, where he appeared armed with a sword and halberd. The parliament rewarded him with a part of the archbishop's library, and subsequently with an annuity of £200. He afterwards became military, and attended several sieges, those of Lyme, Bridgewater, Winchester, Bristol, etc. He was violent against the king, laid pretensions to great sanctity, and was

[1] A noted puritan, who predicted the day of judgment to occur on a certain day in 1645. He was nicknamed "Doomsday Sedgwick."

Whitelock says that "by the endeavours of sundry ministers and others, a great quantity of money, plate, and ammunition was brought in, even by some poor women to their wedding rings and bodkins;" and Keightley quotes from Howel's *Philanglus*, p. 128, that "the seamstress brought in her silver thimble, the chambermaid her bodkin, the cook her silver spoon; and some sort of females were free in their contributions, so far as to part with their rings and earrings, as if some golden calf were to be set up and idolised." Hudibras also alludes to these proceedings:

"Brought in their children's spoons and whistles,
To purchase swords, carbines, and pistols;
Their husbands, cullies, and sweethearts,
To take the saints' and churches' parts."

[2] Marsden, p. 120.

Digitized by Google

most foremost to aid in the rebellion. Dr. Kenneth says he held a colonel's commission in the civil war, and he has even been suspected of having been one of the masked executioners of the sovereign. These things appertain to the dark side of his character; but his benevolence prompted him to sympathise with the Irish protestants, and he journeyed to Rotterdam, and solicited £30,000 for their relief. In this he was successful, and he remembered with gratitude, exhibited in many acts, the service the Hollanders had rendered him. The events of this man's life are most extraordinary and interesting, but I must confine myself to simply saying that his existence terminated on the scaffold, suffering death as one of those who had sat in judgment upon and condemned their king. On this occasion he displayed courage, exhibiting an air of triumph rather than dejection. There are facetious and satirical portraits of Peters: in one, he is represented with a windmill on his head, and the devil whispering in his ear; and in another, in the pulpit, with a large congregation, to whom he is turning an hour glass, and saying, "I know you are good fellows, stay and take the other glass." It was common in those days to preach by the glass, and an anecdote is told of one Cornelius Burges, a celebrated preacher, who was often called upon to preach before the Long parliament, having a very drunken congregation, who were in the constant habit of falling asleep during the discourse, availing himself of the sure means of arousing them by calling out, "And now, my friends, let's take another glass," at the same time turning over his hour glass, and it is said this means never failed to have the desired effect.

The Queen of Hearts. "The Damnable Engagement to be true and faithfull."

Six figures. Oliver Cromwell and another are joining hands.

The King of Hearts. "The Saints think it meet that the Rump make a League with O'Neale."

The Irish rebel making conditions with the parliamentarians. This, I presume, refers to Owen Roe O'Neal, with whom sir Charles Coote concluded a treaty of peace; and his reasons for doing it were for the preservation of the garrison of Londonderry and the English interests in those parts. A cessation of hostilities was also agreed upon between Monk and O'Neale, and attributed to a necessity arising out of the desertion of the Scottish regiments.[1]

[1] See Whitelock, p. 422. Two others of this name figured largely in this period of history. A sir Phelim O'Neale was a man of mean parts, or courage, the leader of the rebels in Ulster. He was allied to the earl of Tyrone, and bred in Lincoln's Inn (Whitelock, p. 49). He was general and commander-in-chief of the insurrection in Ireland, in which so many Protestants were inhumanly murdered (Clarendon, book iv, p. 99). The rebellion of 1641 was organized by

Digitized by Google

The Ace of Spades. "Bradshaw, the Jaylor, and the Hangman, Keepers of the Liberty of England."

The former seated in the presidential chair, and on each side members. Two men are presenting themselves to the meeting, one, the jailor, holding a key, the other, the hangman, a halter.

The Two of Spades. "Parry, Father and Sonne."

I do not know to whom these refer, and no circumstance is represented upon the card to afford a clue to the discovery of them.

The Three of Spades. "H. Marten defends Ralph, who design'd to kill the King."

Ralph, (Rolph) stands, holding a dagger in his hand, fronting another person, whilst Marten (of whom see ante, p. 31) stands between them, and is apparently addressing him.

Edmond Rolph, here represented, was a major on duty at Carisbrooke castle when Charles I was there confined. In a work recently published[1] the following letter occurs. It professes to be from J. (*i.e.* Charles I) to W. (I believe Edward Worsley). "W. Since the chiefe officer alwais sits at the presence-door, you have reason to differ with me in opinion as

sir Phelim with M'Mahon and the earl of Antrim, the result of the horrible massacre, on the part of the papists, to extirpate the Protestants, and in which an immense loss of human life was sustained. Some authorities contend that no less than 300,000 were slaughtered, whilst others reduce it to 50,000. Hume places the loss at 40,000 only, but gives no authority for his numbers; Milton computes the loss in Ulster alone to have been 154,000 (*Eiconoclastes*, ch. xi); and archdeacon Maxwell deposes (Aug. 22, 1642) that "above 154,000 were wanting within the very precinct of Ulster." See also May's *History of the Long Parliament;* sir John Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion;* Harris's *Life of Charles I;* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (book iv); and Sanderson's *Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles, from his Cradle to his Grave.* (Lond., 1658, fol.) Sir Phelim O'Neale seized upon and murdered lord Cawfield. The commissioners of parliament offered £100 to bring him, dead or alive; upon which he was taken, conveyed to Dublin, convicted of divers cruelties, sentenced to death, and executed. His head was set upon the gate at the foot of the bridge. His assertion at his execution, that the commission in relation to this horrible massacre was forged, and that he had instructed one Michael Harrison to cut off the seal from a patent which he had found at Charlemont, tends to remove much of the odium which has attached to Charles in this matter; but historians are still not agreed on the subject. A colonel Hugh O'Neale was the governor of Clonmel, who, after articles had been agreed upon and signed, whereby the town, with arms, ammunition, etc., were to be delivered up, next morning, to such as should be appointed to receive the same, marched with his garrison out at night, towards Waterford, before the commissioners arrived to treat. He was afterwards governor of Limerick, and delivered the keys of that city to Ireton. The soldiers marched out, agreeably to the stipulation, and some of them fell down dead of the plague whilst doing so. The governor was committed to custody, tried, and sentenced to death, which was carried into effect.

[1] Narrative of the Attempted Escapes of Charles I from Carisbrook Castle, and of his Detention in the Isle of Wight, etc. By G. Hillier. Lond., 1853, 8vo.

Digitized by Google

you doe. I pray you remember to leave verry plaine and full informations with L. (Osborne) and F. (Dowcett), and particularly how to keepe intelligence with our friends at London. J."

"This personage, the chief officer, was subordinate to Hammond; but he looked with an eye of jealousy on his position. Originally a shoemaker in Westminster, he was now a major in the parliamentarian army, recently promoted from a captaincy, and of the name of Rolph. Lord Clarendon states, he was placed at Carisbrook by Cromwell, as a 'prime confidant': a fellow of low extraction and very ordinary parts, who, from a common soldier, had been intrusted in all the intrigues of the army, and was one of the agitators inspired by Cromwell to put anything into the soldiers' minds." Among the many curious historical tracts given by George III to the British Museum, I have found one on a single folio page, the "Petition of Alice Rolph, wife to major Edmond Rolph, close prisoner at the Gate House, Westminster," addressed "to the chosen and betrusted knights, citizens, and burgesses, assembled in parliament at Westminster." Presented July 10, 1648. The tenor of this petition is, that upon false and lying information by Osborne and Dowcet, the former stating that Rolph had declared to him that the government had received several letters from the army, intimating they desired the king might be removed out of the way, either by poison or otherwise, etc., states that Rolph, immediately upon hearing of a confederacy to attempt the king's escape, came from the Isle of Wight to evidence his innocency to the house; that he was afterwards taken ill, and took a lodging in London, that he might be found if wanted. The lords ordered the commitment of Rolph, June 27, 1648, but it was not carried into execution for several days, when he was seized, hurried to prison, and never examined. The wife of Rolph therefore prays the house against the lords' usurpation of the jurisdiction of the commoners in criminal cases, entreats the discharge of her husband, confined upon the illegal warrant, and beseeches also the apprehension and trial of Osborne and Dowcet, who had admitted their knowledge of a plot. The *History of the Isle of Wight* (Newport, 1795) states (p. 242) that Rolph, having been made acquainted with the intended escape of the king from Carisbrooke Castle, had resolved to kill the king as he came through the window. The same authority adds (p. 260): "To speak of Rolph, we can only consider him as the premeditated assassin or callous regicide, thirsting for that blood which he ought to have been zealous and active in endeavouring to preserve; but the influence of party, and temptations to apostasy, by holding out rewards, will ever prevail with base minds."

The Four of Spades. "Argyle, a muckle Scotch Knave, in gude faith, Sir."

He is marching in a pompous manner, attended by three other Scots.

Digitized by Google

The MARQUIS OF ARGYLE, the head of the great tribe of Campbell, known by the proud name of Mac Callum More, "a man equally supple and inflexible, cautious and determined, and entirely qualified to make a figure during a factious and turbulent period,"[1] was the head of the Scotch covenanters, and contributed greatly to the ruin of Charles I. Macaulay says[2] he was not thought, by the royalists, to have atoned for this offence by consenting to bestow the empty title of king, and a state prison in Holyrood, on Charles II; and, after the return of the royal family, the marquis was put to death, and the marquisate became extinct. His son was permitted to retain the earldom.

The Five of Spades. "Nye and Godwin, Oliver's Confessors."

Oliver standing before his two chaplains. (See plate 20.)

PHILIP NYE was born in 1596, educated at Oxford, and took the degree of M.A. He was preacher at St. Bartholomew Exchange, and very popular. He was also curate of St. Michael's, Cornhill, and fled from Laud's persecution into Holland, but returned at the beginning of the long parliament, and then ministered at Kimbolton. He was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly of divines, and died at the age of seventy-six, being buried in St. Michael's, Cornhill. We have before seen he was active in proposing the league and covenant, for he was a great politician as well as divine. With Stephen Marshall, his father-in-law, he went to Scotland to expedite the covenant. He was engaged to treat with Charles at the Isle of Wight, and had £500 for his services. Wood styles him "the archflamen of the rebellious rout". Butler, in his *Hudibras*, has a note to say that Philip Nye was "very remarkable for the singularity of his beard"; and, in his heroical epistle to his lady, writes:

"So women, to surprise us, spread
The borrow'd flags of white and red;
Display them thicker on their cheeks
Than their old grandmothers, the Picts,
And raise more devils with their looks
Than conjuror's less subtle books;
Lay trains of amorous intrigues
In towers, and curls, and perriwigs,
With greater art and cunning rear'd
Than Philip Nye's thanksgiving beard." (*Remains*, i, 177.)

And in his lines (p. 178):

"A privilege no other creature has,
To wear a nat'ral mask upon his face,

[1] Hume's *Hist. of England*, vii, p. 211, ed. 1818.
[2] History of England, i, 537.

Digitized by Google

That shifts its likeness every day he wears,
To fit some other person's characters,
And by its own mythology implies
That men were born to live in some disguise.
This satisfy'd a *reverend man*, that clear'd
His disagreeing conscience by his beard."

"But, by the way, repeated the *oh-hones*
Of his wild Irish and chromatic tones,
His frequent and pathetic *hums* and *haws*,
He practis'd only t'animate the *cause*;
With which the sisters were so prepossest
They could remember nothing of the rest."

THOMAS GOODWIN, D.D., not Godwin, was educated at Cambridge, but left the university and all its preferments in 1634; and in 1639 retired to Holland, where he was pastor of an independent congregation at Arnheim. He remained there until the beginning of the Long parliament, and was one of the assembly of divines, representing the dissenters. He was held in great esteem by Cromwell; and, after the king's death, made president of Magdalen college, which he resigned at the restoration. He died Feb. 23, 1679-80, aged eighty years. Goodwin and Nye attended the protector on his deathbed.

The Six of Spades. "Skippon, a Waggoner to Sir F. Vere, one of Oliver's Hectors."

He is dressed as a waggoner, with a long whip in his hand.

PHILIP SKIPPON was sergeant-major general of the parliamentary army, commander of the cavalry in Cromwell's army, 1645, major-general of the London militia, and governor of Bristol. He was president of the council of war under the earl of Essex, and was esteemed an excellent soldier, honest and brave. At Naseby he exhibited his skill and valour, and, though wounded, he would not quit the field until the victory was secured. In 1647-8 he was appointed field-marshal of the army in Ireland; he was also one of the council of state; received a pension of £1,000 per annum for his services, and took an active part in the parliament. From the subscription to this card, it might be inferred that Skippon was of low origin; but his family were persons of property in the reign of Elizabeth. He refused to sit upon the trial of the king. He was one of the fellows of the Royal Society, elected May 16, 1667, was afterwards knighted, and accompanied Ray on his travels, and published his observations, which are curious.

The Seven of Spades. "Feek, the Seer."

In the pulpit, preaching to a congregation. Ludlow[1] says Feek was a

[1] Memoirs, p. 186.

Digitized by Google

minister who suffered imprisonment for having publicly declared against the usurpation of Cromwell, both by printing and preaching. He was an anabaptist preacher; and, during the time of the little parliament, the sect to which he belonged met regularly for prayer and discussion at Blackfriars. Cromwell felt it necessary to proceed against them with some degree of rigour. He suppressed their meetings, and seized upon Feek and Powel, who had declaimed against him as "a dissembling, perjured villain," and threatened also to visit him "with a worse fate than had befallen the late tyrant," and sent them prisoners to Windsor. Feek is thus alluded to in the *Collection of Loyal Songs:*

> "The Lord hath left *John Lambert*,
> And the Spirit, *Feek's Anointed*,
> But why, oh Lord,
> Hast thou sheathed thy sword?
> Lo, thy saints are disappointed." (v. ii, p. 48.)

And Cowley, in his *Cutter of Coleman-street* (act iii, scene 6), makes him to say, "Tabitha is o' the fifth monarchy faith, and was wont to go every Sunday, afoot, over the bridge, to hear Mr. Feak, when he was a prisoner in Lambeth House."

The Eight of Spades. "Scot, Oliver's Clerk or Tallyman."

Walking in a stately manner, with a long stick in his hand.

THOMAS SCOT, or SCOTT, according to Ludlow, was educated at Cambridge, though others have endeavoured to assign to him a mean origin. He, however, was a man of property, and represented Aylesbury in parliament. He afterwards entered the army as a major. He was a very zealous republican, was a member of the committee of safety, and also of the council of state. He was one concerned in the king's death, and so inimical to his majesty that he wished the following inscription to be engraved on his tomb: "Here lieth one who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stuart, late king of England." Having expressed this, he withdrew from the house, followed by others of like principles, not leaving the fourth part of a lawful quorum. He was dissatisfied with Cromwell for assuming the protectorship, but continued in his parliament though distrusted by him. After Cromwell's death he became more notorious, and was, indeed, more active than even his party desired. In the *Life of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle*, by the rev. Dr. Gamble (printed in 1761), Mr. Scot is mentioned as having, with Mr. Robinson, been sent down by the parliament to meet the general, and to accompany him,—an appointment made, it is conjectured, at the instigation of his own friends, who had agreed with his messengers to rid themselves, in this way, of two persons that were over busy in the house:

Digitized by Google

"*Sing hi-ho*, Tom Scot,
You lent the devil your hand;
I wonder he help'd you not,
But suffer'd you to be trepann'd."
(*Coll. Loyal Songs*, v. ii, p. 79.)

He was, however, appointed secretary of state, and custos rotulorum for Westminster. Upon the approach of the restoration he withdrew from the country; and, being one excepted, according to the bill of indemnity, he was brought to England, tried, found guilty, and condemned. His demeanour was marked by great boldness, and the circumstances of his trial are well told by Ludlow.[1]

The Nine of Spades. "A Comittee at Derby House, to continue the Warr."

Fourteen figures, besides the chairman, are here depicted. This was the committee of safety, as it was called, and consisted of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers. They assumed to be invested with supreme or sovereign authority. They professed to summon a free parliament, the choice of the people; but they, in reality, formed a military one, being, according to Ludlow (an excellent authority in this matter), composed of officers elected from every regiment in the service. Derby House had been assigned to Pym for a residence, by the parliament. In the *Collection of Loyal Songs* the committee is thus described:

"This gallant committee, made up of a crew
Of three and twenty bad men and untrue,
Would have made both our church and our state for to rue;
Still blessed reformation." (v. ii, p. 144.)

The Ten of Spades. "A Comitte at Haberdashers Hall to spoyle the Cavaleers, as the Jews did the Egyptians."

Nine figures beside the president. In the xii. Exodus, v. 35 and 36, we read: "And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses; and they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment: and the Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them *such things as they required.* And they spoiled the Egyptians." On the 31st Jan. 1649, lord Grey was ordered by the commons to dispose of the sum of £100 out of Haberdashers' Hall for the service of the commonwealth. The importance of Haberdashers' Hall Committee is noticed in a song entitled "Mr. Hampden's Speech against Peace at the Close Committee." (*Coll. of Loyal Songs*, vol. i.)

"So many nights spent in the city
In that invisible committee;

[1] Memoirs, p. 365 *et seq.*

Digitized by Google

The wheel that governs all;
From thence the change in church and state,
And all the mischiefs bear the date
From Haberdashers' Hall."

The Knave of Spades. "Sir H. Vane finds a distinction betwixt a Loyal and an Evangelical Conscience." See p. 23, *ante*.

Sir Harry is represented seated at a table, resting his head upon his hand in a thoughtful mood.

The Queen of Spades. "The Lady Lambert and Oliver under a strong Conflict."

LADY LAMBERT has often been alluded to as one of the reputed mistresses of the protector. She was a rigid puritan, and described as constantly singing psalms and praying. Cromwell, according to Heath, was more familiar with the godly Mrs. Lambert than the honour of her sex would admit, and says that "she had some extraordinary kindnesses for him which she had not for her husband." Accounts of this nature must be received with caution. It is not astonishing that the enemies of Cromwell, who must of necessity have been numerous, should attempt to decry him in this particular. In a ludicrous sermon, affected to have been held forth by Cromwell, and referred to in Jesse's *Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts*,[1] among others enumerated as having bestowed their favours upon the protector, occurs this passage: "When I came into Yorkshire, I met Mrs. Lambert, the espoused of that honourable and valiant saint Mr. G. Lambert. She, I say, is a woman, not very fair, I confess, but of as large a soul, and as full of the Spirit, as any I ever yet met with. I profess I never knew a woman more endowed with those heavenly blessings of love, meekness, gentleness, patience, and long suffering; nay, even with all things that may speak her every way deserving the name of a saint; and yet, I say, she was not very beautiful, or comely, for she is something foggy and sunburnt, which is strange, in that cold country. But what nature had denied her of ornament without, I found she had within her a soul, a devout sweet soul, and God knows, I loved her for it." The card proves the currency of the scandal at the time, as does also the following from the *Collection of Loyal Songs*, vol. ii, p. 144:

"*John Lambert* at Oliver's chair doth roar,
And thinks it but reason upon this score
That *Cromwell* had sitten in his before.
Still blessed reformation."

[1] Vol. iii. p. 79.

Digitized by Google

The King of Spades. "Bradshaw in ye High Court of Justice insulting of the King."

The king is standing before Bradshaw, and from his mouth proceed, "By what law or reason can," to which the president replies, "Sir, it may not be permitted you." Other members of the high court of justice surround the chair.

John Bradshaw was made a serjeant-at-law Oct. 12, 1648. He was chosen lord president of the high court of justice for the trial of the king, and arraigned Charles I on a charge of high treason, in the name of the majesty of the people of England. For this service the deanery house of Westminster was given to him and his posterity for a residence, and £5,000 to procure a suitable equipage. He afterwards received many appointments, and obtained great emoluments. His power was great and his audacity commensurate, until Cromwell was made protector. His greatness was then at an end, the council of state was broken up, and as Cromwell was backed by the army, resistance would have been useless. Bradshaw was not in a council of state again until the death of the protector, and on the 3rd June 1659, he was again elected lord president, and with serjeants Fountain and Tyrrel, commissioners of the great seal. His health failing, he declined the duties attached to the office, but the seizure of the speaker Lenthall, and the consequent prevention of the assembling of the house by the army, roused his indignation, and he repaired to a meeting of the council of state, inveighed against their conduct, and retired. A few days subsequently he died (Nov. 22, 1659) of a quartan ague, with which he had been affected for more than a year. He was buried with great pomp. By a vote of the house of commons, Dec. 8, 1660, the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were ordered to be disinterred and exposed on the common gallows. From the resting place of their remains in Westminster Abbey they were exhumed on the 26th Jan. 1661, and on the 28th those of Cromwell and Ireton were taken in separate carts to the Red Lion Inn, Holborn. On the anniversary of the execution of Charles I, they were borne on sledges to Tyburn, hung up till sunset, then cut down, and their heads taken off. The heads were affixed to poles and put up at the roof of Westminster Hall, and the bodies thrown into a hole beneath the gallows at Tyburn. Bradshaw's body was so decomposed that it could not be submitted to the same indignity, but it was removed to Tyburn, and as far as possible treated in the same manner; his head was afterwards put up at Westminster Hall. Pepys makes an entry in his *Diary* to this effect in reference to Cromwell: "Which do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it enough." He afterwards saw their heads "set up at the further end of the Hall. His wife and lady

Digitized by Google

Batten witnessed the hanging of the bodies (i, 185). The hat worn by him at the king's trial is in the Ashmolean Museum; and it is lined with iron, to preserve him against accident.

I shall conclude by a quotation from the *Collection of Loyal Songs:*

> " *Bradshaw,* that president proud as the pope,
> That loves upon kings and princes to trample;
> Now the house is dissolv'd I cannot but hope,
> To see such a president made an example." (i, p. 191.)
>
> " *Bradshaw* the knave, sent the king to his grave,
> And on the blood royal did triumph,
> For which the next *Lent* he was made president,
> And ere long may be made an example." (i, 203.)

Again, in the *Proper New Ballad:*

> " Edge, brethren, room for one that looks as big as the best;
> 'Tis pity to leave him alone, for he is as good as the rest;
> No picklock of the laws, he builds among the daws,
> If you ha' any more kings to murder, for a president look no further.
> Sing, hi ho, J. Bradshaw, in blood none further engages;
> The divel, from whom he had's law, will shortly pay him his wages."
>
> "*John Bradshaw* was his name,
> How it stinks, how it stinks,
> Who'll make with blacker fame
> Pilate unknown:
> This worse than worst of things,
> Condemn'd the best of kings,
> And what more guilt yet brings,
> Know, 'twas his own." (Vol. ii, p. 202.)

Digitized by Google

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. II.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SPANISH ARMADA AND THE DEFENCES OF THE THAMES AND MEDWAY, ETC.

BY WILLIAM JERDAN, ESQ.

Among the memorable events in English history, the threatened invasion of the country by the Spanish armada is one of the most famous. Disappointed of marrying the English queen, king Philip projected the equally difficult task of dethroning her; and returning the ties of collar and garter, prepared the most powerful navy which Spain had ever possessed, to carry his design into execution. The Romanists were in extasies of delight and hope, and the Pope blessed the expedition; the result of which showed that the benediction of his holiness was so ineffectual as to be turned into a curse.

On the other hand, great energy was displayed in preparations to repel this mighty array. The militia were levied and embodied, and the navy, recently inspirited by the successes of Drake in the Indies, was carefully attended to; its wants remedied, its numbers increased, and its confidence confirmed.

On the home coasts, around where we are assembled, twenty thousand troops were so disposed as to be within reach of immediate co-operation on any point of descent; and, at the adjacent Tilbury Fort (so well known in tradition and in history), generallissimo the earl of Leicester encamped twenty-four thousand men under his command.

I briefly mention these circumstances for the sake of noticing the curious coincidences with the present day; as if, together with some variations, the cycle of time, in its revolutions, brought about similar conditions, again and again, till we might well exclaim, with the wisest of mankind, "there is nothing new under the sun!"

We have, in our day, had menaces of invasion as portentous as those of Spain above two centuries and a half ago; and my first document displays queen Elizabeth and her

Digitized by Google

ministers adopting measures for putting the navy in an effective state to meet the enemy. The smallness of the scale, in the olden time, will amuse the hearers who entertain a magnificent idea of the stupendous resources called into action by "good queen Bess". She had, however, the enthusiasm of her people to sustain her against all foreign aggression, and with that support no British sovereign need fear a foe. The calling out of the militia at that period is a noticeable feature.

No. II gives the duke of Parma's general orders previous to the sailing of the armada from Lisbon; and is interesting from the particular painstaking to reconcile, or at least postpone, all existing differences, and produce a unity of zeal and daring in the sacred cause of a religious crusade.

No. III describes some of the arrangements for defence, but is principally deserving of attention from the insight it affords into the interior of the military service of the age, and of the determined purpose to effect all requisite reforms and redress all real grievances.

I am afraid it is hardly possible to add any novel matter of importance to the well-sifted materials of this epoch; but I trust that even the few items of a familiar nature which may be gathered from these papers, will not be unacceptable to the British Archæological Association, in the prosperity of which I have taken so warm an interest since its first institution at Canterbury.

I.

DECEMBER 1585.

A Note to shewe the comodetye that wolde growe to her maistie and countrye by increasing the waiges of the servytors servinge in her highnes shippes, viz.:

First, that it might please her ma'ti to allowe for the medium of all servytors, an increase of 3*s.* 4*d.* the man, by the monthe, butt it wolde faule out to be to ev'ry man, one w'th th' other, 6*d.*[1] by the daie, so as the coman man that had but 6*s.* 8*d.* by the monthe, shall have 10*s.*; and so every offycer will be increased, after that rate, a third p'te more in his wages.

By this means, her ma'tie shippes wolde be furnyshed w'th able men, suche as can shyfte for themselves, kepe themselves cleane wih'out vermyn, w'thout noysomnes, w'ch breedeth syckness and mortallytye; all w'ch wolde be avoyded.

[1] *Note.*—Though 6*d.* is marked by lord Burleigh, the 10*s.* gives only 4½*d.*

Digitized by Google

The shippes wold be able to continew longe in the service, that shulde be apoynted to serve, and wolde be able to carry victualls, for a longer tyme.

There is no captaine or men exercysed in service, but wolde undertake with curraidge any enterpryes with 250 able men, than with 300 tagg and ragg, and may assuer hymself of better sucesse.

The wages being so smale cawseth the best men to ronn awaye, to brybe, and make meane to be cleryrd from the s'vice, and insuffycient, unhable, and unskilful persons supply the place, w'ch discourage the captaines, masters, and men, y't [that] knowe what service requireth.

That it shall please her ma'iste to yealde unto this increase, her highness service wolde be far saiffer, and muche bettered, and yett the charge nothing increased (as for example):

The chardge of the Lion for waiges, victualls, of one monthe, for 300 men, after 23*s.* and 4*d.* the man, being the old rate, dothe amounte unto £400.[1]

The same shippe being now furnished with 250 able men, after the new rate, will be 28*s.* (wages and victuals) every man mensem, which will amount unto (even as before) monthelye, £400.

So above, all the comodeties are obtayned, w'thout any increase of chardge to her ma'te.

The saylours shall also be bownde (in consytheracyon of her ma'tes gracyouse liberallety) to bringe into the service every man his sword and dagger.

II.

Orders of the Duke of Medina for the Spanish Fleet.

May 22, 1588.

Don Alonzo Peres de Guzman, the good duke of the city of Medina Sidonia, earl of Niobla, marquis of Cacaca in Africa, lord of the citie of St. Lucars, captain generall of the ocean, sea, and of the coast of Andalusia and of this riall armye, and hoste of his majestye, and knight of the famous order of the Golden Fleece.

That whiche I co'mand and ordayne to be done and observed by the generalls, coronells, capteinse, and officers of footemen, and of the sea pilots, masters, soldiers, marriners, and officers, and all other sorte of men of warr, of sea and land, which come in this said armye, all the time that this iorney shall continue, is as followeth:—

1. First, and before all thinges, all the parson aforesayd, from the highest to the lowest, are to understand that the principall foundation wherewith his ma'ty hathe beene moved to make and undertake this jorney, hathe bin, and is, to the ende to sarve God our Lord, and to bringe againe to his churche and bosome, manie people and sowles,

[1] £350 only.

Digitized by Google

whiche beinge oppressed by the hereticks and enemyes of our holye Catholycke faithe, they keep in subjection unto theire sectes and unhappiness; and because all men may bend theire eyes at this marcke, as wee are bound, I charge and earnestlie require that they give order, to theire inferiors and all men under theire charge, that they enter into theire shipps confessed and receaving the sacrament, with such great sorrow for theire sins, as I do hope they all will, to th' ende, by means of this preparation, and the zeale wherewith we goe to doe God so greate a sarvice, that he may guide and directe us, as he is best pleased, which is the particular and principall matter that is pretended.

2ndly. Likewise and also I charge and co'maund them, that they have a specyal care that no soldier, marriner, or other person that serveth and goeth in this armye, doe blaspheme and renounce our Lorde God, nor our Lady, nor the saints, uppon paine to be sharplie punished, and verie well chastised for the same, according to our discretion: and for other oathes, less offensive, the co'maunders of the sayd shipps shall endevour themselves to refrayn the same; chastising offenders, by taking away theire allowance of wine, or with some other punishment, as shall seame requisite. And for as much as the greater occasion hereoff doe usuallye arise throughe playe or gamynge, ye shall procure to eschew the same, at the leste, in such as are forbidden, that no man do playe by nighte, in his case.

3dly. And to avoide inconveniences that maie arryse in this armye and hoaste of his ma'ty, if the sequell be not prevented, I doe, by virtue of these presents, declare and ordaine a truce, and a generall and particular suspence, and take into my handes all the debates, quarrels, defiances, and injuries, that have byn and are at this daye, until the publishing of these presents, betwene all the people, as well soldiers as marriners, and any other parsons of higher or meaner qualitie, whiche were and are in this armye, duringe all the tyme that this jorney shall continue, and one monethe after: albeit, the said quarrels be auncient and begane longe since. And I do expressly co'maund, that no man do withstand or break the said truce and suspense of weapons, directly or indirectlye, upon payne of rebellion, and incurring the penaltye of treason, and shall die for the same.

4th. And I do furthur declare, that no man shall be affronted or disgraced, for anie thing that maie happen unto him within the shippe.

5th. And, because it is knowne the great inconvenience, that is the offence committed against our Lord God in consentinge that cōmon or private women shall goe in such like armyes, I doe ordayne and cōmaunde that they come not aborde, and that they carie none in the navie; if any will attempt to carrye, then I charge the captaines of the shippes, and masters of the same, that they consent not to the shipping of them. And such as shall soe doe, or wyncke at yt, let them be severely punished.

Digitized by Google

6th. Every morning the boyes (according as is accustomed) shall geve the good morrowe, at the foote of the mayne mast, and at evenynge shall saye *Ave Marie,* and some days the *Salve Regina,* or at the léaste everye Satterdaye, together with *Lattaine.*

7th. And because it behoveth much for the preservation of good success of this armye, that there be good agreement and friendshipp between the soldiers and the mariners, and that they behave themselves so lovingly together that there arise nor happen no differences, tumults, or other occasions of quarrels between them, I cōmande that an ordinance be made, that they weare no dagger, nor that they overtwarthe one another for any occasion, but that they all obeye theire superiors and officers. And if that any disorder happen, let him that is the author thereof be, *ipso facto,* strictly punished and corrected.

8th. When as the galleon called St. Martin, wherein goeth my persone, and is admirall of this navie, shall geve warning with a pece of ordnance, it shall be a token of departure. Then men must make themselves reddy in such sorte, as that in sounding the trumpet they maye followe without losse of tyme, and without troublinge themselves, on shippe with another. And when I shall make saill to departe, lett all men doe the lyke, havynge speciall respect unto the shoales and catchopps, carrying their boats and skyffs readiness let.

9th. Departing out of the sighte of lande, and goinge forthe into the sea, all the shipps shall come to leeward, and everye one by himselfe salute the admirall, and knowe his pleasure, and require the watche worde, if it be towards evenyngs, endevoring not to goe before the admirall, by daye nor by nighte, but have a greate care of theire failinge.

10th. Everye daye, towards nighte, they shall repare to the admirall to take the worde, and to knowe if he will cōmand them any thinge. And because so manye and so great shipps can hardlye do this everie daye without cōmynge foule one of another, to avowe the hurte that may insue thereby, the generalls and corporalls shall have a speciall care to take the worde in tyme, to deliver the same to the shippes of their squadrone.

11th. That they salute the admirall with trumpetts, if they have any, or else with wistles, and men *twoe tymes;* or in answering the same, the same shall once again salute them. And if it be late, lett them require the worde, and in havinge the same, lett them come againe, salute the admirall, and departe to geve place to them that followe.

12th. And if it happen that the weather will not permytt, some dayes, to take the word of the admirall, or theire own admirals, they shall observe for every one of the days of the weeke these words following :—

Sundaye . . .	Ihesus.
Mondaye . . .	The Holly Goste.
Tuesdaye . . .	The Blessed Trinytie.

Digitized by Google

Wensday . . .	St. James.
Thursday . . .	The Angells.
Fridaye . . .	All Saynts.
Satterdaye . . .	Our Ladye.

III.

Report on the arrangements which were made for the internal defence of these kingdoms, when Spain, by its armada, projected the invasion and conquest of England; and application of the wise proceedings of our ancestors to the present crisis of public safety.

A mynute of a letter to the lieutenants of divers sheirs, 25th August, 1588.—After our hartie comendations to your good lordship, her ma'tie, understanding by theis late occasions of services the great care your lordship and the deputie lieutenants have taken in these public services comitted to your charge, and especially in the choice of good and able men, and providing that they might be furnished with armor, weapons, and other furniture, as appeared by those which were sent hither out of that countie, wherof her maj'ie's selfe hath been an eye witness, doth greatlye commend your lordship's care, and the diligence and travaill of your deputie lieutenants, yielding to your lordship and them her princely thanks in that behalf. And whereas her highness is given to understand that there have ben greater collections made in that countie for armor, coates, conducte money, and like furniture, by the head constables and other inferior officers there hath ben employed in the present service, her ma'tie having a great care to have her good and loving subjects well dealt withall, her pleasure is we should require your lordship to give order to your deputie lieutenants, calling out there the justices in the several divisions to examine what sumes of money, at severall times, have ben gathered and collected of the contrie, and for what uses, to whose handes the same was, and how the same hath ben employed to spend it, maie appear to those that have contributed so willinglie to theis publique services; for what use the same was levied, and how employed; and if greater sumes have been collected then have been bestowed for publique services, that thereof restitution maie be made. And where, likewise, her ma'tie is advertised that certain captaines have taken money of the trained and appointed souldiers, to dispense with them, and take other hirelinges in their places, if any such abuse hath ben comitted in that countie, we pray your lordship the same maie be also examined, and information given to us thereof, that we may cause those captains to be punished, to the example of thes, and satisfaction made to the parties whom they have wronged. Moreover, where there is a report going forthe, that some of those souldiours which were at the campe at Tilburie doe complaine that they have not receaved their full pay, for the

Digitized by Google

time of their service there, because the severall captaines of the bandes have receaved the whole entertainment due to the soldiours, from the time of their arrival at the camp until the dissolving of the same, who are charged to see the soldiers satisfied, and this report is a thing very slanderous to her ma'tie, it is thought meet your lordship shall take notice thereof, to the end that if any soldiours that were levied in that countie be unpaid of any parte of their entertainment, they maie, by your lordship, be referred to the captaines under whom they served, to be answered at their hands; whom we doubt not, if they were gentlemen of that countie, to have the care of their reputations they will with-hold any duty from their soldiers; wherein, nevertheless, if anie default shall be found, you maie call them before you, and cause them to see the soldiours contented of that which is due to them, or otherwise advertise us of the same, if the captaines were not chosen of that countie, that we may take order therein for the satisfaction of the soldiers. We are further to require your lordship, that you will take some order and care for those soldiers which were sent from thence, and now returned thither, that their armor, weapons, and furniture may be viewed, and charge every one of them, to see the same well kept and preserved, according to such directions, as we doubt not, but you have alredie receaved from our vere good lord, the lord Stuart, in that behalf; and so we bid your lordship vere heartilye farewell.

From the court at St. James, the 25th August, 1588.

Your lordships very loveing friends,

H. Derby.
S. Cobhâm.
T. Heaneage.
T. Knoleys.
Fra. Walsengham.
A. Powlett.
J. Woley.

Chr. Hutton, Canc[r].
W. Burgley.

Postscript. We require you to use some speed, for the examination of the parties of all this letter, and thereuppon to make answer as soone as you maie, to every point thereoff, for so the time requireth.

Digitized by Google

British Archæological Association.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING, ROCHESTER AND MAIDSTONE, 1853,

July 25th to 30th Inclusive.

Patrons.

The EARL COWPER, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Kent.
The Right Rev. LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

President.

RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.

Vice-Presidents.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Camden, K.G.
The Earl of Darnley.
Viscount Maidstone.
Viscount Sydney.
Hon. Francis Villiers, M.P.
The Ven. Archdeacon King, M.A.
The Mayor of Maidstone.
Edward Ladd Betts, Esq.
Wm. Henry Bodkin, Esq.
Francis H. Davis, Esq., F.S.A.
Sir E. Cholmondeley Dering, Bart., M.P.
Vice-Admiral Sir W. H. Dillon, K.C.H.
Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, F.R.S., F.S.A.
James Espinasse, Esq.
James Heywood, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. Lee, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
James Lewis, Esq.
James McGregor, Esq., M.P.
Sir Thomas H. Maddock, M.P.
Charles Wykeham Martin, Esq., F.S.A.
R. Monckton Milnes, Esq., M.P.
Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., D.C.L., F.L.S.
T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Rev. Beale Poste, M.A.
David Salomons, Esq. and Ald.
S. R. Solly, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
G. E. Harcourt Vernon, Esq., M.P.
Capt. Leicester Vernon, M.P.
James Whatman, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., F.R.S.
Matthew Wilson, Esq.

Treasurer—Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretaries: Charles Baily, Esq., F.S.A.; Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., F.L.S., M.R.S.L.; J. R. Planché, Esq.

Hydrographical Secretary—Captain Bullock, R.N.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence—William Beattie, M.D.

Registrar, Curator, and Librarian—Alfred White, Esq., F.L.S.

Draughtsman—H. C. Pidgeon, Esq.

Digitized by Google

Local Committee, Rochester.

THE MAYOR OF ROCHESTER, Chairman.
JAMES LEWIS, ESQ., *Town Clerk*, Hon. Sec.

Captain Poulett Bingham.
William Bland, Esq., Hartlip.
Robt. Clements, Esq.
Rev. Samuel Dewe, M.A.
Rev. William Henry Drage, M.A.
J. H. Drawbridge, Esq., M.D.
P. W. Jacob, Esq.
Wm. Manclark, Esq.
William Henry Nicholson, Esq.
Rev. H. D. Phelps, Snodland, M.A.
Rev. John Tayleur Pigot, M.A.
Rev. S. Shepherd, M.A.
Rev. J. W. Sheringham, M.A.
Samuel Sidden, Esq.
Stephen Steele, Esq.
Rev. D. F. Warner, B.D.
Rev. Robert Whiston, M.A.
Richard Winch, Esq.

Local Committee, Maidstone.

HENRY W. JOY, ESQ., *Mayor*, Chairman.
JOHN MONCKTON, ESQ., *Town Clerk*, Hon. Sec.

W. Addison, M.D., F.R.S.
W. H. Bensted, Esq.
Charles Ellis, Esq.
Thomas Franklyn, Esq.
G. H. Fielding, M.D., F.R.S.
Rev. J. B. Harrison, M.A.
Rev. Beale Poste, M.A.
Francis Plomley, M.D., Ph.Doc., F.L.S.
Alexander Randall, Esq.
Edwin Stacey, Esq.
Charles Scudamore, Esq.
Rev. W. Vallance, M.A.
John Whichcord, Esq.
John W. Woodfall, M.D.

General Committee.

Charles Ainslie, Esq.
W. F. Ainsworth, Esq., F.S.A.
W. H. Ainsworth, Esq.
T. F. Armistead, Esq.
Arthur Ashpitel, Esq., F.S.A.
T. F. Baily, Esq.
W. Bensted, Esq.
W. H. Black, Esq.
Rev. Henry Blane, M.A.
Charles Bridger, Esq.
Alexander H. Burkitt, Esq., F.S.A.
Rev. J. W. Spring Casborne
H. Syer Cuming, Esq.
Henry Duesbury, Esq.
Charles Egan, Esq.
James Elliott, Esq.
George Godwin, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Nathaniel Gould, Esq., F.S.A.
Roger Horman-Fisher, Esq.
W. D. Haggard, Esq., F.S.A.
Jas. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Jas. James, Esq.
Eleazar Lawrance, Esq.
Thomas Lott, Esq., F.S.A.
Rev. Henry Mackarness
W. C. Marshall, Esq., R.A.
Major A. J. Moore, F.R.S.
William Newton, Esq.
Capt. Geo. W. Oakes.
W. H. Palin, Esq.
Henry Pemberton, Esq.
William V. Pettigrew, Esq., M.D.
David Roberts, Esq., R.A.
Thomas Robson, Esq.
W. D. Saull, Esq., F.S.A.
Robert Thorburn, Esq., A.R.A.
Stephen I. Tucker, Esq.
William Wansey, Esq., F.S.A.
Charles Warne, Esq.
John Webb, Esq.
William C. Whelan, Esq.
John Whichcord, Jun., Esq. F.S.A.
Rev. John White, M.A.
J. C. White, Esq.
C. F. Whiting, Esq.
C. B. Wilson, Esq.
Albert Woods, Esq., F.S.A.
George Wright, Esq.
William Yewd, Esq.

Digitized by Google

Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, JULY 25.

THE general and local committees assembled at the Guildhall of Rochester, at one o'clock, P.M., to make the necessary arrangements for the reading of papers, conducting of excursions, etc., preparatory to the opening meeting at two o'clock, when the President, RALPH BERNAL, esq., M.A., took the chair, and proceeded to deliver the Inaugural Address (see pp. 201-14 *ante*.) The thanks of the meeting having been given by acclamation to the President, a paper from Dr. WM. BEATTIE, "On the History of Rochester Castle", was read (see pp. 215-30 *ante*), after which the Association proceeded to examine the Castle. During the course of this examination, Mr. DUESBURY made the following observations on the architecture of the building:—

"The space within the walls in mediæval castles may be generally stated to have been divided into two courts; one surrounded by stables and inferior offices, the other by guard-houses, superior offices, and residences; and, in the highest and least accessible part of the enclosure, a *keep*, or strong tower of ultimate defence, was erected.

"The remains of Rochester castle wall shew that it was of great height and strength (the portion now standing, to the south-west, being nearly forty feet high), especially towards the river; which swept round the foot, from the bastion, at the south-eastern corner, at the back of the keep, to the sally port, or strong gate, at the north-west angle, which flanked and commanded the ancient bridge. The barbican, or entrance from the land side, was in the curve of the wall, to the north-east; this appears to have had circular bastions at the entrance, with a curtain between—it is the narrow passage through which we have approached the castle. The space enclosed is about four acres. You have already heard that from the earliest ages, even in the time of the original Britons, before the coming of the Romans, this was an important place of defence; and very naturally so, since it guards the pass of the only river between the south coast and the heart of the country. Without pretending to give a date to these remains, it is evident some of them are of a very early period, contemporary with the building in which we are, and probably earlier.

"But to proceed to the main object of my paper, viz., a description of

Digitized by Google

the ruin in which we are assembled—the ancient keep of Rochester castle. It stands within a few yards of the south-east angle of the boundary wall, which is the highest portion of the enclosure; it is square on plan, and measures, exclusively of the entrance tower, about seventy feet each way. There are square towers without buttresses to three of the angles; but the fourth, viz., the north-east one, has a circular tower; this, however, being carried up square at the top. The entrance tower, about seventeen feet by thirty, is on the north side. The building has four stories, and is from one hundred and five to one hundred and ten feet high to the top of the towers.

"I will now take you *seriatim* through the building, beginning at this the lowest story, on a level with the ground, which slopes up to it with a rise of about five feet from the level of the footpath outside the entrance tower; we will call this the ground story. The plan of the building is very simple, it being divided into two rooms all up by a wall across the middle, east and west; each room is about twenty feet by forty-five feet: the middle wall being five feet thick, and the outside walls twelve feet thick. The walls are built of rough or unsquared Kentish rag-stone, with free stone (oolite) dressings and quoins. There is no external entrance to this story; the approach having been down the north-east angle staircase from the floor above. The entrance you came through was not originally a doorway, as is shewn by the semicircular eyelet-hole, or window-head, still remaining at the top of this aperture.

"Under the entrance tower is a vaulted basement, approached by a flight of steps through the doorway next the turret stairs: this chamber, no doubt a store place or cellar, was lighted and ventilated by a slight slip or flue passing diagonally through the thickness of the wall—the external doorway into this chamber has been recently made. Above this basement is the ground floor of the entrance tower, lighted by two small circular apertures to the north, at the east end of which is an arched aperture now built up. This, no doubt, is original; I do not think it was used as a general entrance, but as a means of bringing in food and heavy stores. I conjecture this place was a pantry; and it communicates with this, the northern room, by a narrow passage next the basement entrance just mentioned. The passage is made very narrow, that it could be easily defended in case of an attacking party effecting an entrance into this chamber or pantry.

"This, the north room, was lighted by three eyelet or loop holes, six inches wide and about fifteen inches long (one at each end, and one in the north wall, now an entrance); these openings are placed high up in the embrasures, which are stepped in the usual manner, that the loop holes may be approached by the bow-men and men at arms; and there are recesses, or closets, etc., in the thickness of the walls.

"Passing through one of the two arched openings in the division wall

Digitized by Google

we enter the southern chamber, which was lighted by five loop holes, similar to those just described. In the south, and also in the west, wall of this chamber is a recess, the termination of a shaft, which ascends, in each case, to the top story of the building in the thickness of the wall. The aperture is four feet three inches long and three feet wide at this level; it so continues to the entrance floor gallery above, and is then divided into two unequal parts; one, the larger, stopping on this floor, the other, about a foot wide, continuing up and tapering till it is nearly square at the top—the galleries on each floor, all up, communicate with these shafts. These shafts, no doubt, were used for lifts, as at the Reform, and other modern club-houses. There are no fire-places on this story, which is thirteen feet high; and all the openings, which are semicircular throughout, were finished perfectly plain and square, with freestone, without any mouldings. The voussoirs of the archivolts being the same length, and forming a continuous ring round the arch. The jamb stones are of unequal length and bonded with the other work. But the most interesting object in this story is the well, in the centre of the division wall: it is circular, two feet nine inches in diameter, and faced with ashlar all the way down. I am told it is about sixty feet deep to the water, and that at the high tides the water is about ten feet deep; the water, it was said, is good, and not the least brackish. The shaft of the well continues all up to the top story of the same size, and is finished in a similar manner. There is an arched aperture, on the north side, in the shaft on every story. The chambers on this ground story may have been used as guard rooms and store rooms, and probably, when the place was full, as sleeping rooms.

"We will now ascend the north-east turret stairs, the only stairs down to this story, to what may be called the entrance story. This story was approached by a flight of steps beginning at the outside of the north-west tower. They appear to have been enclosed in a porch up to the chief entrance on the west side of the entrance tower; as there are the remains of a side-wall, and indications of the passage or porch having been covered over. There are the remains of an arch or doorway at the foot of the steps, without mouldings, but with a plain moulded impost; and there are also, in the north wall of this north-west tower, remains of a blocked-up plain arch, at a higher level, about the level of the chief entrance, as if at one time the entrance had been here, with, probably, the flight of steps extending northward. However, not to now discuss this question, I will proceed to the chief entrance at the top of the present inclined plane.

"It has a single column on each side flush with wall; the cap is plain and of very slight projection; and the impost is a plain face with a slightly curved hollow at the lower edge. The arch has a chevron bead over the column, with a single moulding, and hollow beyond. The jambs are plain, without any groove for a portcullis or other defence;

Digitized by Google

and the inner arch has a similar chevron bead, with a hollowed sort of tongue-moulding outside. The external line of the arch is serrated, following the line of the tongue-like ornament; the chevron being flush with the wall. This arch is straight for some height above the impost. The entrance tower on this story is lighted by three double-light semi-headed windows on the north—the double lights being enclosed in one plain square arch on the inside. There is a single light by the side of the entrance door; and there appears to have been a double light at the opposite end.

"The doorway into the keep from the entrance tower has single columns at the sides, with a large head cut into four chevrons above; the jambs of the doorway are plain-faced and carried round the arch without impost, there is a groove in the jamb and head of the arch for portcullis or other defensive screen; there is a niche on each side in the remainder of the jamb or thickness of the wall; and the arch on the inside of the wall, in the room, is finished exactly like the outside of the archway into the entrance tower.

"We have now arrived at the room above the one in which we are assembled. There is nothing particular to remark about the architecture of this story, except that there are galleries in the thickness of the walls, with plain voluting plastered; that another staircase in the south-west turret starts from this floor to the top, the north-east stairs being also carried up; that there is a fireplace in each room on this story, the fireplaces not having vertical flues, but funnels, gradually sloping up at an angle of about forty-five degrees to apertures about a foot square in the outside of the walls; that the loopholes, or perhaps we may now call them window-openings, are larger (about eleven inches wide and two feet nine inches high) and square-headed, with stepped embrasures as on grand story: they are over those below. There is a small office or room in the north-west turret, which has a fireplace; this story is about twenty feet high. The openings have all semicircular arches, which is the case throughout the building; and it is to be noticed that they are still perfectly plain, without moulding or impost, except the one described from the entrance tower. I am almost inclined to believe that the walls, up to the top of this story, are of earlier date than the work above; the walls in some places set back, and the perpendicular lines do not all correspond. There is nothing in the style, with the exception of the doorway from the entrance tower and the tower itself, which would preclude the supposition of the work being even of the Roman period; and that it is possible the present entrance is not the original one, is shown by the now blocked-up external archway in the north-west turret. I apprehend these two rooms were guard-rooms, or rooms for servants, the northern one being the hall, and the southern one the cooking-room. I assume the entrance would most likely be into the generall hall, and the

Digitized by Google

southern one is in communication with the lifts before mentioned: probably the small office in the turret would be used by an officer who would keep account of all stores, pay the soldiers, etc.

"Ascending the north-east turret, we step off the staircase into a room over the entrance lobby, which I am much inclined to think might have been a chapel; it stands east and west, has a doorway into it from the lower gallery of the great hall; the eastern end is separated from the rest by an arch, plain, but with an impost, and it is domed over in a rather unusual manner with rag-stone plastered. The windows are plain; but I cannot disguise it from myself, that the inclined stone shoot, which goes at the level of the floor through the wall at the east end, seems to have more to do with some domestic office than a chapel; still it is well situated for a chapel, being east and west. However, not to detain you here any longer, we will ascend to the principal or grand story of the building. The work is here very different in character from that below. The story is thirty-two or thirty-three feet high, and has two tiers of arcades, the lower tier having single columns with moulded arches; the upper tier having columns, imposts, and arches, of exactly the same design and size as those of the entrance-doorway on the story below; as have also the fireplaces, which have columns at the angles of the jambs, with a weathered label moulding above the chimney-breasts. The place of the division-wall on this story is occupied by a beautiful arcade, three of the arches being nearly of the same span, and the fourth, at the east end, being about twice the span of the others. The columns are about four feet diameter, with plain, vertically-fluted, or billeted capitals, and bases with unusually small and delicate mouldings; they are cylindrical, built of rubble, and faced with ashlar in narrow courses. There is an archway built into the western arcade, the impost occurring at rather more than one-third the height of the principal columns; the aperture of the archway is about two-thirds the width of the larger arcade, the spaces between the jambs and the large columns being filled in with rough rag-work for plastering. That this archway was put in after the columns were built is evident; the columns, as can easily be seen, having been finished fair in the first instance, and the arcade or screen built against them: this arcade has certainly extended across the three smaller bays, and I have no doubt the larger one also at the east end; the foundation of the screen-work is still in the smaller bays, and the columns of the large arch, like the rest, have the marks of having been built against to the exact height and thickness of the screen; the arch of the screen is finished exactly like the upper gallery arches on the north side, but has plain recesses at the back or south side. It is to be noticed also with respect to the large arches, although all finished alike on the north side with the usual chevron-bead and outer moulding, that the two eastern ones have merely a bead on edge with a slight sinking

Digitized by Google

above on the south side, and that the two western ones have the chevron at the back, not flush with the face of the wall, but set back and enclosed by an outer arch of plain ashlar. All this clearly shows that the northern chamber was the principal one, the inner one was evidently screened off to be in some measure private—a sort of withdrawing room, perhaps with a screen across at the back of the column of the large arch, which is not faced, but left rubble flush with the facing. I think the fireplaces show that both were living rooms.

"With respect to the arches being of an unequal span, I do not think this results from any special object; they would use the same centres for the three smaller ones, and finding the space left not wide enough for two more, it would be thrown into one. The gallery at the back of the large arch is stepped up, so that the abutment might be solid. The window-openings opposite the upper gallery arches are considerably larger on this story. In the top story the division wall is resumed above the arcade. Nearly the eastern half of the southern external wall of this story and the one we have just left, appear to me of a different date from the rest, the arches in it are plain as on the two lower stories, whilst the remainder of the windows on this story are enriched. On the east wall of the southern room of this story, are the remains of half an arch of considerably larger span than the rest, and at a much higher level, and with mouldings differing from any of the rest except one other arch in the south wall, which, like this one, has been built up flush: in both cases plain openings have been formed in the filling-in. The cap of this large eastern arch is of different design from any of the others, it having a scale pattern on the surface. It is difficult to account for this arch of unusual height and size, unless originally there was a chapel at the top of the building, and this its east window. There are fireplaces in these rooms. The centre opening in the west wall of each room is larger than the remaining two, but the springings are level. This story is twelve or thirteen feet high. The walls, battlements, and turrets are the original height, an unusual circumstance; the south-eastern turret, which is circular below, is carried up square at the top, and I imagine, from the appearance of the work, at a subsequent date corresponding with the other turrets. The marks of the gable of the northern compartment are visible, and there are stone shoots through the walls from the gutters: the other roof was probably flat.

"This building has been a ruin for upwards of two hundred years, and a certain sir Walker Weldon, a descendant of sir Anthony Weldon, who lived in the time of James I, sold the stone steps of the staircase to a mason from London; he wanted to sell the whole building as old material, but fortunately it was not worth the expense of pulling down. The floors were all of wood, as were also the roofs; I am told the beams

Digitized by Google

of the floors were removed in comparatively recent times. I may just mention, that there is a curious honeycomb-arrangement in the stone-work at the top of the north wall, about two feet above the level of the gutter; the holes are one above another with a flat stone between, and about six inches square. I can see no object for this, except to lighten the work.

"Exterior. The exterior is of the simplest possible design, the turrets rise shear from the battered plinth, of parallel width all up, without stringcourse or moulding: they have re-entering angles, that is, the walls are not produced till they meet at one angle, but they stop short as if a square piece had been cut out of the angle. There are no buttresses, the projections in the middle of each wall being more in the nature of pilasters or piers. The two upper tiers of windows, and the windows in the entrance tower, have columns and moulded arches. The above description applies to the three square turrets only, the fourth, at the south-east angle, is circular on plan; it has two set-offs, at each of which the diameter is diminished, but, as already said, it is finished square at the top like the other turrets. I have very little doubt but that this turret is of earlier date than the remaining three.

"I believe I have now drawn your attention to the points principally worthy of attention, and before I conclude I will say a few words about the probable date of the work. I have, indeed, written a rather detailed paper on the general question as to the probable periods when the works now extant were executed, founded on a review of the state of society in this country from the coming of the Romans to the conquest; but it is too long to read on this occasion.[1] The generally received opinion is that Gundulph, the bishop, built the keep; and this impression is founded on the record, that after a long dispute with the king (Rufus), who required the bishop to put it to rights and to keep it in repair, the bishop then having charge of the castle, it was at length agreed that the bishop should spend £60 on the tower of the castle, but with very strict provisos that he should not be answerable for any further repairs. The mistake seems to be, that this bargain between the king and the bishop has been interpreted as a contract on the part of the bishop to 'build' *de novo* the towers or keep; the absurdly small sum mentioned for the purpose, seems to me to put this supposition entirely out of court, and I believe the £60 was nothing more than the sum agreed upon as the value of the repairs or dilapidation which the bishop, as holder of the castle, was bound to perform; and I think the greater portion of this sum was spent in repairing the outer walls and accessory offices, instead of the main tower or keep. Judging from its present state, it would scarcely want repairing eight hundred years ago. If it had been burnt or gutted, it might have been so; but this was not the case, the wood floor having remained till a recent time.

"Upon the whole, and taking into account that Rochester was a

[1] This paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Digitized by Google

stronghold in the time of the aboriginal Britons, that the Romans had an important station here, and from time to time during the four or five hundred years—nearly five hundred—they were masters of Britain, they walled the city, and built and enlarged the castle so as to make it a place of exceeding strength and security; and recollecting that in the Saxon times Rochester was more known as a castle than a city (Bede calls it 'the castle of Kentish men'); and, above all, bearing in mind that at this, the most important pass in Anglia, a very strong fortress would always to a certainty be maintained,—I have come to the conclusion that Gundulph with his £60 did not build this tower, and that the ruin in which we now are is of Anglo-Roman and Anglo-Saxon workmanship."

The examination having been completed, a discussion took place in relation to several points, stated by Mr. Duesbury, of the castle, and the whole was appropriately terminated by Mr. Ashpitel, who called the attention of the assembly to the accurate manner in which the structure and arrangement of ancient Norman fortresses had been described by sir Walter Scott, particularly in his romance of *Ivanhoe*. These remarks were, however, preceded by some general observations; which, as far as could be collected, may be stated in the following manner:—

"As regards the military characteristics of Norman castles, they always stand in an enclosed ground or ballium, which is surrounded by a strong wall, with bastions or flanking towers, an entrance gateway, and a ditch or mote. If a besieger forced his way through these defences, the besieged betook themselves to the keep. The plan of these towers is almost invariably a square building, with walls of immoderate thickness, divided transversely by a succession of piers and arches continued up to the top. In the thickness of the wall a passage traversed the entire circuit of the building. In two of the angles are circular stairs reaching from bottom to top. There is no sort of entrance or access at the level of the ground. The main access is on the first floor by a long flight of steps. These ascend, keeping close to the side of the wall, to the entrance tower, a square tower of smaller dimensions, which is attached to the main tower. At Rochester there is a break in the staircase, where no doubt there has been either a drawbridge or a shifting platform. The attempt to approach and break into the door of the entrance tower must have been most frightful, as the besiegers were exposed to the arrows of the archers, and quarrels of the cross-bow men from the loop-holes, and a shower of stones, hot sand, and melted lead from the battlements. Supposing they bridged the open space and had burst in the first door, they then would have found themselves in a small square apartment, leading into the main tower, it is true; but protected by a portcullis, through which arrows and lances came forth in showers. Should they win the first story, they then would have to fight their way upwards by narrow passages and winding stairs, where two resolute men on each side

Digitized by Google

with battle-axes could almost keep a whole squadron at bay. In fact, so difficult was the task, that scarcely an instance is known of a Norman castle being taken by storm. They generally tried to blockade the garrison and starve them out. Here, then, was the importance of the well, and the reason why it was carried up to the top stories. With plenty of food, but without water, a garrison must soon have surrendered, but with the power of drawing water, even when the lower story was in the possession of the enemy, they might hold out till help arrived.

"The general disposition of a fortress was this: on the story level with the ground, lighted only by the smallest arrow slits, and having no external entrance whatever, reached only by descending from the principal story, the stores were kept, and prisoners intended to be less rigorously treated were confined. On the first story above this was the guard room and mess rooms of the troops, and in the entrance tower, a sort of hall. Ascending the stairs to the next story, we come to the great banqueting hall, divided into two parts by a range of columns, and occasionally screened off by tapestry, or, as at Rochester, by a stone screen. This was the great reception hall or state room. Above this was a similar hall of lesser height, used by the ladies of the family, if any. The passages surrounding these rooms were frequently screened off, and formed small retiring rooms or boudoirs. Above this was the roof, with parapets and crenelles or battlements at the four angles, four towers, with small apartments below, and with stations for warders and for beacons above. Below the ground, without any window, and with only a small shaft ascending through the wall to give sufficient air to sustain life in the unhappy captive, was the dungeon; the dreadful hole where existence could not long endure the darkness, horrors, privations, and filth by which the unhappy wretch was surrounded. This description applies to those keeps or towers intended for permanent habitation. Many seem only intended as a final shelter, and consequently have not even got fireplaces; others, like Rochester, seem fitted up for halls of state as well as fortresses. Perhaps no better illustration could be made than by allusion to the popular novel of *Ivanhoe*. Most persons have supposed Front de Bœuf's castle to have been something like Windsor or Warwick, and painters have represented it as such. But it was intended to pourtray the Norman castle, and scarcely anything can better evidence the great power of sir Walter Scott in delineation than the description of the keep, especially when we consider that the novel was written when the subject was so imperfectly understood, both by architects and antiquaries. The castle at Rochester cannot be better illustrated than by referring to the principal scenes of that novel. Let us suppose Gurth, Wamba, and the other Saxon serfs, imprisoned in the dimly lighted lower story. In the story above, the Norman men-at-arms and crossbow-men are carousing. Above, in the main hall, where the beautiful columns and arches

Digitized by Google

divided the huge square room, Cedric the Saxon and Athelstane are pacing the floor; the one chafing over his country's wrongs, the other longing for his dinner. In the story above is the fair Rowena all in tears. In one of the small corner turrets stands the fair Jewess ready to plunge from its dizzy height, and prefer death to dishonour. While in the dungeon below, beneath the entrance tower, without light, and approached by steps buried in the thickness of the wall, we may picture the poor Jew and his torturers. The spectator may gaze on Rochester castle, and realize the scenes enacted in these lands in olden time. He may people its halls with a fierce soldiery of invaders, and its dungeons with captive denizens; and as archæology is the science of finding wisdom for the future in the lessons of the past, he may thank Providence for his present state of happiness, and determine never to neglect the proper course to secure the independence and liberty of his country."

At six o'clock the Association, to the number of between seventy and eighty, sat down to an ordinary prepared at the Crown Inn, and in the evening again assembled in the Guildhall to continue the reading of the papers, the first of which was by the rev. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, being "A Memoir of Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, with Notices of the other Ecclesiastical Founders of that Church and Monastery." (See pp. 231-270 *ante.*)

Mr. CHARLES BAILY, F.S.A., hon. secretary, then proceeded to read a paper "On the Houses of our Ancestors in Kent," which will be printed and illustrated in a future number of the *Journal.*

Mr. HENRY GEORGE ADAMS, of Rochester, read a paper "On Rochester Bridge", of which the following is an abstract:—

"In Kilburne's *Survey of the County of Kent* (Lond., 1659, 4to.), it is said, 'there was anciently a very strong timber bridge, with nine arches, over the river of Medway, a little distant, towards the north, from the place where the stone bridge now is, to the maintenance whereof several persons, parishes, and tenements were liable' (p. 229). Respecting the date of the first erection of Rochester bridge, we are left quite in the dark, no record that I am acquainted with having yet been discovered which determines this point. Stowe says that the first mention of a bridge in this place was in the year 1215; but from the testimony of Ernulphus, bishop of Rochester, as quoted by Dr. Thorpe, it must have been in existence long prior to that date. The Saxon bishop who occupied the see of Rochester from 1115 to 1124, does not originate, but merely records, a series of regulations, or statutes, previously in existence, for the maintenance and repair of the different portions of the bridge. Denne, in his *History of Rochester*, notices the mention made of some persons who disputed part of the contributions demanded of them for this purpose, and thence infers that 'the regulations were ancient at the time Ernulphus collected them; for these disputes might probably arise from certain in-

Digitized by Google

dulgences on particular occasions, which custom had afterwards confirmed into a law.' We shall not rest too strongly upon this argument, for it might be said, on the other hand, that these regulations, being new, their application had not yet come to be clearly understood, and *hence* disputes had arisen. But we have to adduce some facts in support of the opinion that the bridge was of much more remote antiquity than Stowe would lead us to infer; and to these, as quoted in his own work, the historian of Rochester might safely have appealed. He tells us (p. 121, ed. 1772), that "when Rufus, who had been the pupil of Lanfranc, ascended the throne, Gundulph and the archbishop obtained many grants in favour of their churches. Lanfranc dying, Gundulph still continued in favour with the king and his successor, Henry I, from whom he obtained many favours for the monks. Among other privileges, king Henry gave them one-fourth of the toll of Rochester bridge, whether the bridge was whole or broken. He also established a fair at Rochester, to last two days, viz. on the festivity of St. Paulinus and the day preceding; for which two days the king granted to the monks the whole toll of the bridge. They and their servants also used the bridge toll free.

"The painstaking Lambarde does not venture upon an opinion as to the probable date of the first erection of this bridge; we may therefore conclude that his researches led to nothing satisfactory on this point. His evidence as to its position is too clear and decisive to admit of much dispute, even if the remains of it discovered during the progress of the present works had not placed the matter beyond a doubt. Lambarde says: 'Now, therefore, am I come to the bridge over Medway, not that which we presently behold, but another also, much more antient in time, though less beautifull in worke, which neither stood on the selfe place, neither very farre from it; for that crossed the water over against Strood hospitall; and this latter is pitched some distance towarde the south, and somewhat nearer to the castle walls, as to a place more fitte, both for the fastnesse of the soile, and for breaking the swiftnesse of the streame, to build a bridge upon.' (*Perambulations*, p. 344.)

"Much as we may admire the picturesque effect of the present bridge, and regret its demolition, we cannot hesitate to acknowledge that the site occupied by the old one, and on which that now in course of erection will stand, is much the more eligible and convenient.

"It is, however, to the old wooden bridge that our attention must at present be directed. Kilburne calls it 'a very strong timber bridge', and by the ancient records it would appear to have consisted of nine *pilæ* or piers of stone and earth, on which the wooden superstructure rested; this would give ten intermediate spaces or arches, not nine, as is sometimes stated. The present bridge also has ten, four on the Strood, and five on the Rochester side of the larger central arch, which occupies the space of two, and was formerly so divided. In a print entitled 'The

Digitized by Google

North-West Prospect of the City of Rochester', bearing date 1738, eleven is the number of arches represented. The length of the old bridge, according to the record before mentioned, was 431 feet, about the present breadth of the river at this place. 'Denne says that the ten divisions, or openings, were each forty-three feet from the centre of one pier to the centre of another, calculating, it may be presumed, that this must be the case in a length of four hundred and thirty-one feet divided by ten.' But in 'a Description and Plan of the Ancient Timber Bridge at Rochester, collected from two MSS. published in Lambarde's *Perambulations of Kent*, by Mr. Essex" (*Archæologia*, vol. vii), a different account is given. The author of this paper considers that two of the piers mentioned were land abutments, and consequently there were but eight openings. It appears that the number of beams to be provided was twenty-eight, which, according to Denne's theory, were placed three over each of the spaces except the two extreme ones, which had only two. Essex, from the same data, makes out ninety-seven or ninety-eight of these beams or joists, of which he says, "Twenty-eight were provided by those who built the nine piers, the rest by different persons or places in the country". We shall not attempt to reconcile these differences, but merely refer those who desire to pursue this subject, to Lambarde and the article in the *Archæologia*, where a representation of the old bridge, in accordance with the author's rendering of the records, will be found.

"The statement that the arches of the bridge rested upon piers of earth and stone, seems to be a little contradicted by the discovery of wooden piles, evidently the remains of an old bridge foundation, during the progress of the present works. These piles were, many of them, shod with iron, and driven far down into the bed of the river, out of which they had to be drawn. I am informed by the overseer of the works that as much as six hundred and sixty cubic feet of timber, chiefly oak, was recovered in this way; a great portion of it was perfectly sound, as is shown by a piece which he has had converted into a tea caddy. From the way in which these piles had been placed, it seemed to my informant that they had formed a kind of framework for some heavier material, no doubt the stone and earth of which the piers of the old bridge are said to have been composed; these piers, I should gather from the records, were not many feet above high water mark, and on them rested the beams called *sulliva*. On these we have now only to place the cross planks, which with the beams the contributory parishes were bound to furnish, and our wooden bridge is complete as far as a sufficient passage way is concerned. I have perhaps improperly spoken of the openings or divisions of the bridge as arches; they were neither elliptical nor hemispherical, they were doubtless square openings between the supporting piers.

Digitized by Google

"We must now glance for a moment at the curious documents which set forth the provisions made for the maintenance of this bridge. One of these, 'exemplified', as Lambarde has it, out of an ancient monument of Christ's Church, Canterbury, bears the title *Memorandum de Ponte Roffensi;* the other is that of bishop Ernulphus, in both Saxon and Latin, a quotation or two from which will suffice for our present purpose:—

"'This is the bridgewoorke at Rochester. Here be named the landes, for the which men shall woorke. First the bishop of the cittie taketh on that end to woorke the land peere: and three yardes to planke: and three plates to laye: that is, from Borstall, and from Cuckstane, and from Frendsbyry, and Stoke. Then the second peere belongeth to Gyllingham, and to Chetham, and one yarde to planke and three plates to laye.' Nine piers with their contributory parishes are then described, the ninth, belonging to the archbishop, 'that is the land peere at the west ende: to Fleete: and to his cliffe: and to Higham: and to Denton: and to Mylton: and to Ludsdowne: and to Mepham: and to Snodland: and to Berling: and to Paddlesworth: and to all that valley men: and four yardes to planke: and three plates to laye.'

"Lambarde further tells us, that the duty of contributing to the construction and repairs of the bridge 'grew either by tenure, or by custom, or both, and it seemeth according to the quantity and proportion of land to be charged, the carriage was also more or less. For here is expresse mention, not of towns and manors only, but of yokes and acres also, which were contributory to the aide of carrying, patching, and laying of piles, planks, and other great timbers.

"Denne thinks it probable that 'the money for erecting this bridge was raised in the same manner by which it was kept in repair, viz. by a taxation on the adjacent manors, places, and bounds, according to their respective value; these manors, etc., being accustomed, from time immemorial, to elect two men from among themselves to be wardens and overseers of the repairs of the bridge' (*Hist. of Rochester*, p. 45). A reference to the archives and bridge muniments would probably show the latest period at which the lands and parishes enumerated in the records were called on to contribute their quota to this great public work. Now, and for a long time past, there has been certain property appropriated to this purpose, the increasing value of which has enabled the bridge wardens, not only to keep the present stone bridge in repair, but also to furnish the funds for the erection of a new iron one.

"The old bridge (according to Kilburne) had a tower of stone standing upon the same; but about the year 1264, both of them, bridge and tower, were, in the barons' wars, spoiled by fire, as king John, in the year 1215, had attempted to spoil the same.

"We will take these two dates in their proper order, and speak first of 1215, when king John besieged William d'Albini, by whom Rochester

Digitized by Google

castle was held for the insurgent barons, and took it after a desperate resistance which lasted for three months. The king, it is said, attempted to burn the bridge, but was prevented by Robert Fitz Walter, the general of the rebel forces, who, says Denne, 'put out the fire and saved it.' This, however, scarcely agrees with the recorded facts of history; and, indeed, the same author, in his account of Rochester castle, tells us that Fitz Walter, being sent to the relief of the castle by the barons, "found that the king had so secured himself by breaking down the bridges and fortifying the passes, that he could not interrupt his operations, or was afraid to attempt it; for, having marched as far as Dartford, with an army double the number of John's, he turned back, and left the castle (and of course the bridge also) to the mercy of the king (p. 45). Lambarde's testimony is much more concisely given, but to the same effect.

"We next come to 1264, when both bridge and town were, it appears, 'spoiled by fire'. It was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who committed this mischief: he, as Lambarde tells us, 'girded the citie about with a mightie siege, and setting on fire the wooden bridge, and a tower of timber that stood thereon, wonne the first gate or ward of the castle by assault, and spoiled the church and abbey.' We are informed by Denne that, on this occasion, the conflagration consumed only the wooden materials of the bridge; but as this comprehended the whole superstructure, we cannot quite understand why he should have used the term 'only'. The piers of earth and stone were, of course, inconsumable, both from the nature of their materials, and their position beneath the water. And here I may remark, as confirmatory of history, that many of the timbers found in the bed of the river appeared to be charred, as if they had been subjected to igneous action.

"The next historical record which we meet with is altogether omitted by Kilburne, and also by Lambarde. Denne gives it, without naming his authority: "In the year 1177, king Edward I commanded the sheriff of Kent to inquire into a complaint lodged against the master and brethren of Strood hospital, who had been distrained for the repair of the head of Rochester bridge next their own house. On inquiry it appeared that bishop Glanville, founder of the hospital, had built a stone quay at the head of the west end of the bridge, and some houses on the quay, with money which he had collected from various places for this purpose. The rents of these houses, and some others near them, he appointed for the repairs of the west end of the bridge, assigning them to the master and brethren of the hospital for that purpose. They had received the rents, and maintained the repairs, until the late siege of Rochester by the earl of Leicester, when several of the bishop's houses were burnt; after which the master and brethren of the hospital applied the remaining materials and stones of the quay to the repairs of their chapel. On these depositions, the master and brethren lost their cause.' (p. 46). Upon this I

Digitized by Google

would merely remark, that we have here the first mention made of lands or tenements wholly or especially assigned to the maintenance of the bridge.

"By Kilburne we are told (p. 229), that 'afterwards, in the year 1281, there hapning so great and so long a frost and snow, that people passed on foot over this river from Rochester to Strood, and that frost suddenly breaking, the remains of the aforesaid old bridge was borne down and carried away by the stream.'

"This makes up the two visitations of fire and flood, or, as Lambarde has it, 'of frost and flame', which sets that worthy old perambulator to thinking that it was 'meete to impart such antiquities as he had found concerning the bridge, lest, as they had already consumed the thing itself, so the canker of time might devour all memory thereof.' So he worthily employed himself in transcribing, for his book, the before mentioned records of the Saxon bishop, Ernulphus, and of the worthy and wise counsellor, Dr. Nicholas Wotton, of Canterbury.

"For a long while after this the bridge appears to have lain in ruins. Harris (*Hist. of Kent*) says that in the year 1293,—that is, twelve years after,—'the bridge was so much broken and out of repair, that people were obliged to go over in boats; and that the wharf at Rochester was so bad that all vessels used the wharf at Strood.'

"Kilburne's next item of intelligence is very succinctly given: "Afterwards another bridge was builded, which (10 Richard II), upon rumour of coming of the French, was beaten down.' The *History of Rochester*, however, furnishes us with a much more detailed account: 'This bridge,' it tells us, 'appears to have lain several years in this ruinous state; but king Edward III, meditating a war with France, was induced to make good this passage, which was so necessary for conveying his army to Dover. An inquisition, therefore, was taken, A.D. 1344, before John Vulstone, the king's escheator for the county of Kent, by the oaths of twelve men, about the repairs of Rochester bridge, who found that the expense was to be defrayed very nearly by the same contributing lands as hath been already related. In this inquiry, mention is made of a drawbridge and barbican, the work of which belonged to the king; they were both on the west side,—the barbican, probably, was a guard-house and watch-tower, where a guard was posted for the security of the city; and the drawbridge might be over the west arch of the bridge, to draw up on the approach of an enemy.' This right of leaving a passage through the bridge, up and down the river, seems to have remained with the crown or government of the country, for the admiralty board of the present day make it a condition in the erection of a new bridge, that there shall be a draw or swing bridge, which accordingly there will be at the west or Strood side, as was the drawbridge here mentioned. It was found also,' continues Denne, 'that the master and wardens of Strood hospital

Digitized by Google

were to repair the bridge and wharf, from the drawbridge to the west end of it. In consequence of this examination, it is presumed that bishop Glanville collected the money with which he built the wharf and houses. This contribution was principally levied on the inhabitants of Northfleet, Cliff, etc., to whom the west or north pier of the bridge belonged, on condition that the rents of the wharf and tenements should release them from any further taxation.

"In this inquisition mention is made of a small place, about thirty feet in length, adjoining to the wharf at the east end of the bridge, which seems to have been two small wings, one on each side of the entrance of the bridge, next the city, with wharfs to the north and south; the north side was to be repaired by Frendsbury, and the south by Rochester.

"Soon after this inquiry, it is probable that the bridge was put into so good repair as to admit of men and horses passing over; but after the taking of Calais, in the year 1347, the traffic on this road was so considerable, and the number of carriages and burdens so great, that the wooden bridge appears insufficient to support them with safety' (pp. 47, 48).

"Before quitting the history of this old bridge, I would just allude to the fortification, or tower of timber, built, as the records say, with 'marvellous skill'. Denne states that it was probably near the east end of the bridge, and used as a gate for the defence of the passage; it would consequently be defended by arrows and other missiles from the south-west angle of the castle wall. Mr. Essex, in the plan before alluded to, places it not far from the centre of the bridge, on the third pier from the Rochester side,—that is, if we call the first an abutment. It is considered probable that this bridge was not more than ten feet wide: it seems to have had a balustrade; but that this was not very high may be inferred from the fact that it was considered dangerous to pass over it on horseback. According to the *Textus Roffensis*, a rash young noble, named William de Elintune, son of viscount Allford, neglecting the usual precaution of dismounting to lead his horse across, was drowned, by the animal taking fright and leaping with him into the river.

"We have now to turn our attention to the present bridge; which Lambarde speaks of as 'that worke which is to the founder a noble monument, to this citie a beautiful ornament, and to the whole countie a most serviceable commoditie and easement.' (*Perambulations*, p. 353.) In what year the building of this bridge was commenced, we do not learn. Denne conjectures it might have been about 1387. By a statute made for its continual support and repair, it appears to have been completed in 1392. As now, it was originally 'a faire stone bridge', and at the early time of its erection must have been considered indeed a noble structure, second to none in the country, if we except those of London and Westminster. It is described in the *History of Rochester* as above five hundred and sixty feet long, and fourteen broad, with a stone parapet

Digitized by Google

on each side strongly coped and crowned with an iron balustrade. It is there also said to have eleven arches, as we see it in the print by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, entitled 'the north-west prospect of the city of Rochester', and bearing date 1738; where it presents, I suppose, the same appearance as it did when Denne wrote the first edition of his history (1772). When the iron balustrades were replaced by the present handsome stone ones I cannot say exactly; but have been informed by those who remember the alteration being made, that the conversion of the central opening, over which was a drawbridge, and the western adjoining arch into the larger arch, as now standing, was effected somewhere about forty years since, when the bridge was also otherwise much strengthened and improved.

"Sir Robert Knolles, a celebrated general of the time, was the founder of it, and is said to have borne a great part of the expense, building it, as Lambarde says, 'with the spoiles of towns, castles, churches, monasteries, and cities', which he had burnt and destroyed.

"Sir John de Cobham, who was associated with sir Robert Knolles in the erection of the bridge,[1] and in obtaining the statute for its maintenance, seems to have borne but a small part of the expense; he, however, built a chapel close upon the east end of it, on the spot now occupied by the bridge-chamber or record-room, in which the muniments of the bridge are deposited. This chapel, of which some remains may yet be traced in the present building, was called *All-solven*, or All Souls, and was designed principally for the use of travellers. No doubt many a foot-weary and sin-burdened pilgrim, journeying to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, has here rested, and joined in one or more of the three masses which, according to the will of the founder, were said every day; the first, between five and six in the morning; the second, between eight and nine; and the third, between eleven and twelve; that arrangement having been made with a view to their especial accommodation. At each of these masses a collect was recited for all the living and dead benefactors to the bridge and chapel, and particularly for those of the founders, sir Robert Knolles, sir John de Cobham, and their respective ladies. How long a time elapsed before this chapel fell into disuse, we have no direct information that I am acquainted with; but Thorpe tells us that 'In the nineteenth of Elizabeth, the queen's attorney-general sued the wardens of the bridge for the sum of £513, being the amount of £18 per annum (which used to be paid to the chaplains) for twenty-eight and a half years past, which sum was at that time presumed to be forfeited, and due to the queen by the act of 1 Edward VI, for dissolving chantries, etc. But it not appearing to the jury that any service had been performed there, nor stipend paid to any chaplain or chantry priest

[1] See Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*, p. 555.

Digitized by Google

for officiating there, for five years next before the passing of the act, a verdict was given for the wardens.'

"And who were these wardens? How was the body chosen and constituted which then, and for many centuries previous, did, and now do, manage the affairs of Rochester bridge?—having a charter of incorporation, and a common seal,[1] and being empowered to enforce certain levies and fines, and to plead in courts of law and the like? This is a question which must naturally arise, and it behoves me to answer it as well as my limited opportunities of acquiring the necessary information will allow. I have already alluded to the statement of Denne, who follows Lambarde and the records, that from time immemorial these places, manors, and bounds, which were chargeable with the repairs of the bridge, were accustomed to elect two men from among themselves to be wardens and overseers of these repairs; 'and in the statute granted at the request of sir Robert Knolles and sir John de Cobham, after the completion of the new bridge, it was set forth very precisely, how many feet and inches of the structure the several parishes, etc., were, according to the ancient statutes, liable for the repair of; it was also enacted, that the custom of choosing two persons annually on each of these divisions should be continued, such persons to be considered as representatives of the community thus charged with the work of reparation, and be styled wardens of the new bridge at Rochester; and to acquire and to hold, as such, property to the amount of £200 per annum, being accountable to certain auditors appointed by the community for their receipts, disbursements, etc.' A new statute, confirming the former acts, was made in the year 1422, and by this the wardens were empowered 'to purchase and receive lands, tenements, and rents of any person whatsoever, and to hold them for ever for the repairs of the new bridge.'

"Notwithstanding all this care and provision for its proper maintenance, it appears that the stone bridge, like its wooden predecessor, got sadly neglected; so that in 1445, the prior and convent of Rochester, out of pity for its dilapidated condition, contributed forty shillings for its repair; but this, it should be mentioned, was toll-money due from them to the wardens. In 1489, again, the Church stepped in to befriend the poor neglected bridge; for at that time, according to sir Robert Mainwood, chief baron of Exchequer, and himself a bridge-warden in 1588, 'John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, published a remission from purgatory for fifty dayes, for all manner of sins, to such persons as would give anything towards its repair.'

"Then, indeed, as may well be imagined, the bridge was strengthened and restored. The contributions thus raised were not only sufficient for

[1] The seals belonging to the wardens and commonalty of Rochester bridge are engraved in Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. ii, p. 124, folio edition.

Digitized by Google

the more necessary and substantial repairs of the bridge, but also for the adorning of the coping with 'iron bars neatly wrought'. This work, which was commenced by archbishop Warham, who succeeded to the see of Canterbury in 1504, was, however, left unfinished, and remained so until the time of Lambarde, who finished his *Perambulations* in 1570. He affirms that the revenue of the bridge was converted to private uses, and that the county was charged with a toll and a fifteenth to supply this public want; yet the bridge went out of repair, and was threatened with absolute destruction.

"Thus it was when queen Elizabeth made a tour into Kent, and during her tarriance of five days at Rochester, being informed by her principal secretary, sir William Cecil, of the ruinous state of the bridge, commissioned him and divers others, knights and gentlemen of the county, to examine the defects, and find means to remedy them. The result was the statute of the eighteenth of Elizabeth; which nine years after was followed by another, giving full power to the wardens and assistants to assess the lands liable for the repairs of the bridge, and to distrain in case of a refusal. This and the previous statute enacts, that on the morrow after each general quarter-sessions of the peace in this county, next after Easter, the wardens and commonalty of the contributory lands shall assemble at the castle of Rochester, and choose two persons to be wardens and twelve to be assistants, all of whom must belong to the commonalty, and be resident in the county. A warden elected and refusing to serve, forfeits £10; two householders, at least, from every parish within seven miles of the bridge, are to be chosen on the day of election, which, by a statute passed in the first year of queen Anne, was altered for greater convenience to the Friday next after Easter; the day for auditing the wardens' accounts being Thursday in Whitsun week. No material alteration has, I believe, taken place in these arrangements, and under the excellent management of the bridge-wardens the funds have greatly accumulated. Denne, writing in 1772, says: 'We may indulge a confident hope that the period may arrive, when the surplus of the means will be sufficient to enable them (the wardens) to erect a new bridge on a better plan than the present, and in the place where the old bridge originally stood, which is justly considered, both as to beauty and convenience, as a far more eligible situation.'

"That time has now arrived, and although it will be a source of regret to many that so noble a structure as the present bridge—associated, too, as it is, with individual recollections and local history—should be removed, yet must it be borne in mind that the change is necessary, and in accordance with the requirements of the times. That the new bridge will be more convenient, both as regards the navigation of the river and the land traffic, there cannot be a doubt, and in the present day we must be content to sacrifice picturesque beauty for practical utility."

Digitized by Google

The proceedings of the Congress for this evening terminated by the reading of a paper "On the Attack of the Dutch on the Defences of the Medway," by the rev. Beale Poste, M.A. (See pp. 295-307 *ante.*)

TUESDAY, JULY 26.

The Association attended the service at the Cathedral, at half-past ten, A.M., after which a meeting was held in the Chapter House, where the rev. Edward Hawkins, D.D., and the rev. John Griffith, D.D., the canons in residence, laid before the assembly their two most celebrated manuscripts, the *Textus Roffensis* and the *Custumale Roffense.*

Mr. W. H. BLACK then proceeded to an examination of these ancient treasures, and delivered a long and admirable discourse, particularly upon the former, which upwards of twenty years ago he had most minutely investigated. The interest excited by this discourse occasioned the expression of a very general desire on the part of those present that a more complete and satisfactory publication of the MS. should be made, than that which has been handed down to us by the celebrated antiquary, Hearne, who has omitted to print a very large and highly interesting portion of the work. This subject has since been under the consideration of the Council of the Association, and they have communicated with the dean and chapter of Rochester to ascertain their willingness to cooperate with the Association in putting forth, under the editorship of Mr. Black, the complete work, together with a translation of it, and the necessary fac-similes to its proper illustration. The manner in which it is proposed to accomplish this very important object will be as soon as possible communicated to the members and to the public; and it is to be hoped that the necessary means to carry it into effect may be speedily obtained. The MS., contrary to the general expectation of those present, was found to be in a most perfect state of preservation, not at all decayed, or rendered illegible by the accidents to which it had been subjected.—Upon the conclusion of Mr. Black's discourse, the president returned the thanks of the Association to the canons present, for their courteous reception and the exhibition of the MSS., and took occasion happily to allude to the advantages arising from archæological visits, in thus bringing forth treasures for examination and public information.

Mr. ASHPITEL, F.S.A., having arranged various drawings and diagrams illustrative of Rochester cathedral, proceeded to deliver a lecture on the same, the substance of which will be found at pp. 271-285 *ante.* Following this discourse, the cathedral was then minutely inspected, and its several peculiarities pointed out by Mr. Ashpitel and other architects present. A visit was then paid to various houses and places in Rochester, Chatham, and Strood, mentioned in Mr. Baily's paper, making examination in particular of Temple-farm, and St. Catherine and St. Bartholomew's hospitals.

Digitized by Google

The Association again dined together at the ordinary at the Crown, at six o'clock, and at eight proceeded to the Guildhall to continue the reading of papers.

Mr. T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., the treasurer, read a paper "On the Leper Houses of Kent and their Establishment in England," which will appear in a future number of the *Journal.*

This was followed by the reading of "Observations on Three Documents Relating to the Spanish Armada, the Defence of the Medway, etc.," communicated by Mr. Jerdan. (See "Original Documents," pp. 330-336 *ante.*)

Mr. Stephen Steele, of Strood, gave an account of the discovery of a Roman burial ground at Strood. He commenced thus:—

"As very little is known of the Roman occupation of that part of Kent where the city of Rochester is now situated, any discovery which might throw some light upon it, is doubtless acceptable to the friends of archæology: I have therefore thought it advisable to communicate to this meeting some discoveries made in Strood, which, as is well known, is in close contiguity to the present city of Rochester, being separated from the supposed site of the Roman castrum only by the Medway. Consequently it may be reasonably inferred, that whatever remains of the Romans here discovered, would bear some testimony to their settlement in Durabrivis.

"I find no mention made in any account of Rochester, of Roman remains being found there, beyond what were discovered in Bolly-hill about a century ago, from the levelling of a large mound on the south side of the ditch surrounding the castle. In this tumulus were discovered Roman urns, pateræ, lacrymatoriæ, etc., together with a few coins. Extensive sepulchral remains, however, were found about the same time in Chatham, on the Lines, consisting of skeletons of both sexes, swords, spear-heads, and many Roman coins, an account of which has been published by Douglas in his *Nenia Britannica.* So that anything in addition to these evidences may be supposed to have some value, and curiosity was naturally excited when, in 1838 and 1839, the discoveries in Strood were first made known. The site of this ancient cemetery is on the west side of the road to London, adjoining the marshes, near the path to the Temple-farm. Here excavations were made for removing gravel and making bricks, when the workmen found, about four feet from the surface, a number of skeletons, about forty or more, earthen vases, pateræ, rings for the fingers, bracelets, ligulæ, jet ornaments, glass beads, large iron nails, and a small key. Many of the vases and urns contained burnt human bones, others beads and personal ornaments.[1] The earthen vases were mostly of a coarse manufacture, of a dark brown or blackish

[1] Many of these antiquities have been figured by Mr. C. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, part 2.

Digitized by Google

colour, closely resembling the numerous fragments of pottery of apparently Romano-British manufacture, discovered in great abundance on the east shore of the Medway, between Chatham and Sheerness.

"The most remarkable feature of the discovery was the large number of Roman coins there found, extending from the time of Antonia to Gratianus, now in possession of Mr. H. Wickham of Strood, and myself. The coins of the earlier emperors do not appear to have been much defaced by wear prior to their deposition, scarcely more so than the latest coins of Gratian. The specimens most abundant were those of the era of the Antonines; next to them, those of the time of Constantine. Among them were found those usurpers of the imperial rule in Great Britain, Carausius and Allectus, as well as the Gaulish ruler, Tetricus; many of them were described in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1839. They were not found in one heap, but scattered among the pottery and skeletons; and when brought by the labourers, at various times, to Mr. Wickham and myself, they were generally in chronological series; those of the Constantine era at one time, the Antonines and Hadrian at another. The nature of the soil, penetrated by the salt water, appears to have damaged the coins more than the wear. The specimens of pottery, personal ornaments, and the absence of silver among nearly six hundred copper and bronze coins, would show them to have been the property of the lower classes of society.

"Since then, in the early part of this year, another Roman cemetery has been found in this parish, on the north-east side of the London road. While excavating for the foundation of some houses in Cage-lane, the workmen found a number of human skeletons buried in trenches running east and west, accompanied with numerous fragments of pottery, eight specimens of which were obtained entire, together with three Roman coins. At places, charcoal was found about one foot deep, and oyster shells at the bottom of the trenches; in one of which a Roman quern, of pudding-stone, in good preservation, was discovered. This ground has been but very little examined, as houses were built on it very rapidly, and it is only where pits were sunk about eight or ten feet deep, that these objects were to be seen.

"The inference to be drawn from these two cemeteries being found so near to the Roman station of Durobrivis, together with the coins deposited at different times during three hundred years, is, that the Roman station must have existed here during the whole of that time. From the fact of the cemeteries being found on both sides of the present London road, one might infer that the Roman road took nearly the same direction, towards Cobham and Singlewell."

[The further Proceedings of the Congress to be continued in the next number.]

Digitized by Google

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JANUARY 1854.

GENEALOGICAL AND HERALDIC NOTICES OF THE EARLS OF KENT,

POST CONQUEST.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE county of Kent, from its geographical position, has been from the earliest period one of the most important in England; and had it but included the metropolis, a suburb of which it all but touches, how few of the great events in the history of this kingdom, from the landing of Cæsar to the return of Charles II, would have occurred without its pale. The lives of several of its especial rulers, even before the Norman invasion, present materials for the investigation of the antiquary of the most interesting and important description. The ferocious Hengist, the pious Ethelbert, the gorgeous Godwin, arise before us in misty grandeur; but I must not be tempted to ramble amongst the romances of Nennius and Gildas, to question the existence of Rowena, or the treachery of her father; to dilate on the virtues of the first Christian king, or the fortunes of the last Saxon earl. It is with the lords of Kent, after the conquest, I have to do, and considering the quantity and nature of the evidence to be sifted and arranged, my notice must be as brief, as I fear it will be imperfect. The principal objects, however, on occasions like the present, are to distinguish the few facts which can be established from the mass of fable, speculation, and error, of which, what is called "the dust of ages" is commonly composed; to

Digitized by Google

draw the attention of local antiquaries to the points which require elucidation in the history of their county, and the blanks in it which remain to be filled up, and generally invoke the spirit of critical inquiry to combat the hydra of unauthorised assertion.

The catalogue of the earls of Kent, after the conquest, commences with

ODO, BISHOP OF BAYEUX, half brother of the conqueror, being the son of Herlewin, seigneur de Contaville, by Herletta his wife, "the skinner's daughter of Falaise", mistress of Robert, duke of Normandy, and mother of William the bastard. The figure of this famous member of the church militant, may be seen embroidered in the celebrated tapestry at Bayeux, in accordance with the description of him by the Anglo-Norman poet Wace, who tells us that at the battle of Hastings, the bishop was seated on a white horse, holding a bâton in his hand, the said bâton being figured in the tapestry as a formidable club, with which, the inscription tells us, he encouraged the young soldiers;[1] whether simply by pointing out, like a pious ecclesiastic, the way they should go, or by a more secular employment of the "argumentum baculinum", remains to be ascertained, and may very fairly be questioned, as notwithstanding the declaration of an ancient writer, who says, "he was no instigator to war nor could he be drawn thereto",[2] we have overwhelming evidence that he seldom lost an opportunity of making a quarter-staff of his pastoral one, from his first landing in England to his last leaving it, defeated and dishonoured by his nephew Rufus, whom he had ungratefully endeavoured to dethrone. Odo terminated a life of turbulence and treachery, cruelty and spoliation, in the month of February 1096, at Palermo, and was buried in the church of our Lady there. Ordericus Vitalis, to whom we are indebted for this information, tells us that this earl-bishop left an illegitimate son, named John, who was afterwards, by reason of his character and talent, of great esteem in the court of Henry I. Some trace of this gifted son of Odo, whom it is strange we should not have heard more of under such circumstances, is one of the desiderata

[1] "Hic Odo. Eps. baculum tenens confortat pueros."
[2] Gest. Will. Duc. Norm. p. 209 A.

Digitized by Google

to which I would direct the researches of the local antiquary. One word as to the supposed armorial bearings of Odo, and I have done, for the present, with him. The heralds have invented a coat for him, *gules*, a lion rampant; *argent*, debruised by a crosier staff, *or*;[1] I hope no satirical allusion to the crosier he walked off with from Durham, when having avenged the murder of its bishop, he thought himself privileged to plunder the cathedral.[2] On his seal, however, his lively effigies are depicted both as bishop and earl, but no armorial bearings, which must not surprise us, as such regular personal distinctions were not at that time in existence.

The second earl of Kent, under the dominion of the Normans, was

WILLIAM OF YPRES, the illegitimate son of Philip, count of Ypres, second son of Robert the Frison, count of Flanders. His mother is said, by some genealogists, to have been the daughter of William de Lo, or de Laon, viscount of Ypres; but Louis VI, king of France, in his letter to the princes and barons of Artois, calls her a mean person, who had been a carder of wool all her days,[3] and as William, earl of Kent, was himself often styled William de Lo, and viscount of Ypres,[4] being lord of Lo, Loo, or Loos, a place between Furnes and Dixmunde, belonging to his father,[5] who is also, by some writers, called "viscount of Ypres",[6] I suspect the aforesaid genealogists, who quote no satisfactory authority, have committed the error of making our earl of Kent his own grandfather. Such things have been done before now, to the great marvel and bewilderment of the historian. Ordericus Vitalis has also made a mistake in calling him "Robert, Morinorum marchionis filius". William was

[1] Brooke, Vincent, Guillim, and others.

[2] Simon of Durham flatly accuses him of carrying off, on that occasion, some of its most valuable ornaments, amongst the rest a crosier of sapphire.

[3] "Eo quod spurius sit, natus, silicet, ex nobili patre et *matre ignobila, quæ lanas carpere dum vivaret ipsa non cessaret.*"

[4] Guillelmi Iprensis seu Loensis. Bouquet, vol. xviii, p. 411. William de Loo, viscount of Ipres. Sandford, *Gen. Hist. Eng.*, p. 17. Guillaume, surnommé d'Ipres, à cause qu'il étoit viscomte. Père Anselme, tom. ii.

[5] "Ego Philippus filius Roberti marchionis cognomento Frisonis vicum quendam in Flandria possideo Lo." Charter dated A.D. 1093, Arch. Abbat. Loensis. Olivarius Vredius, Gen. Com. Fland. p. 146.

[6] Brooke, Vincent, sub tit. "Kent". These writers, as well as Dugdale, confound *Lo* in Flanders with *Laon*, a well known city in France.

Digitized by Google

the nephew, not the son, of that Robert, if we may believe the man himself, who, in 1118, writes "Ego Willelmus Deo miseratione Philippi comitis filius";[1] and in 1122, witnesses a charter as "William de Ypre, Philippi comitis filius";[2] Count Philip being, as I have said, the second, and Robert the eldest son of Robert the Frison, count of Flanders. William of Ypres having been baffled in an attempt to establish himself as count of Flanders, upon the murder of Charles the good, took refuge in England, and was of considerable assistance to Stephen in his struggle for the crown against the empress Matilda. For his great services at the famous battle of the Standard, he was created earl of Kent, A.D. 1141, and also made steward of the royal household. To his keeping, in the castle of Rochester, was intrusted that important captive, Robert, earl of Gloucester; and so great was his power in this county, that it was the only one which did not temporarily submit to the empress Matilda, after the battle of Lincoln. The historian Fitz-Stephen calls him "Violentus Cantii incubator"; but we must be cautious in adopting the opinions of the ancient chroniclers, whether favourable or unfavourable. We have just heard the pugnacious Odo spoken of as if he had been the president of an Anglo-Norman peace society; and although we can easily believe in the oppression of a successful foreign military adventurer in the 12th century, it is probable the Flemish knight did not exceed the Norman bishop in violence and rapacity. The monks, at least, have cause to speak well of him, for he founded the abbey of Boxley, in this county, in 1144, and that of St. Peter de Lo, in Flanders. On the accession of Henry II, William of Ypres was banished the realm with all his Flemings, and left it, we are told, "not without much grief and more tears". He returned to his native country, became blind, and died at his castle of Lo, or in the abbey which he had founded there, in 1161 or 1164, leaving by his wife, a niece of Clemence of Burgundy and of pope Calixtus I, (but whose name I have not been able discover[3]) a son, who in the charters of that

[1] Charter in the Archives of the Monastery of Lo. Oliv. Vred. Gen. Com. Fland. Probat. tab. 5, p. 147.

[2] Charter in the Archives of St. Bavon, Gand. Ibid., p. 148.

[3] Could it have been Saucie, daughter of Raimond comte d'Amous and

Digitized by Google

time, is called Robert de Lo;[1] he did not, therefore, die *sine prole*, as it is in some instances stated, though his son did not succeed to his English honours or estates, of which he appears to have been dispossessed by Henry II.[2] Milles says his son was murdered by "Theodoric of Flanders"; but Theodoric died 1168, and Robert de Lo was living in 1183. The arms of this second earl of Kent, are set down in heraldic catalogues as gyronny of eight or ten pieces, *or* and *azure*, an inescucheon *gules*, with a bâton sinister *argent*, as a mark of illegitimacy. This coat, like that of bishop Odo, is a later fabrication, founded upon a supposititious coat of the old counts of Flanders, the origin of which is a coin of the 13th century. The colours are altogether gratuitous; as had the coin been an authority, which it is not, no colours could have been indicated by it. Olivarius Vredius has engraved a seal of William of Ypres, and on it is the usual equestrian figure of the owner; but the shield he bears is without any device.[3] If the seal be an early one, made before his expedition to England, it is very probable that at that time he had not assumed an armorial bearing. The earliest Flemish coat I know, is that of Philip, count of Flanders, 1164. He displays the rampant lion borne by all his successors; and if William, who died either in that very year or three years before it, had, when earl of Kent, adopted some personal insignia, it has not been discovered. He passed from the scene of earthly pomp at the very period heraldry began to lend its gorgeous aid to it, and I have only to warn you of the absence of all authority, at present, for the arms of William of Ypres.

Uracea queen of Castile? Clemence had six brothers and four sisters, whose names are known; and the learned author of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* adds, "Entre autres"!—an alarming margin, which places discovery at the mercy of accident.

[1] "Roberti, Wilhelmi filio, de Lo." Charter of Philip count of Flanders, 1183. Archives of St. Nicholas Furnes. Olivarius Vredius sub "Roberto Loensis" Gen. Com. Fland. p. 148.

[2] William de Ypres is said to have had a sister who was his heir, by name Matilda, and that she married one Normanus Fitz Dering, sheriff of Kent in king Stephen's reign, from an heiress of whose family is descended the present sir Edward Dering, bart., one of the representatives of the eastern division of the county, and whose name graces our list of vice-presidents at this congress. Vide Hasted's *Kent*, vol. iii, p. 228; and Betham's *Baronetage:* and Gilbert, a contemporary historian, in his *Life of Charles the Good*, says William had a brother named Thibaut Sorel, with whom he was imprisoned by Guillaume Cliton in the dungeon of Bruges, September 8th, 1127.

[3] Gen. Com. Fland., p. 21.

Digitized by Google

The title of earl of Kent was now for the second time extinct, and remained so for nearly half a century, when Henry III, on the 11th of February 1227, bestowed it on the famous

HUBERT DE BURGH, who had previously been chamberlain to king John, seneschal of Poitiers, and chief justice of England. The life of this great earl, even briefly told by Dugdale, reads like a grand romance of the middle ages, and it is with difficulty I abstain from the recital of his extraordinary career; but my business is with the lineage and armorial bearings of the earls, and not with their biography, farther than is requisite to the illustration of my subject.

The pedigree of Hubert de Burgh is, as far as I have yet been able to examine it, exceedingly defective and uncertain. Dugdale, upon the authority of Glover, Somerset herald, states that Hubert's father was the brother of William Fitz Adhelme, steward to king Henry II, who is the presumed progenitor of the two branches of De Burghs, one of which terminated in a female heir, Elizabeth, who married Lionel duke of Clarence, while the other is still supposed to exist in the family of the present marquis of Clanricarde. To begin, then, I find in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, that the person here described calls himself, not Fitz *Adhelme*, but Fitz *Aldelin;* and not steward, but marshal to the king. His return is headed, "Carta Willelmi de Aldelin", and it commences thus: "De terra quam dominus rex dedit *Willelmo filio Aldelini, marescallo suo*, cum Juliana filia Roberti d'Oisnelli".[1] The only persons named in it beside are "Baldwinus Wischard" and "Johannes Gernun", and no clue is given to his connexion with De Burgh.[2] By some genealogists I find the De Burghs traced up to Herlewin de Contaville, the father of bishop Odo. His elder son we know to have been Robert, earl of Mortaigne and Cornwall, and father of William, second earl of Cornwall after the conquest,

[1] Hearne, vol. i, p. 73, "Suthamtescire".

[2] In a confirmation charter quoted by Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. ii, he does however call himself Dapifer: Willielmus filius Aldelinus Domini regis Dapifer omnibus, &c. . . . . donationem quam Juliana filia Roberti d'Oisnelli uxor mea eis fecit de villa parva Mapeltrestede, &c." This charter is witnessed by his son "Radulpho filio meo", and Radulpho filio Aldelini, probably a brother: but no mention of a de Burgh.

Digitized by Google

who is made by these writers father of Adhelm or Aldelin and John, the latter of whom they pronounce to have been father of Hubert, earl of Kent. For this descent I have as yet found no authority, and the evidence I have found I am unable to reconcile with it. William, second earl of Cornwall, died a monk in the abbey of Bermondsey, and Dugdale says he was buried there, but that he could find no mention of the time when he died, nor of either wife or issue that he had.[1] I have therefore no fact to start with previous to the appearance of Hubert himself upon the scene in the reign of Richard I, but I have said that he was created earl of Kent in 1227; and if he were in any way descended from William, earl of Mortayne and Cornwall, it is probable that circumstance decided the particular dignity he was advanced to, for we are told that William, not content with his two earldoms, demanded from king Henry I the earldom of Kent as his right, "giving out privately that he would not put on his robe until that inheritance which he challenged by descent from his uncle Odo should be restored to him"; a claim which the king first evaded and then refused,[2] but which the third Henry might have taken into consideration in favour of a direct or collateral descendant in the person of Hubert de Burgh. Blomefield, however, in his *History of Norfolk*, calls Hubert de Burgh "a Norfolk-born man", and, in a note to page 29 of vol. ii, observes:—"Whatever others may say, Mr. Le Neve proves that this great man was born at Burgh, in Flegg, being son of Reyner de Burgh, who married Joan, daughter and heir of John Ponchard, lord of N., Tudenham in Norfolk, brother to Geoffrey de Burgh, archdeacon of Norfolk and bishop of Ely."

He should have said daughter and co-heir, as John Ponchard had three daughters, according to the pedigree he gives in vol. v, the eldest, Maud, having married Sir Richard de Belhous, and the youngest, Alice, Robert de Nerford. I think there is a great deal more probability in this descent than the other. Sir Reynor de Burgh was son of Sir William de Burgh, and conveyed lands in Norfolk to John and Robert, sons of Ernest de Burgh, in the

[1] Baronage, vol. i, p. 25.

[2] William of Malmsbury.

Digitized by Google

reign of Richard I. Hubert de Burgh was Lord of Newton, in Norfolk, and confirmed the gift of his ancestor, William de Bosseville, of the church of Newton, to the Priory of East-Acre. (*Vide Blomefield*, vol. iii, p. 363.) A Hubert de Burgh is named in the return of Hugh de Curcell, temp. Henry II. "Hubertus de Burgo tenet Rameli and Croft Molendina quæ fuerunt Willelmi de Romarumper". *Liber Niger*, vol. i., p. 102. "Sumersetschire". There was also a Philip de Burgh living at that time, who held one knight's fee in Suffolk of the honour of Clare. Hubert, earl of Kent, must have had a brother, as he was accused of instigating Raymond de Burgh, his nephew, to attempt the seduction of Ela, countess of Salisbury, wife of the celebrated William Longespée. (Matt. Paris.) We have also Serlo de Burgh, and his brother John de Burgh, surnamed "*monoculus*" or "one eyed", the latter of whom was father of Eustace Fitzjohn, progenitor of the De Vescis and Lacies, earls of Lincoln; also a line of De Burghs descended maternally from Adam Fitzsweyne; but how they were related to Hubert, earl of Kent, is by no means satisfactorily proven. (Dugd., *Baron.* vol. i, p. 90., MS. Coll. Arm., Philpot, B. P., 29, p. 217, &c.) Great confusion and contradiction exist also respecting the marriages of Hubert, who had four, if not five, wives. Brooke accords him only three. Margaret, daughter of sir Robert de Arsick; Isabel, daughter, and one of the heirs, of William, earl of Gloucester, the repudiated wife of king John; and Margaret, daughter of William, king of Scotland. Vincent, correcting Brooke, with his usual asperity, calls this "mad work", and proceeds to show that he married, in the beginning of king John's reign, "Johanna, the youngest of the earl of Devon's daughters, widow to William, lord Briewer of Torbay, with whom he had in marriage the whole of the Isle of Wight, and Christchurch in Hampshire". Again, he continues, "I find that he had another wife before this match with Scotland," and quotes a charter of the 11th of Henry III, to prove that he had married, and had issue by Beatrix, daughter of William Warren of Wirmgay, and widow of Dodo Bardolf; so that Margaret of Scotland might be *fifth*, but could not be *third* wife. Dugdale ignores, altogether, Margaret de

Digitized by Google

Arsick, and follows Vincent with regard to the rest. Now there is contemporary and official authority for the four last matches, and though I find no record of the first with Margaret de Arsick, Brooke may have had authority for the statement, and Vincent does not contradict him on that point, which he would not have lost the chance of doing if possible;[1] but when they talk of Johanna, daughter of the earl of Devon, being the widow of William de Briewer, I can only say that Dugdale himself, in his *Monasticon*, states that Johanna de Briewer, whoever she was, did not become a widow till 1232.[2] It is, therefore, impossible she could have been the wife of Hubert de Burgh, who was at that time married to his last wife, Margaret of Scotland. The dates of his several marriages are worth more consideration than has hitherto been bestowed upon them. Supposing Hubert first to have married Margaret de Arsick; she must have died before the 1st of John, 1199, as we then find him married to Johanna, daughter of the earl of Devon.

> "Hub^t Camar̄ dat dn̄o R. LX m̄ ꝑ h'ade c' firm̄ d'ci R. de c' ventoē q̃ int ipm̄ ⁊ com̄ de De . . . de Maritanda s^l Joh'a fil ipi' com̄."
>
> Rot. Fin. 1 John.

Johanna must have died *circa* 1210, as that is the date of the death of Dodo or Doune Bardolph,[3] whose widow, Beatrix, in 1212,[4] was the next wife of Hubert.[5] Beatrix could not have lived five years afterwards, for in 1216 Hubert was the husband of Isabella of Gloucester;[6] and she appears to have died in an equally short space of time after her marriage with him, as he espoused Margaret of Scotland at York, 5th of Henry III, 1221-2,[7] who survived him,

[1] Indeed, in his pedigree of de Burgh, marked Vincent B 2, Miscell. Coll. Arm., he sets her down as "Uxor prima", though without giving any authority.

[2] Bankes has pointed out this contradiction.

[3] Rot. Pip. 11 John. [4] Rot. Pip. 13 John.

[5] "For thus I reade that the king granted Huberto de Burgo Comiti Kanc. Justic. Angliæ pro 684 libris et dimid. marca de fine quam Beatricea de Warenn quondam uxor ipsius Huberti, de qua pueros procreavit fecit eam domino Johanne Rege patre nostro prohabendis terris quæ fuerunt Willelmi de Warenn patris ipsius Beatricis. . . . et pro habendo rationabili dote sua de tenementis quæ fuerunt Dodonis Bardolfe quondam viri sui." Chart. II. H. III, p. 2, m. 6, apud Vincent. p. 280.

[6] In the first year of the reign of Henry III he had livery of the manor of Walden in Essex, as part of the dowry of Isabella, countess of Gloucester, then his wife. Close Roll, 1 H. III.

[7] Mat. Paris, 313. "Rex suscepit in saluum conductam Margaretam uxorem Huberti de Burgo sororem regis Scotiæ et Magotam filiam suam, &c." Rot. Pat. 17 H. III.

Digitized by Google

and is the first countess of Kent of whom we have any record.[1]

Hubert died at his manor of Bansted in Surrey, A.D. 1243, and was buried in the church of the Black Friars in Holborn, behind Lincoln's Inn,[2] leaving two sons, John and Hubert, and two daughters,—Margaret, married to Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, and Magota, all, according to Dugdale, by the princess of Scotland. That he had *male* issue by Beatrix de Warren is, however, positively stated in the charter of the 11th of H. III, before mentioned, the words being "de qua *pueros procreavit;*"[3] and Bankes remarks that, had John or Hubert been the sons of Margaret of Scotland, their issue would have been nearer to the crown of that kingdom, than any of the competitors who preferred their claim thereto, temp. Edward I.; but he seems to have overlooked the fact, that Hubert was especially charged, amongst other offences, with having "traitorously corrupted" and begotten children on Margaret before marriage, consequently, if their sons, they were illegitimate. I am, however, induced to believe that both John and Hubert were the children of a former wife, as John was knighted by Henry III as early as 1229.[4] I also think it probable that Margaret and Magota were one and the same person; for it was on Margaret that her father settled Portslade,[5] and we find it *restored* to *Magota* by Henry III, in 1234,[6] on the reconciliation of the king to Hubert. She must have died issueless, as her nephew John de Burgh died seized of Portslade, in the 8th of Edward I, when it passed to Devorgile, his daughter, wife of Robert Fitzwalter.

Next, as to the armorial bearings of Hubert earl of Kent. The shields upon his seals generally correspond with those set down for him in the rolls of arms of the reign of Henry III, lozengy or masculy, *vair* and *gules*:[7] but in the British

[1] "Margareta comitissa Kanc. qui fuit uxor ipsius H." Rot. Tin. 23 H. III.

[2] Mat. Paris.

[3] Vide note 6, p. 369.

[4] Mat. Paris. Bloomfield (*History of Norfolk*, vol. v, p. 1506) calls John de Burgh the son-in-law (stepson ?) of Margaret, on the authority of a charter in which Margaret releases all her right on the third part of the manor of Burgh and other lands; and says (vol. iii, p. 538) he was the son of Margaret de Arsick.

[5] Carta II, H. III, apud Dugdale.

[6] Close Roll, 18 H. III, apud Vincent.

[7] "Le comte de Kent, masculée de verre et de goules." Roll of Arms, temp. H. III. Edited by Sir H. Nicholas. Not *gules*, 7 lozenges *vair*, as in modern heraldic catalogues.

Digitized by Google

Museum, I was fortunate enough to light on a charter of Hubert's, to which is appended a seal of white wax, impressed with a shield charged with three leopards or lions, passant *in pale*, similar to those in the royal atchievement. In this charter, which is a deed of gift of his house in Southwark to one Alan de Wicton, Hubert only calls himself the king's chamberlain;[1] and I therefore presume that it was executed previous to his being created earl of Kent, consequently before 1227. The question therefore arises, did he originally bear three lions, (a difference of course in colour or metal, distinguishing his arms from those of his sovereign[2]) or did he, as chamberlain, seal a private deed with the royal signet. In the body of the document, he distinctly calls it my seal, "sigilli mei", and although instances occur of parties sealing instruments with the arms of other persons, I know of none in which the royal arms have been appropriated by a subject.

That Hubert de Burgh might have changed his arms, or assumed others, on being made earl of Kent, is not improbable. We have no means of ascertaining what those of his father were. Heraldry, as I have already observed, was only just appearing in England in the twelfth century, and Hubert may have been the first of his family that bore arms; and the coat lozengy which appears always to have been used by him as earl of Kent, might have special reference to the county.[3] In the meanwhile, two facts are before us. 1. That Hubert de Burgh did use a seal with three lions or leopards[4] as well as the one

[1] "Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit H. de Burgo Domini Regis Camerarius salutem. Dilectionem vestram latere nolo Alanum de Wicton mihi domum suam de Sudwerk optulisse sed quia eam ex dono suo nolo retinere concedo et volo ut ex dono prædicto permotionem suam faciat ut eam vendat vel retineat. Et ut hoc indubitanter habeatur sigilli mei appositione presens scriptum roboravi." Indorsed: "Litera Huberti, de Domo de Sudewerc. Lond." Campbell Charters, xxiii, 3.

[2] As in the cases of Giffard of Brimsfield, Camvile, and others.

[3] The mode of entry in the rolls of arms gives some colour to this supposition, as they are not called the arms of De Burgh, but of "Le comte de Kent." Vide ante, note.

[4] The seal which is here engraved is in any case of the highest interest. If

Digitized by Google

with lozenges; and that these two coats of arms are the first that can be relied upon as connected with an earl of Kent. On the death of Hubert the earldom became again extinct, for his sons were not allowed to succeed to his honours, though they did to some portion of his estates,[1] and the better part of a century elapsed before its revival. On the 28th of July, 1321, king Edward II created his half-brother,

EDMOND PLANTAGENET, surnamed of Woodstock, earl of Kent, "per cincturam gladii".[2] He married Margaret, daughter of John, and sister and heir of Thomas, lord Wake of Liddell, and was beheaded at Winchester on the vigil of St. Cuthbert, A.D. 1329. The arms of Edmond, earl of Kent, are well known. England, a border *argent*.

EDMUND PLANTAGENET the second, eldest son and heir, was restored to the honours forfeited by his father, A.D. 1331, but died unmarried only two years afterwards, leaving his brother JOHN PLANTAGENET to succeed him. John married Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of Juliers, and died without issue in 1351. Both these earls of Kent bore the arms of their father. We now come to a highly interesting personage.

JOAN PLANTAGENET, the sister of the last two earls, and only daughter of Edmund of Woodstock and Margaret lady Wake. This celebrated beauty, commonly called "the fair maid of Kent", was contracted to William de Montacute, earl of Salisbury; but sir Thomas Holland, who was steward of the earl's household, petitioned pope Clement VI to annul the contract, on the ground that she had been previously contracted to him, and eventually obtained judgment in his favour.[3] Sir Thomas died in

it be only an official one, it presents us with the lions in profile, and not full faced or *guardant*, as in the second seal of Richard I and ever since to this day; and which change of attitude, as I have shown elsewhere, occasioned the heraldic term of *leopards* to be applied to them. It is therefore in such case the *only* instance yet discovered of the *three* lions of England so represented.

[1] John, the elder, married Hawise de Lanvallei, by whom he had a son, also named John, who died 8 E. I, leaving three daughters: Hawise, wife of Robert de Greilly; Devorgilda, wife of Robert Fitzwalter; and Margery, a nun at Chicksand. Hubert, the second son, became ancestor to the lords Burgh or Borough of Gainsborough, the last of whom, Thomas, left three daughters his heirs: Elizabeth, married to George, younger son of William, lord Cobham; and Frances and Ann. Dugdale, *Baron.*, p. 289.

[2] Sandford, *General Hist. Eng.*, p. 213.

[3] Dugdale, *Baron.*, vol. ii, p. 74. Sandford, *Gen. Hist. Eng.*, p. 215.

Digitized by Google

1360, and in the following year she married Edward the Black Prince, being then between thirty and forty, but still possessing great personal attractions. The earl of Salisbury is called by Sandford, in his *Genealogical History of England*, her *second husband*, from whom, he says, she was divorced by consent. By this he must mean that the pre-contract with sir Thomas Holland was a marriage by the civil law, and not a mere promise or private agreement, and Dugdale expresses himself to the same effect.[1] Now it has occurred to me, that if the contract with the earl of Salisbury (which, taking advantage of the absence of sir Thomas from England, we are told he renewed notwithstanding the petition to the pope) was for the time being in like manner considered a marriage, might not the well known tradition of the origin of the order of the Garter have reference to this lovely lady? The late sir N. Harris Nicolas, whose opinions on all antiquarian subjects are most deserving attention, and whose researches respecting the order of the Garter have thrown the greatest light yet shed upon that still mysterious symbol, considered the tradition to have some foundation in fact. "This anecdote", he remarks, "is perfectly in character with the manners and feelings of the time, and the circumstance is very likely to have occurred. With a few variations as to the name of the lady, some writers stating her to have been the queen, others the countess of Salisbury, and others the countess of Kent, and with the addition that she was Edward's mistress, the anecdote is certainly as old as the reign of Henry VII."[2] Sir Harris does not attempt to identify the lady; but let me call your attention to the fact that she is said by some to have been the countess of Salisbury, and by "others the countess of Kent." Now Joan Plantagenet would have been at the period of the foundation of the order about twenty, in the first bloom of her beauty, married according to the civil law of the land to William earl of Salisbury, and therefore till that contract was annulled virtually countess of Salisbury, the admiration of the whole court, the gallant monarch and his chivalric son included; yet from her equivocal position with sir Thomas Holland very likely to be the subject of scan-

[1] Indeed Sir Thomas pleaded cohabitation.
[2] Archæologia, vol. xxxi, p. 131.

Digitized by Google

dal, which the motto of the garter was expressly calculated to check; and four or five years later she was undoubted countess of Kent, so that a true story might be circulated respecting her under both her titles, which in the course of time would appear to apply to two distinct persons.[1] Indeed, at the period of the foundation of the order, which sir H. Nicolas has proved could not have existed before 1347, and is first mentioned in 1348,[2] there was no other countess of Salisbury who could have been the heroine of the story. Katharine de Grandison, the widow of the preceding earl, died in 1349, at what is politely termed "a certain age" at the least, and her son, the husband as he is distinctly called of Joan Plantagenet, did not take to himself another countess in the person of Elizabeth de Mohun till 1361. The exact date of "the divorce by consent", which finally restored the disputed wife to the arms of sir Thomas Holland, is not ascertained; but it must have been in or just previous to 1352, for in that year sir Thomas obtained a grant of 100 marks per annum out of the farm of the city of Exeter, for the better support of Joan his wife.[3] During the three previous years, therefore, the only person who could have been called the countess of Salisbury was Joan Plantagenet. I trust I shall be pardoned for having travelled, perhaps, a little out of the record on so very interesting a point as the still disputed origin of the noblest order in Christendom, particularly as I hope to connect it with one of the fairest maids of Kent. To return to

Sir Thomas Holland. In the 34th year of Edward III, A.D. 1360, he was summoned to parliament as earl of Kent, in right of his wife, "for it does not appear", says Dugdale, "that he was ever created to it", and died on the 28th of December in the same year, leaving by Joan Plantagenet two sons, Thomas and John. The arms of the Holland family were *azure* semé of fleurs-de-lys, a lion rampant guardant *argent*, and his countess Joan bore them impaled with her own, England, a border *argent*, as before.

From this period, a mere catalogue of the succeeding earls is all that is necessary to complete the paper. I will not, therefore, trouble you by reading a dry list of undis-

[1] It might with equal accuracy have been told of the princess of Wales after she had become so; or of the queen, had Edward lived to mount the throne.

[2] Archæologia, vol. xxxi, p. 129.

[3] Rot. Pat., 26 Ed. III.

Digitized by Google

uted names and dates which may be found in any genealogical peerage, or by blazoning coats of arms duly registered and easily referred to. Suffice to say the earldom of Kent continued in the male line of Holland to the death of Edmund, grandson of sir Thomas and Joan Plantagenet, without issue, September 15th 1407; became a fourth time extinct; was revived by Edward IV in the first year of his reign 1462, in the person of William de Neville, who died within the year of his creation, and again by the same monarch in 1465, in that of Edmund Grey, earl of Rutland and Hastings, descended from Constance Holland, duchess of Norfolk and widow of John lord Grey of Ruthin. In this noble family it came down to the commencement of the last century, when Henry Grey was made marquis of Kent, 14th of December 1706, and duke of Kent 28th of April 1710. He died in 1740 without male issue, and on the 23rd of April 1799 the dukedom was bestowed on H.R.H. prince Edward, fourth son of king George III, and father of her most gracious majesty, whom God long preserve!

In conclusion, let me briefly recall to you the facts I have endeavoured to establish, the errors I have attempted to correct, and the points upon which information is still most desirable. There are no authenticated arms of an earl of Kent earlier than those of Hubert de Burgh, and he sealed on one occasion with three lions. William de Ypres was himself William de Lo, and therefore not likely to be the offspring of his own daughter. His son Robert de Lo survived him, and therefore he did not die *sine prole*. Joan Plantagenet appears to have been countess of Salisbury as well as countess of Kent, and thereby the probability of the popular tradition connected with those titles is considerably increased. On the other hand, John the son of Odo has to be traced, the name of the wife of William of Ypres to be discovered, the pedigree of Hubert de Burgh altogether made out anew, his marriage with Margaret de Arsick established, and the confusion between the two Johannas de Vernon cleared up. These circumstances may all appear very trivial; the facts mere grains of wheat in bushels of chaff; but rest assured it is from such grains alone that history can grow, without becoming a wilderness of idle weeds, instead of yielding to posterity a golden harvest of useful as well as entertaining knowledge.

Digitized by Google

ON ROMNEY MARSH.

BY W. HOLLOWAY, ESQ.

When persons unacquainted with the immediate locality speak of Romney Marsh, they include in their idea of it all that vast alluvial district which, extending from the foot of Fairlight Cliff, in Sussex, to Hythe, in Kent, has, for its southern boundary the English channel for a distance of nearly thirty miles, while the Kentish Hills, circling around it, form a bow, the greatest depth of which, at Appledore, is about six miles from the sea. Near to this last place is the Isle of Oxney, whence the Marsh runs back, in a westerly direction, full fifteen miles, to Robertsbridge, and a little beyond; while, again, it runs back for the same distance, from Rye to the neighbourhood of Battle. All these various portions, which constitute Romney Marsh, under its general denomination, contain a superficies of more than sixty thousand acres; whereas Romney Marsh proper is confined to the eastern portion of the district, and contains rather more than twenty-four thousand acres. But, when we have to speak of Romney Marsh, and to describe the origin of it, to antiquaries, it seems absolutely necessary that we should extend our inquiries over the whole surface of this alluvial deposit.

Tracing the origin of Romney Marsh up the stream of time, I must request my hearers to voyage back as far as nineteen hundred years ago, when the Romans first landed in Britain, at which period they will find that this district was one vast expanse of water, an inlet of the sea, or, as some old author has termed it, "Pelagus et mare velivolum," a sea, over whose surface ships might sail, and beneath which fishes might gambol. But, though this locality was then a barren waste of water, still the scenery around it must have been very picturesque; the Kentish Hills, though not very lofty, were steep and abrupt; while those in Sussex descended with a gentle declivity to the water's edge, having their sides clothed with that primeval forest, which, commencing in the vicinity of Hythe, extended into Sussex, and passed through the whole length of this

Digitized by Google

latter county, even into Hampshire, and which was then known by the general appellation of the Forest of Anderida, many remains of which are still visible in those large tracts of wood-land, called the Wealds of Kent and Sussex. In the midst of the watery waste appeared here and there an island: beginning at the west might be seen the hill on which the modern Winchelsea stands; then the rock, forming the foundation of the town of Rye; to the south-east of these two towns, appeared a low island (now immersed in the sea) on which stood afterwards the ancient or original town of Winchelsea; in Kent lay the largest island, which was Oxney, containing the modern parishes of Wiltersham, Stone, and Ebony; and last, though not least in after-celebrity, the isle on which Romney was built, together with that of Dymchurch, the easternmost of all.

That the Romans established themselves in this immediate vicinity there is abundant evidence. In the Isle of Oxney was dug up, many years ago, an ancient square altar, having an ox in relief on each side; it had a bason or hollow on the top, retaining a blackness, as if burned by fire, indicative of sacrifices having been made on it. These figures would seem to imply that this island, even at that early period, was famed for its oxen, whence the Saxons afterwards gave it the name of Oxney, or Oxen-Isle, now, by a little tautology, not very uncommon, designated the Isle of Oxney.

By discoveries, made within these few years at Dymchurch, it is evident that the Romans resided on that spot; while the Castle of Limen, the remembrance of which is still preserved in the modern name of the parish of Lympne, or Lym, formed one of those fortresses, which Gildas informs us, the Romans erected, "In littore oceani ad meridiem," to protect the coast against the inroads of the piratical Saxons. And lastly, the very name of Romney marks it as a spot which was located by the Romans; the Saxon title of Rumen-ea may fairly be considered to mean Roman Island, a claim further corroborated by Holinshed, who calls it "Insula Romanorum"; and, to remove all doubt upon this point, Dugdale, in his work *On Embankments*, says:—"The famous Tacitus tells us that the Romans, as the Britons complained, wore out and consumed their bodies and hands, 'In sylvis et paludibus

Digitized by Google

emuniendis,' that is, in clearing woods and embanking fens." Having thus identified the Romans with Romney, it is from this last spot that we must take our departure, as being that which formed the nucleus, around which all the future alluvial deposits may be said to have been gradually collected.

Embankment taking place, simultaneously with the recession of the sea, the isle of the Romans gradually increased in extent; so that, by the end of the eighth century, it contained a portion, at all events, of the three modern parishes of Hope, Old Romney, and New Romney; while tradition tells us, that it was in the former of these the first church was erected in Romney Marsh. Tradition, passing through many ages, brings down to us much that is fabulous; much that is untrue; but, among the fabulous and untrue, I fancy we may always find some that is real, some that is true; as, in the midst of a great heap of chaff, by carefully sifting it, we may generally discover some few perfect grains of corn. Tradition then, I repeat, tells us the church of Hope was the first that was erected in Romney Marsh, and certainly its present ruins speak of a great antiquity, while the name of Hope was given to it as expressive of the desires of its founders, that the sea might no more encroach on the lands they had so lately rescued from its jaws; and they dedicated it to all the Saints (christening it Hope All Saints), in full reliance on their mediatorial intercession procuring for them the protection they required. Orgerswick was saved also in this century.

In the ninth century Burmarsh arose above the waters, while the tenth witnessed the substitution of West Hythe for Lymen, the latter having now ceased to be a port. By the end of the eleventh century, Eastbridge, Newchurch, Brenset, Blackmanstone, and St. Mary's, were added to the parishes already saved from the inundation of the water. The twelfth century saw the birth of Ivychurch and Snave, while before the close of the next, Snargate completed the list of parishes now to be found within the boundaries of Romney Marsh proper; but ere we can quite fill up the outlines of this picture, we must speak somewhat of the river which originally flowed through these parts.

At Rotherfield, in Sussex, is the source of a river, which,

Digitized by Google

at the earliest period of which we have been speaking, was called the Limene, then the Rumenea, and lastly the Rother, by which it is now known. It flowed by Echingham to Robertsbridge, where it disembogued into what was then an estuary, but now an expanse of rich marsh lands, called the Upper Levels; thence it passed by Bodiam and Newenden to the Isle of Oxney, when, running on the north side of this island, it pursued its course to Appledore, and hence, in an easterly direction, under the Kentish Hills, until the mouth met the English channel under Lymne Hill, where it assumed the name of the Limene Mouth (the port of the district), defended by the Castle of Limene. To understand the course of this river, we may fairly conclude that although at each influx of the tide the waters covered the whole surface of the locality, still, on its reflux, a considerable portion might be denuded, consisting of a loose, slimy deposit, through which this river wound its irriguous way. But as the sea receded at the eastern extremity of the marsh, leaving a deep residuum in the river's bed, it, in the course of some centuries, became so much choked up as to be unable to convey all the fresh waters, which came from the uplands, into the sea, and consequently, so early as the end of the eighth, that river had made for itself a new channel, which conveyed its waters from Appledore to Romney; that is, the stream here divided, the larger portion flowing by this last-mentioned channel, and a smaller part by the old channel. Without pretending to state the precise period at which the Limene ceased to flow at all out at West Hythe, we may conclude this change had taken place by the close of the eleventh century, at which period New Hythe had superseded West Hythe as a port, at the distance of more than a mile to the eastward of the former.

Having thus, after the long lapse of thirteen hundred years, seen the whole of Romney Marsh embanked from the sea, we are now in a position to trace out its boundaries, and to exhibit its contents to our readers. The shape of this marsh is triangular; the south-western side was bounded by the river, which now assumed the name of the Rumenea, running from Appledore to Romney. The south-eastern had for its boundary the English channel, from this latter town to Hythe; and the north-eastern

Digitized by Google

had the Kentish Hills, extending from Hythe to Appledore. Its superficial contents are 24,049 acres, and it contains fifteen parishes, with a population of more than three thousand souls.

When the first statutes and ordinances were framed for the government of Romney Marsh it is not in my power to say, but that they were of great antiquity is clear, from their having been called "Antiquas et approbatas consuetudines" so far back as the year 1251, at which time it was under the management of twenty-four jurats, who had been chosen for the conservation of the marsh and sea banks of Rumenale. It was in the year 1258 that Henry III issued his precept to Henry de Bathe (a famous justice itinerant), Nicholas de Hanlon, and Alured de Dene, who sat at Rumenale (Romney); and at the request of the council of the commonalty of the said marsh, made and constituted those celebrated ordinances which have ever since remained the laws by which this marsh has been governed, and which have been the ground-work of those which govern all the other marshes in the kingdom. The governing body under these statutes is composed of twenty-four lords (as they are termed), not elected, but who are the owners for the time being of certain manors in the marsh or adjoining district, and who act personally or by deputy. I should have said that twenty-three lords are the possessors of manors, and the twenty-fourth is the bailiff, who, with the jurats, has one joint vote together.

Edward I. granted a commission, bearing date November 20, 1297, to John de Lovetot and Henry de Apuldrefeld, to view the banks and ditches on the sea coast, and parts adjacent within the county of Kent. They confirmed the ordinances of Henry de Bathe, and, besides this, added some few further regulations, and ordered that the marshes on the western side of the Rumenea should be governed by the same laws as those on the eastern; and this brings us to the consideration of the state of this part of the marsh, of which hitherto we have not spoken.

I have already said that the Limene, nearly at the latter part of the eighth century, had begun to pour the great bulk of its waters into the sea at Romney, having formed for itself a channel from Appledore to that town; while the following document will throw further light on

Digitized by Google

the then state of this part of the district:—"In nomine Jesu Salvatoris Mundi, etc., Ego, Offa, rex totius Angliorum patriæ, dabo et concedo Janibert Archip. ad Ecclesiam Christi, partem terrae, trium aratorum quod Cantianitè dicitur: 'Three Sulinges', in occidentali parte regionis, quæ dicitur Mersware, ubi nominatur ad Lyden, et hujus terræ sunt hæc territoria, mare in oriente, in aquilone, et ab austro terra regis Edwy, nominant Dengemere, usque ad lapidem appositum in ultimo terræ, et in occidente et aquilone confinia regni ad Bleechinge."

Lydd had now made its appearance, as also had Midley, to which we may add now, or in the following century, Broomhill, formerly called Promhill, and all of these were islands. Promhill, I venture to think, is a corruption of Prom-isle, as there is no eminence within the marsh of sufficient height to constitute it a hill; whether this latter was part and parcel of the island on which old Winchelsea stood may be a question, seeing that it was subject to the jurisdiction of old Winchelsea, which was situated at a short distance to the south-west of it, and that it is to this day in the jurisdiction of modern Winchelsea.

By the end of the thirteenth century a great deal of land had been embanked in the Upper Levels, that is between Oxney and Robertsbridge; likewise in Walland Marsh, on the west side of the Rumenea; in the Brede Level, between Rye and Battle, and in many other parts. But towards the close of this century, and at the commencement of the next, many great changes were effected by means of violent storms and tempests; the first of which took place in 1236, which affected more particularly Romney, Winchelsea, and Appledore; a second occurred in 1250, which destroyed at old Winchelsea three hundred houses, together with some churches. In 1287, a third storm raged in these parts, breaking down the walls, and drowning the lands, so that from the great wall at Appledore, as far as Winchelsea, towards the south and west, all the lands lay under water—lost. By this last inundation, old Winchelsea was utterly destroyed, and Promhill was also overwhelmed, but was once more left by the sea, though shorn of its former glory, having before been a flourishing town, while now nothing remains to mark its former importance but a heap of ruins, where once stood a

Digitized by Google

church. In 1334, a fourth tempest arose, which, by its impetuosity, drove in such a vast quantity of beach at the mouth of the Rumenea as occasioned the main portion of the waters of this river to seek a new channel further to the westward, at the distance of about three miles from the present mouth of Rye Harbour. So completely was the old bed choked up by the year 1338 that Edward III made a grant of it at that time to the archbishop of Canterbury, the prior, and convent of Christ Church, and to Margaret de Basings. This bed still remains, and is now the property of the corporation of Romney, to which body it was granted by queen Elizabeth. When the river thus changed its course a second time it again changed its name, and from that time to this has been called the Rother.

Having thus traced this river to its last destination, it seems a fitting opportunity to give a little account of all the others that flow through the Marshes. These are three, besides the Rother, of which latter we have already spoken at pretty full length. Down a little sequestered valley, lying between Newenden and Rolvenden, flows the Exden, whose clear waters are enlivened in the summer by the flowers of the white and yellow water lilies; at a short distance beyond the high land on which Newenden stands, the Exden joins the Rother, when their united streams pass, not as originally they did on the north side of Oxney, but through a fresh channel cut in the south side about two hundred years ago; hence they run by the east side of the rock on which the town of Rye stands, on to the English channel. Not far from Battle rises the Brede river, whose course lies down the plain, which is bounded on the south by the parishes of Icklesham, Westfield, and Winchelsea; and, on the north, by those of Seddlescomb, Brede, and Udimore, until it reaches the south-west angle of the Rye Cliffs, where it is joined by a smaller stream, called the Tillingham, which rises a few miles to the north-west of Rye: these two join the Rother at a short distance to the south-east, and hence these four commingled rivers constitute the modern harbour of Rye.

Reverting once more to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we shall find that the parishes of Fairfield and Brookland had been added to those before-mentioned, both

Digitized by Google

being in the county of Kent, though on the west side of the old bed of the Rumenea, and one parish alone now remains to complete the list, which is Guildford. The Guildfords were a family of note at an early period in this neighbourhood, one having resided at Rolvenden so early as the reign of Edward III, and Henry VII made a grant to sir Richard Guildford of lands in 1486 situate in this vicinity, while sir John Guildford inclosed a great deal at the commencement of the sixteenth century; and, in consequence of this, I presume, he erected the church about A.D. 1532, giving his name both to that and to the parish, which is called East Guildford, in contradistinction to Guildford in Surry. Guildford is the easternmost parish in the county of Sussex.

About the same period that a church was erected on the east side of the Rother, a castle was erected on the west. For some years previous to this, the sea had been casting up a bank of beach and sand, which, commencing at the western foot of Fairlight cliff, had now extended itself to a distance of four or five miles, and on the eastern extremity of this bank Henry VIII had a castle built, about the year 1539, to defend the harbours of Rye and Winchelsea; the sea, at that time, flowing round this point of land, ran back to the westward as far as Winchelsea, exhibiting a considerable expanse of water, constituting the united harbour of these two ports. But the ocean, which in ancient times had held sway over all this vast tract, was doomed to retire, and hence we find that, ere another century had elapsed, Winchelsea ceased to have a haven.

It only now remains to speak of the several divisions into which the Marsh is separated, and of the peculiar government of each. On the west side of the bed of the Rumenea lies Walland Marsh, extending from Appledore almost to Lydd, where it is met by Denge Marsh, which cuts it off from the sea; on the western side of these two marshes, between them and the Rother, lies a narrow slip of marshes, which were inclosed in the year 1838, through the medium of an act of parliament obtained for this purpose by the commissioners of Rye harbour, when that great work, commenced by the Romans, carried on by the Saxons, and after them by the Normans, was finally com-

Digitized by Google

pleted in our day after the lapse of nineteen hundred years. At the back of Appledore lies Shirley Moor; that large tract of marshes, reaching from Oxney to Robertsbridge, is called the Upper Levels. Passing westward, we have the Brede Level, Pet Level, the castle land, and the Tillingham Level.

Although the ordinances of Henry de Bathe constitute the groundwork of all marsh-law throughout the realm, still these laws are administered by differently constituted authorities. And though the charter granted by Henry III was continually confirmed by succeeding sovereigns down to the time of Edward IV, who granted another charter giving further liberties to the inhabitants of the Marsh to induce people to settle therein, still throughout all this intervening period between A.D. 1258 and A.D. 1461, commissions were continually issued to various persons (generally men of note in the vicinity) to inspect and report on the state of the banks, the drainage, and other matters affecting the well-being of the marshes; but after the granting of this last charter, I do not find that any commissions were issued. All the charters were confirmed by the different sovereigns down to James I, when I have seen no further confirmation since, and therefore we may conclude that the government has continued from that time pretty similar to what it is at the present moment, and which is this:—In Denge Marsh, formerly, the possession of land in it of the annual value of 40 marks, but now of £150 per annum, constitutes a commissioner. The qualification of a commissioner in Walland Marsh, is the possession of £100 per annum in land. In Guildford Level, every owner of land, however small, is a commissioner. One hundred a year in land qualifies a man as a commissioner in the Upper Levels.

I will now conclude these remarks with a slight retrospective glance at the long journey we have taken together. This vast alluvial tract which two thousand years ago was "pelagus et mare velivolum", now contains more than sixty thousand acres of fruitful land, on some of which are waving heavy crops of corn, while thousands and tens of thousands of sheep, with numerous herds of cattle, are feeding and fattening on its rich pastures. And this locality which, so lately as the latter part of the sixteenth

Digitized by Google

century, a writer asserted, was "bad in winter, noisome in summer, and good at no time", possesses at this time a population of more than twelve thousand souls, inhabiting four towns and twenty villages, and who, owing to the improved drainage of the Marshes, enjoy as good a share of health, and as long an average of life, as any of the inhabitants of the upland districts. And hence we may see further how great is the beneficence of Nature, if man will but aid her with his own industry and perseverance.

Digitized by Google

Proceedings of the Congress.

TUESDAY, JULY 26.

(*Continued from page* 360.)

Mr. Monckton, town clerk of Maidstone, delivered the following paper "On Gavelkind":—

"It is a point quite undisputed, that the partible descent of lands, amongst the males, prevailed with the ancient Britons, and their successors the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans; and that until the Conquest, the right of primogeniture, or the preference of the eldest male, did not prevail in this country. From the time of the Conquest the feudal law gradually supplanted the old common law of the land, and in the reign of king John, the presumption of law became, that all socage lands (except lands in Kent) descended, on the death of the father, to the eldest son.

"As to the etymology and several significations of the word 'Gavelkind,' antiquaries have differed much in opinion. Whether Lambard's *gife eal cyn*, or give all kind (*kynd* in Dutch signifying a male child), or sir Henry Spelman's *gavel cyn* or *kynd*, which he translates into *tributum soboli pueris*, or Mr. Taylor's *Gafael gecynde*, or Mr. Somner's *Gafol gecynde* be correct, it does not behove us to decide, and we will, therefore, leave those who are desirous of weighing the opinions of those learned authors to adopt that which will best suit their own tastes, or to discard them all, and indulge in the privilege of some modern antiquaries, and create a derivation of their own.

"How it came to pass, that notwithstanding the general alteration of the course of descents throughout the country, the inhabitants of Kent, disregarding the example set them, still adhered to the old common law by retaining the partible descent, has been a matter of curious discussion amongst our old writers.

"Somner, who wrote his *Treatise of Gavelkind* in 1660, repeats the ancient tradition of the means by which the men of Kent retained their customs, as follows:—'When the Norman conqueror had the day he took his journey towards Dover castle, that he might with the same subdue Kent also; wherefore Stigand, archbishop, and Egelsin, abbot, as the chief of that shire, observing that now whereas heretofore no villeins had

Digitized by Google

been in England, they should be now all in bondage to the Normans, they assembled all the county, and shewed the imminent dangers—the insolence of the Normans—and the hard condition of villenage. They resolving all rather to die than lose their freedom, purpose to encounter with the duke for their country's liberties. Their captains are the archbishop and the abbot. Upon an appointed day, they meet all at Swanscomb, and harbouring themselves in the woods, with boughs in every man's hand, they incompasse his way. The next day the duke coming by Swanscomb seemed to see, with amazement as it were, a wood approaching towards him; the Kentish men at the sound of a trumpet take themselves to arms, when presently the archbishop and abbot were sent to the duke, and saluted him with these words: Behold, sir duke, the Kentish men come to meet you, willing to receive you as their liege lord, upon that condition, that they may for ever enjoy their ancient liberties and laws used amongst their ancestors, otherwise presently offering war; being ready rather to die than undergo a yoke of bondage and lose their ancient laws.—The Norman, in this narrow pinch, not so willingly as wisely, granted the desire; and hostages given on both sides, the Kentish men direct the Normans to Rochester, and deliver them the county and the castle of Dover;' and Somner repeats this on the authority of Thomas Sprot, St. Augustine's chronicler at Canterbury, living in the reign of Edward I, but only to repudiate the tradition, which he takes great pains to do, and thus concludes: 'Thus far then in refutation of Sprot's story in gross, or in the general; a mere monkish figment, I conceive, politically devised, and with a design to bring a perpetual obligation on the Kentish men to his own abbey, as owing (forsooth) the continuance of their ancient liberties partly to a quondam abbot of the place; even much such another as that of the devil's attempt upon St. Pancras chapel to overturn it (whereof in the *Antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 61) smelling too much of the legend, and invented, doubtless, for the greater glory of the abbey.'

"Mr. Robinson, who wrote on Gavelkind in 1741, says: 'It is much more easy to lay down negatively what was not the cause than affirmatively what is; it being plain that the continuance of this custom in Kent stands not in need of a confirmation from the Conqueror, since it was in his time the common law of the kingdom; but it is more difficult to assign the true cause. Mr. Somner finds it easier to refute the fabulous story of the Kentish men's composition for their privileges with the Conqueror by means of the surprise of the moving wood of Swanscombe, than to give another account in lieu of that which he has destroyed; confessing that his answer must be but conjectural, neither historians nor records giving light into this matter.'

"Somner, however, ventures upon the following supposition. 'The Kentish men, more careful in those days to maintain their issue for the

Digitized by Google

present than their houses for the future, were more tenacious, tender, and retentive of the present custom, and more careful to continue it, than generally those of most other shires were; not because, as some give the reason, the younger be as good gentlemen as the elder brethren, but because it was land, which by the nature of it appertained, not to the gentry, but to the yeomanry, whose name or house they cared not much to uphold by keeping the inheritance to the elder brother.' And this account agrees well with the genius and temper of the people who, as Mr. Lambarde observes, 'in this their estate please themselves and joy exceedingly; insomuch as a man may find sundry yeomen (although otherwise for wealth comparable with many of the gentle sort) that will not for all that change their condition, nor desire to be apparelled with the title of gentry.' Lamb. *Peram.* 9.

"Lambarde maintains, on the authority of Sprot, that 'we only of all England obtained for ever our accustomed privileges by the defence we made to the arms of William the Conqueror, and the terms we thereby obtained from him, on our submission.'

"Robinson thus writes. 'There remains another privilege formerly claimed by the men of Kent, redounding so much to the honour of the county, that I cannot pass it over in silence; it is that of being placed in the vanguard of the king's army.' Camden in his *Britannia*, p. 186, ed. 1695, and John of Salisbury, in his *Polycraticon*, book 6, c. 18, confirm this tradition. Drayton in his *Polyalbion* (canto 18), following up the old tradition, writes thus:

"'Of all the English shires, be thou surnamed the free;
And foremost ever placed, when they shall reckoned be.'

"Whatever may have been the origin of the peculiar custom of Gavelkind as applied to the lands of Kent, no one has attempted to dispute its great antiquity, nor the full exercise of the rights and privileges conferred by it to the present day. It will, however, be proper to remark that there are lands out of the county of Kent where the custom of Gavelkind, as to *the descent*, prevails, but having other distinctions from the common law of Kent, which will hereafter be noticed.

"By the custumal of Kent, allowed, as it is said, by the justices in Eire, in the 21st year of Edward I, the following are some of the usages and customs in which the commonalty of Kent claimeth to have in the tenements of Gavelkind, and in the men of Gavelkind.

"Section 3. That all the bodies of Kentish men be free, as well as the other free bodies of England.[1]

[1] "Mr. Sandys, in his *Consuetudines Kanciæ*, writes thus: 'Whilst the great body of the English people was reduced to a state of slavery by our Norman conquerors, the Kentish men enjoyed the full blessings of liberty. Every Kentish man was free. Liberty was the noble inheritance which he had derived from his Saxon ancestors, and of which not even Norman tyranny was able to deprive him. The air of Kent is too pure for a slave to breathe.'"

Digitized by Google

"Section 5. That they may their lands and their tenements give and sell, without licence asked of their lords; saving unto the lords the rents and services due out of the same tenements.

"Section 7. That if any tenant in Gavelkind be attainted of felony, for which he suffereth execution of death, the king shall have all his goods, and his heir forthwith after his death shall be inheritable to all the lands and tenements which he held in Gavelkind in fee and in inheritance; and he shall hold them by the same services and customs as his ancestors held them; whereupon it is said in Kentish

"'The father to the bough
And the son to the plough.'[1]

"The 8th section endows the wife with one-half of all the lands and tenements which her husband held of Gavelkind nature, in fee.

Section 10. That if any tenant in Gavelkind die, and be an inheritor of lands and tenements in Gavelkind, all his sons shall part that inheritance in equal portions. And if there be no heir male, let the partition be made between the females, even as between brothers.[2]

"Section 13 committed the custody of heirs under the age of fifteen to the next of blood; and provided for the delivery of the lands to the heir at his age of fifteen.

"Section 14. And this is to be understood, that from such time as those heirs in Gavelkind, be of, or have passed the age of fifteen years, it is lawful for them, their lands or tenements, to give and sell at their pleasure.

"The 15th section provides for the endowment of the wife, of one-half of the husband's lands, to be enjoyed by her during her widowhood and chastity.

"The 16th vests a moiety of the wife's lands, on her death, in her surviving husband, so long as he remains a widower; whether they had issue or not.

"The 22nd section ends the custumal thus: These be the usages of Gavelkind, and of Gavelkind men in Kent, which were before the Conquest, and at the Conquest, and ever since till now.

"Thus do we obtain, on the testimony of a document sanctioned and adopted by the judges of England upwards of five centuries ago, the customary law of Kent, carrying the tradition thereof to a period anterior

[1] "This custom holds only in case of felony, and extends not to treason."

[2] "The partibility of Gavelkind lands is not restrained to the right line only, but in default of lineal heirs, when one brother dies without issue, all the brothers shall inherit; and in default of brothers their respective issue shall inherit, the nephews succeeding with their uncle *in stirpes* and not *in capita*. And if all the brothers be dead, their respective issue shall inherit, each family taking the share which its deceased parent would have taken. In this way, the only daughter, or all the daughters of a deceased brother who had died without male issue, would inherit with their uncles or cousins."

Digitized by Google

to the Conqnest. Blackstone, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, says: 'The allowance of the Kentish customs by the justices itinerant, in their Eyre, shows, that those usages and customs had all the necessary qualifications of a legal custom, such as antiquity, uninterrupted continuance, peaceable enjoyment, reasonableness, certainty, compulsory obligation, and consistency.'

"The distinction between the law of England and the common law of Kent may be thus shortly stated:—

"By the law of Kent the descent of lands on the decease of a person intestate, is to all the sons, or heirs male, equally.

"By the law of England, to the eldest son or male heir.

"By the law of Kent, an infant Gavelkind heir may alienate his land at the age of 15; by the law of England not under the age of 21.

"By the law of Kent, the widow is entitled to half her husband's lands for her dower, for life, if she so long continues a widow, and chaste; by the law of England her right extends to one-third only of the husband's lands, for life, without liability to forfeiture by marriage, or incontinence.

"By the law of Kent, a surviving husband claims as his curtesy one moiety only of his deceased wife's lands, for life, if he so long continues unmarried, whether there had been issue or not; by the law of England, the husband is entitled to the whole of his deceased wife's lands for his life; but to establish this right there must have been issue of the marriage, born alive.

"By the law of Kent, the owner of Gavelkind lands might always have devised them by will.

"By the common law of England, lands were not devisable, until the 32nd year of the reign of Henry VIII.

"Under the 14th section of the "custumal" nice distinctions are raised as to whether the right of alienation at the age of 15 is limited to lands of inheritance acquired by descent, or extends to lands acquired by purchase, and for what consideration, and by what form of conveyance, upon all which questions reference may be made to Robinson, 249; Sandys, 165, 181.

"It has been noticed that there are lands, not in the county of Kent, subject to the law of Gavelkind; but this applies to the custom of descent only, each varying from the other in respect of its other customs.

"There is this further and very important distinction between lands in Kent and Gavelkind lands in other counties; that all lands in Kent are presumed to be of Gavelkind tenure, and the courts of law take judicial notice of this custom, without further mention of it in pleading, than that the lands lie in Kent, and are of the nature of Gavelkind; but as regards land in other countries, the courts will not take notice of the

Digitized by Google

custom unless it is specially pleaded, and it will be incumbent upon the party to prove a customary partition in the place.

"Although it is asserted that all lands in Kent are of Gavelkind tenure, yet it must be subject to the following qualification:—Certain private statutes were passed in the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth and James I, by which many estates in Kent were disgavelled, and made subject to the common law of England. These statutes extended to lands belonging to upwards of 60 persons; but their operation is greatly limited by the difficulty of identifying the lands intended to be comprised in them, and the statutes affected the customary descent only, and not the other qualities or customs appertaining to Gavelkind lands in Kent.

"In the observations made relative to the descent of Gavelkind lands, it must be borne in mind, that it is in the absence of a settlement or testamentary document that the partition of lands prevails, and that the right to make a will is in no wise infringed by the custom which conferred a testamentary right.

"Several attempts have been made to alter, by legislative enactment, the law of Kent, and to make the lands subject to the common law of England. Happily, hitherto, all such attempts have failed, and it is to be hoped that there is yet remaining a stream of that Saxon blood which aroused our ancestors at Swanscombe, pure enough, and strong enough, to repel by peaceful means the introduction of a feudal descent of lands in Kent, which those same ancestors had not only the courage but the wisdom to reject."

The day's proceedings were brought to a close by the reading of the following paper "On the Historical Associations connected with the Reculver," written by Captain Curling and Mr. George Wright:—

"The position which Reculver held in former years, when Britain was but newly under the rule of the Romans, must at once have proved to those enterprising soldiers the importance not only of entrenching themselves upon its gently rising ground, which probably the Britons had already done in their more rude and simple manner, but also of fortifying it in a more secure and scientific way whenever they might gain the opportunity; for situated on the banks of an estuary at the mouth of the Thames, which reached in those days across the country eastward, as far as Richborough and Deal, where it again fell into the sea, covering the spot where Sandwich now stands with a bay, and navigable the whole way for the vessels of that period; an able commander like the eagle-eyed Cæsar, would at a glance discover the capabilities of the place, and use his best endeavour to increase, in every military way, its natural advantages.[1] In the *Notitia Imperii*, the first mention of

[1] "This estuary was the Portus Rutupinus of the Romans, with Richborough at the southern side guarding the entrance to the haven, the Rutupiæ of old;

Digitized by Google

Reculver occurs. It is there called Regulbium, which was probably, and according to Batteley, the name given by the Romans to express the British designation as nearly as possible, for he maintains the word originally to have been composed of two words, viz: *Rhag* and *Gwylfa*, which joined together signifies the 'first watch tower,' and from the situation and assumed history of the place, we may well permit the etymology to pass by without controversy, although there are other antiquaries who give different derivations, and with, perhaps, equal zeal and ingenuity. The quotation from the *Notitia* merely informs us that the tribune of the first cohort of the Vetasii or Betasii, a people of Belgic Gaul, now known as Brabant in Belgium, was stationed there. 'Tribunus cohortis primæ Vetasiorum Regulbio.'

"This cohort was under the command of an officer called the Count of the Saxon shore, 'Comes littoris Saxonici,' and with the station of Regulbuin, he also held sway over several maritime posts in the southern parts of Kent and Sussex. The title of this officer seems to indicate that his duty was more especially to defend that portion of the coast of Kent exposed to the constant and vigorous onslaughts of a people who were ultimately to produce in Britain a civilization of a higher kind, both as respects national and social improvement, than was ever attained by Greece and Rome. The Saxons had for nearly two hundred years been attacking Britain, and would most likely, long before the expiration of so long a period, have been successful in occupying at least, some portion of the country, had it not been for the Roman legions stationed in this island.

"It was at Ebbs-fleet, or in the Saxon Chronicle 'Ypwines fleot,' near to Richborough, where Hengist and his brother Horsa arrived with three cyules or vessels, as exiles, or as some think, by accident, when they and their followers were retained as subsidiary soldiers by the British against their then most annoying and warlike enemies, the Picts and Scots. They were promised food and clothing for their services, and for a time stationed in Thanet, the ancient British name of which was Ruithina, and soon afterwards helped their new friends with great success against the Irish and Picts.[1] Batteley says that Ebbs-fleet was near the estuary of the Wantsum, which divides Thanet from the main land of Kent, and once navigable for ships of large burthen. In Bede's time it was three stadia broad, and fordable only in two places. It is sometimes called the river Genlad, and is now at Sarr and Reculver a

and Reculver at the northern side, to defend the opening into the Thames. In Saxon days this arm of the sea, which then constituted Thanet an island, was called the Wantsum, said to arise from the waters in those times beginning to decline, as we know they afterwards did, and therefore a punning allusion to the fact, which is common enough in the names manufactured for places from an early period."

[1] "See Sharon Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i.

Digitized by Google

brook, which may be stepped over; Ebbs-fleet is an inland spot at some distance from the sea.[1] Reculver was thus intimately connected with the first appearance of those two races, the Roman and the Saxon, which exercised so great an influence over this country.

"In addition to the military station at the then Regulbium, there had grown up a populous Roman town, for in the fall of the cliff and the various displacements of the earth that have taken place from time to time, have been discovered the remains of the foundations of buildings, cisterns and vaults, together with many fragments of urns, utensils of silver and brass, pottery, coins, sewing needles, pins, bodkins, tweezers, images and fibulæ; and although many of these remains may be taken to have belonged to the more modern town which succeeded to the earlier one, there are sufficient evidences in the objects above enumerated, to class them at once amongst the works and manufactures of the Roman people.[2]

"The most interesting fact connected with Reculver, is that which identifies it with the appearance of the monk Augustin, and the introduction of the Christian religion; for here it was that Ethelbert, the fourth successor of Hengist (who established his Saxons, or more properly Jutes, in Kent, seven years after his visit to Ebbs-fleet previously referred to, by a great battle in the year 457, at Crayford,) retired, when giving up his residence at Canterbury to this pious priest, after his interview in the open air at Thanet, with him and his forty followers.[3] As Ethelbert himself became a convert to the Christian religion shortly afterwards, it is not at all improbable that Augustin used many of his arguments to that prince, whilst he dwelt at Reculver in comparative quietude, away from the duties and excitement of his capital. In the year 616, Ethelbert died, and according to the opinion of some chroniclers, was buried in the monastic establishment instituted at Reculver probably under the superintendence of Augustin himself. There are various accounts of the original building of this monastery, and doubts as to the founders of it; but it is certainly not unreasonable to suppose that Ethelbert, who is acknowledged to have done so

[1] "Dart, in his *History of Canterbury* (folio, ed. 1726), seems to intimate that Reculver was once called Genlads, for he says, speaking of the monastery, 'At the death of Theodore a vacancy of two years occurred, when Brichtwald (called by others, says Weever allusively, Bright-world), an Englishman, abbot of Reculver, then called Genlads, and said, but falsely, to have been first a monk of Glastonbury, was elected and consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by one Godwin, metropolitan of France, in the year 694.'"

[2] "The best record of the remains discovered at Reculver is to be found in Battely's *Antiquitates Rutupinæ;* Harris's *History of Kent;* and Smith's *Richborough, Reculver, etc.*"

[3] "Here, within the area of the Roman walls, Ethelbert built himself a palace, said to have been upon the site of a castle erected by Severus, and possibly not far from the spot where stand the towers of the present day."

Digitized by Google

much for Augustin and the new religion, should have instigated or aided him in the desire to devote a place to the worship of the living God, upon a spot where for years had probably stood a temple erected by the Romans to some one or more of their divinities.

"On the supposed tomb of Ethelbert, Weever[1] makes the following observations:—

"'At the upper end of the south-aisle in this church, I saw a monument of an antique forme, mounted with two spires. Wherein (as the inhabitants have it by tradition) the body of one Ethelbert, a Saxon king, who had his pallace royall here in Reculver, lieth entombed, and the Annals of Canterbury affirme as much: And true it is that Ethelbert the first, and first Christian king, built here a princely mansion for himself and his successours; wherein divers of the Kentish kings sometimes kept their courtly residence. But whether he be this Ethelbert, or the Second, or Ethelbert surnamed Preu, that lieth here interred, it is not much materiall, for they both dyed without any memorable act, either of themselves, or their kingdomes affaires: and so dyed Cuthred and Baldred, their next successours, and the last kings of Kent.'

"The successor of Ethelbert was his son Eadbald, and as he restored Paganism in Kent, he doubtless drove out the ecclesiastics from the monastery at Reculver, and once more perverted it from Christian worship. His example was followed in the kingdom of Essex by the three sons of Sabert, who was the son of Ethelbert's sister, and had encouraged Augustin, as his uncle had done. However, Laurence, the successor of Augustin, by a simple contrivance so worked upon the fears of Eadbald, that the exiled bishops were recalled, and the old Saxon rites were for ever abolished in Kent and Essex. Thus the monks at Reculver once more pursued the even tenour of their way, and practised fastings, and sung masses for the repose of the soul of their pious founder. Then it was that the palmy days of Saxon rule were seen at Reculver.

"It is probable that about this time the Saxons called the place we have been describing Raculf-cester, on account of the castle or palace of the king; and Raculf-minster, from the monastery afterwards erected by Augustin. Mention is made of the monastery in a manuscript cartulary of the archbishop of Canterbury in the Bodleian library, and of a grant of lands to it at Westanea and Sturidge, in the year 679, about eighty years after the foundation of the same. Eadbert ascended the throne of Wihtred in 725. He reigned for nearly thirty-five years in Kent; his laws remain to us, according to Sharon Turner; and in 747 he gave to the monastery the tolls arising from one ship in the town of Fordwich, even now an important place on the banks of the Stour, and called in

[1] "Ancient Funeral Monuments, p. 260."

Digitized by Google

Domesday the little borough of Fordwich. To these benefactions succeeding kings added, and in 784 the name of Eadmund occurs as enriching it with a grant of land. Thus Raculf-minster grew in power and riches; and there is little doubt but the fame of the place, not only as a royal residence, spread about the kingdom of Kent, but as the burial place and shrine of Ethelbert it was visited by the pilgrims of distant lands. War, however, soon fell upon their peaceful pursuits; for Egbert, king of the West Saxons, after conquering the other divisions of the Heptarchy, or rather Octarchy,[1] dispatched his son Ethelwulf, with Ealstan, the warlike bishop and able statesman, with a complete army into Kent, and driving out the petty sovereign then ruling there, made all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms subordinate to his own, and according to a popular belief, though not to be supported by evidence, became king of England. The inhabitants of Reculver must have suffered in these warlike proceedings, as doubtless did the castle and monastery, by the incursions of the piratical Danes, who about the year 832, under their celebrated king, Ragnar Lodbrog, ravaged the isle of Sheppey, and in the next year defeated Egbert himself, according to the Saxon chronicle, at Charmouth in Dorsetshire. It was some years after these stirring times, when perhaps from the representations of the monks themselves, who were exposed to so much danger in their sea-built cloisters, and had frequently suffered from the visitations of such ruthless and savage foes, that king Edred, in the presence of archbishop Odo and a train of nobility, granted the annexation of Reculver and its possessions to the monastery of Christchurch, and thither the monks with their abbot are supposed to have retired in the year 949.

"From these circumstances, the termination of the regal residence and the removal of the religious establishment, Reculver seems gradually to have lost most of its importance. The cloisters of the convent fell to ruin, the consequence of the town declined, the Roman and Saxon buildings began to decay, and the squalor of poorer dwellings in time superseded the noble and magnificent character of the neighbourhood, and Raculf-cester and minster lost their grandeur. In *Domesday* the manor is mentioned as appertaining to the archbishopric of Canterbury, but little else is known of it except that it continued a church of some note, and under the government of a dean, until about the fourteenth century.

"During the eleventh century the waters of the estuary seem to have declined, and consequently the thoroughfare from the channel to the Thames was thus begun to be destroyed; this may serve to account in some degree for the loss of the importance of the once renowned Reculver. The alteration of this course for the vessels of the period must have been attended with much inconvenience to our ancestors, for even in our day

[1] "See Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i, p. 309."

Digitized by Google

the navigation of the Forelands in stormy weather is a matter of great anxiety and difficulty. This strait, of which Regulbium guarded the northern entrance, as did Rutupium or Richborough the southern, is often mentioned in old writers; and Twine the antiquary, speaking of it, observes that when he was mayor of Canterbury in 1553, he had often conversed with people who had seen vessels pass through the strait in their youth. The sea, receding from the estuary at Richborough, seems shortly after to have commenced its encroachment at Reculver, and here we arrive at another cause for the desolation of the spot.

"According to Leland, Reculver was two miles and more by water, and a mile less by land beyond Heron; from Canterbury five good myles, and 'stondeth withyn a quarter of a myle, or little more, of the se syde.' The town at that time, he adds, was but village like. He continues—'Samtyme, wher as the paroche chyrch is now, was a fayre and greate abbaye, and Brightwald, archbishop of Cant., was of that howse. The old building of the chirch of the abbaye remayneth, having two goodly spiring steples.' And he adds—'The whole precinct of the monastery appereth by the old walle; and the vicarage was made of the ruines of the monastery. There is a neglect chapel, out of the chyrch-yard, wher sum say was a paroch chirch or the abbay was suppressed and given to the bishop of Cant. There hath been much Romain mony fownd about Reculver.'[1]

"Some years ago, at a short distance to the west of the Towers, there was to be observed the mouldering remains of a small hermitage. It was doubtless 'the neglect chapel owt of the chyrch-yard' of Leland, and was dedicated to St. James. Here a hermit was appointed to officiate in early days, to lead a lone and austere life and pray for the souls of the drowned sailors and wayfarers, picked up on the adjacent sand. This building is said to have been for the most part constructed of Roman bricks, and one arch of the wall entirely so. Richard the Second, in the third year of his unhappy reign, granted a commission to Thomas Hamond, the resident hermit of Reculver, for the sepulture of such persons as were found dead upon the shore, and who had perished from storm and wreck. The hermit was also enjoined to collect alms from the charitable for the rebuilding of the chapel roof which had fallen down. But neither the charity of the passing stranger, nor the exertions of the pious hermit, hath sufficed to keep this curious building from destruction. Both hermitage and place of sepulture have alike been swept away by the fall of the cliff, and the sea has again claimed the drowned remains it had before disgorged.

"At the present time little else remains to tell the tale of the former greatness of Reculver, than the before-mentioned twin spires which

[1] "Itinerary, vol. vii, p. 136."

Digitized by Google

form so beautiful an object of vision to all who pass this portion of the coast of England; and so great a reverence was felt for the sanctity of this edifice in former days, that it was the custom of mariners to lower the top-sails of their ships whilst passing the towers.

"Of the church itself much has been written, and great diversity of opinion expressed. Mr. Freeman considers its structure as a mixture of Saxon and Norman architecture; whilst Mr. C. R. Smith regards it as possessing many features of Roman workmanship, and especially directs attention to some discoveries that were made in the old church during the process of demolition early in the present century. The chancel was separated from the nave by one large and two smaller semi-circular arches, and it was in these arches and their columns, with portions of their side walls, that certain peculiarities were found to exist. The arches were turned with Roman tiles, and the walls banded with three courses of the same; the upper and lower, in each wall, consisting of four rows, the centre of five; the walls were of rough stone. Unfortunately, adds Mr. Smith, the mortar, an important evidence in determining pure Roman masonry, was not described; but there was every other requisite for referring this remarkable portion of the church to the Roman epoch. The columns also harmonized with the arches and walls, and presented features, especially at the capitals, which further seem to decide their Roman construction. Mr. Charles Baily and Mr. Duesbury, our able associates, fully agree in the idea that this church was built upon a Roman foundation, and Mr. Baily suggests that the capitals which present an incomplete appearance may have been intended to receive bronze foliated ornaments of the Corinthian order. These discoveries and opinions would appear to settle the question raised by Mr. Freeman as to the age of the church. There can be no doubt but that a temple existed on the spot in the Roman times, and that the Saxon Christians added their building to the parts which were remaining of the original structure.

"The monuments of the church, though not numerous, were interesting, and were chiefly raised to the memory of some of the influential people about the neighbourhood; amongst them might be mentioned those to the Maycotes, the Sandeways, and Ralph Brooke the celebrated York herald, who died in 1625. All these, however, with many another memorial of the virtues and greatness of a former generation, have passed away, and save where the long tangled grass discloses now and then a half obliterated tomb-stone, there is little remaining to mark the spot or tell the names of those who slept beneath. Of the final destruction of the old church by the parties themselves who ought rather to have assisted in the preservation of such a fine relic of bygone times, full information will be obtained by referring to several communications made to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the years 1808,

Digitized by Google

1809, and 1810. In the latter year the lead taken from the roof and spires was sold for £900, and it only remains to be told that the spires were purchased by the corporation of the Trinity house. From an inscription affixed on the wall of the gateway between the present towers, we learn that—

"'These towers, the remains of the once venerable church of Reculver, were purchased of the parish by the corporation of Trinity house, of Deptford, Stroud, in the year 1810, and groins laid down at their expense to protect the cliff on which the church had stood. When the ancient spires were afterwards blown down, the present substitutes were erected to render the towers still sufficiently conspicuous to be useful to navigators.—Captain Joseph Catton, Deputy-master, in the year 1819.'

"Such, then, is the condition of a once mighty and imposing fabric, the shrine of a Christian kihg, and the seat of the learning and piety of by-gone ages. Here for a time, saved by the hand of man, may these old towers rear their heads and warn the mariner off a treacherous shore;—but the day will come, and that probably at no very distant period, despite the appliances of art or of engineering skill, when these ancient walls will topple over and fall beneath the devouring waters which secretly and silently are now sapping their foundations. These vestiges of the past, which have seen the Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman, pass away in all their separate epochs of grandeur and importance, must, ere long, themselves fall victims to that unsated element which has engulphed already the larger portion of their greatness. This ancient landmark must yield to the destiny which awaits it, and perchance remain to future generations as much a subject for speculation and enquiry, as the British mound on which it still stands, or of the ancient church once planted as the legend hath it, where now the foaming billows break and curl around the 'black rock' of its solemn solitary shore."

Wednesday, July 27.

This constituted the first day of the excursions, and the Association quitted Rochester at 10 A.M., and proceeded to visit Helston church, the walls and arches of which were found to be miserably daubed with black paint, presenting a most lugubrious appearance. It contains a brass composed of a semi-figure, the inscription being lost. It is, however, to the memory of William Groby, 1396. From Helston, the Association proceeded to Cowling castle, where they were most hospitably received and entertained by Mr. Muston. The two semi-circular towers, the bold machicolation of the strongly-arched entrance gateway, and the space formerly filled up by the portcullis being still very perfect, could not fail to excite interest. The sculptured charter on the face of one of the towers was read thus:—

Digitized by Google

Knoweth, that, beth, and, shal, be,
That, I, am, made, in, help, of, the, contre,
In, knowing, of, which, thyng,
Thys, is, chartre, and, wytnessing.

This is in the shape of a deed, with a seal appended, and a good engraving of it is given in *Gough's Sepulchral Memorials*, vol. ii, introd. plate xxx, and page cclvi. The inscription is attributed to John de Cobham, the builder of the castle, who obtained permission from Richard II to fortify his dwelling. The castle is well known as having been the moated manor-house of sir John de Cobham, in 1390. Mr. Muston stated that he took possession of Cowling castle in 1820, but finding the situation unhealthy, and the moat full of stagnant water, and overgrown with weeds, he determined on forming a canal. In passing the N.W. tower, however, he found a difficulty, which afterwards proved to have arisen from the remains of the timbers of a ship which had been sunk there. He took from the hull of the vessel a quantity of broken mugs, dirks, bill-hooks, etc., and sent them to his landlord, but they were lost in the transit. The castle is now converted into a farm-house, and a few years prior to his taking possession the top of the dungeon fell in, and he was therefore induced to clear out the hole, when he found the stone steps very perfect, a cavity in the wall to receive the bar to fasten the door and door frame, and there were also a number of air-holes open to the moat, so arranged as not to admit of any means of communication from the outside. The tower appeared to have been built subsequently to the dungeon. Mr. Muston also cleared out the chapel, but found only the remains of a font. In 1830, upon proceeding to build some offices, a portion of the old wall was taken down, and in it were found a number of Kentish rag-stone balls, with only one composed of iron. A half of one of the stone balls[1] was presented to the Association by Mr. M.; it is presumed to have been fired into the castle during the attack upon it in the insurrection by sir Thomas Wyatt, in 1554, when it was so gallantly and successfully defended by lord Cobham.

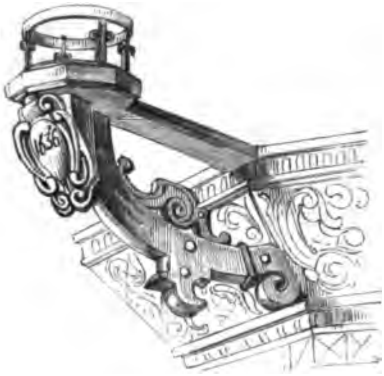
The church of Cowling, dedicated to St. James, was also visited. The chancel has six stone stalls on each side, three sedilia, and a curious double piscina of good early English work.

Proceeding to Cliffe, the Association were kindly received by the Rev. E. H. Lee. It is a highly interesting structure, and great regret was expressed at the unsatisfactory care bestowed upon it by the archdeacon Croft. The nave is one hundred feet in length, and the chancel fifty feet. The latter is of the decorated period, and there are some beautiful windows, sedilia, and piscina. It contains also a perpendicular tomb, or Easter sepulchre.

[1] Mr. H. Syer Cuming has since examined this shot, and favoured the Association with some remarks on stone shot in general. See Proceedings of December 14.

Digitized by Google

The pulpit is one of the very few now remaining, retaining the hour-glass stand, and has been noticed in a former number of the *Journal* (vol. iii, p. 309). It has the date of 1636, and offers a good specimen of the art of that period. The additions to the transepts, which are early English, are curious, and on the east wall of the south transept there are some mural paintings, exhibiting the Last Judgment, etc. The members were disposed to place these so early as the fourteenth century.



Time would not permit of an intended visit to Shorne church; the Association therefore proceeded to Cobham Hall, the seat of the earl of Darnley, who had directed all the rooms and grounds to be thrown open for the examination of the visitors. The building is a brick one with stone dressings, of the late Tudor time. The wings were dated 1582 and 1594; the centre 1662, part of which is attributed to Inigo Jones, though the date proves that he did not finish it. Having inspected the building, and examined the pictures and the objects of interest contained in the mansion, the party proceeded to Cobham church, to view the numerous brasses for which it is so deservedly celebrated.

The Association then returned to Rochester to dinner, after which a conversazione was held, various antiquities obtained from the locality exhibited, and some short papers read.

Mr. Charles Bischoff, jun., exhibited rubbings of some of the Cobham brasses:—

"1. *Lady Joan Cobham*, c. 1320. Engraved in Waller, part xii, Gough, Boutell, vol. i. Inscription—

"'✠ DAME : JONE : DE : KOBEHAM : GIST : ISI :
DEVS : DE : SA : ALME : EIT : MERCI :
KIKE : PVR : LE : ALME : PRIERA :
QVARAVNTE : JOVRS : DE : PARDOVN : AVERA.'"

The letters are in Longobardic capitals. She was daughter of John lord Beauchamp, of Stoke-under-Hamden, Somersetshire, and first wife of sir John de Cobham, who died 1320.

"2. *Lady Maude de Cobham*, c. 1360, with a flounce of fur at the bottom of the dress: Engraved in Boutell, vol. i. "✠ Icy gist dame maude de Cobehm qe . . . . ." There is a mutilated canopy.

"3. *Lady Maude de Cobham*, 1385. Engraved in Boutell, vol. ii. Inscription lost, but in Boutell's engraving the words, '✠ Icy gist dame Maude de Cobeham' are introduced in black letter. It is uncertain

Digitized by Google

whether this lady was *Maude* or *Margaret* de Cobham; Boutell calls her Maude, and the Oxford manual of brasses calls her Margaret.

"4. *Lady Margaret de Cobham*, 1395. Engraved in Boutell, vol. ii. Inscription:

"·|· Sy gist dame Margarete de Cobeham, jadys fille a noble sr le Comte de Deuems'chir feme le sire de Cobeham, foundour de . . . 10' (jour?) du Moys Dagust lan de grace M[l] ccc lxxxxv lalme de qy deux eyt mercy. Amen.'

"She was wife of John de Cobham, founder of Cobham college.

"5. Regenaldus obiit apud wyddelburgh in Flandrea vicesimo die mensis Septembris (Anno dñi) Millmo Quadringentesimo Quinto. Cujus anime propicietur deus. Amen. AMEN."

"6. *Reginald Braybrok*, 1405. Engraved in Gough. Inscription: '✠ Hic jacet dñs Regenaldus Braybrok miles filius Gerardi Braybrok militis ac maritus dñe Johanne dñe de Cobhm heredis dñi Johannis de Cobhm fundatoris istius Col(legii. Qui.')

"7. *Sir Nicholas Hawberk*, 1407. Engraved in Boutell, vol. i, and Gough, vol. ii. Inscription:

'✠ Hic jacet d(ñs Nicholaus) Hawberk quondam maritus dñe Johñe dñe de Cobhm Heredis dñi Johis de Cobhm fundatoris (istius collegii qui quidem) Nicholaus obiit apud Castrũ de Cowlyng nono die Octobris anno domini millmo Quadringentesimo Septimo cui(us anime propicietur) deus. Amen.'

"His son stands on a bracket, with this inscription: 'Hic jacet Johñes fili' eor'."

Mr. Thomas Gunston also exhibited several rubbings. The subjoined list exhibits a variety of examples of this important class of our sepulchral antiquities, and will be found to illustrate many valuable features in armour, costume, inscriptions, etc. The original abundance of these memorials is fully attested by the vast quantity of despoiled slabs existing in almost every ancient church, a striking instance of which was observed in the visit of the Association to Rochester cathedral.

1. 1306. *Sir Robert Septvans.* This very fine early military brass lies upon the floor of Chartham church, Kent; it is the latest specimen of chain mail, having no further admixture of plate armour than the steel genouillières. The singular appendage to the accoutrements of the armed knight, called ailettes, are here displayed, and the surcoat and shield are charged with the family arms. Although cross-legged, sir Robert is not known to have joined the crusade. A striking similarity of design may be observed between this brass and the youthful but expressive sculptured effigy in the Temple church, commemorating William lord de Ros.

2. 1330. The upper part of a richly floriated cross, with the head of an ecclesiastic. The collar of the amice is the only part of the costume

Digitized by Google

introduced. The stem and border fillet are lost, and the uplifted hands are bare. Chancel of St. Andrews, Chinnor, Oxon.

3. 1361. *John Hotham.* Semi-effigy in academical dress and cap, with tight sleeves, continued to cover the backs of the hands, fastened by a close row of small buttons.

"Hic iacet Magister Johañes hotham magist in theologia Quondam Rector ecclesie de Chynnore qui obiit in festo Sancte Laurency anno dñ MCCCLX primo cūi aīe ppcietur deus. Chinnor, Oxon.

4. 1380. *John Cray, esq.* The knight is here represented in a bascinet, with camail, jupon and plate armour; the sword is placed behind the figure, and the misericorde in front, a fashion rarely met with at this period. Chinnor, Oxon.

5. 1388. *Alexander Chelseye.* This demi-figure holds a chalice, containing the consecrated wafer, inscribed with the Christian monogram I. H. C. The maniple, apparels of the amice, and the alb, are embroidered with the singular device known as the fylfot cross. The chasuble has an ornamented border. This brass exhibits the deep bold lines so characteristic of the fourteenth century. Chinnor, Oxon.

6. 1390. *Reginald de Malyns and two Wives.* The knight has mixed armour of mail and plate; both the ladies are habited in loose super tunics, and furnish good examples of the reticulated head-dress.

Mons. Regnald de Malyns gist icy i ces deux femes pres de ly dieu de ——. Church of St. Andrew, Chinnor, Oxon.

7. 1431. *Nicholas Canteys.* Margate, Kent. This effigy has a very long beard, and is habited in a tunic partially open in front, trimmed with fur. The sleeves are large and full, and gathered into small cuffs at the wrists; from the waist belt hangs a short sword, or anlace; and the boots, which lace inside the foot, are embroidered with stars.

Orate pro anima Niclū Canteys qui obiit vii. die mensis ffebruarii anno dñ MCCCCXXXI.

8. 1431. *A Preest.* Sparsholt church, Berkshire. The costume here consists of chasuble, amice, alb, stole, and maniple. In front, at the foot, attached to the alb, is an oblong piece of orfrey work.

9. 1433. *Thomas Smyth.* Margate. This example, commemorating a priest, consists of the device of a heart with three scrolls, inscribed with a passage taken from the book of Job. Beneath, on a narrow plate—

Hic iacet dñs Thomas Smyth quonda vicari isti ecclie qui obiit tcīo die Octobris a dñ MCCCCXXXIII cuī aīe ppiciet deus Amen.

10. 1434. *Thomas Chaucer,* son of Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet, and wife. In this beautiful memorial, the knight appears in a complete suit of unmixed plate armour. The lady is habited as a widow, and wears a kirtle and mantle; her head is covered by a couvrechef, or flowing veil, which rests upon the shoulders, and beneath her chin is a plaited barbe

Digitized by Google

or wimple. This brass lies on a purbeck marble altar tomb, richly adorned with armorial distinctions. In the south aisle of Ewelme church, Oxon, on the edge, is the following inscription: "Hic iacet Thoms Chaucer Armig qudm̄ dn̄s isti manerii et patronus isti ecclīē qui obiit xviii die Mensis Novembris anno dm̄ Millimo ccccxxxiiii, et Matildis uxor eius qui obiit xxviii die Mens Apriis.

The aisle formerly constituted the chapel belonging to Ewelme hospital, and contains the far-famed monument of the Duchess of Suffolk, daughter of the above.

11. 1445. *John Daundelyon, esq.* Margate. The example here exhibits an alteration in the arrangement of the taces; they are contracted in depth, and have pointed tuilles attached; various plates are also introduced to the original suit of plate armour, with a view to provide still more protection, and a singular diversity appears between the defences of the right and left sides of the figure. "Hic iacit Johēs Daundelyon Bentilman qui obiit in die inuencionis Scē Crucis anno ab incar dom̄ nost Jhū Cristi Millmo ccccxiv anime propicietur Deus."

12. 1446. *Richard Hatfelde,* Margate, Kent. This memento of mortality sets before us another variety of brasses, consisting of emaciated figures and skeletons; on some memorials, the king of terrors is represented brandishing his hostile weapon as if preparing to strike his victim, and in others the figures are enveloped in a winding-sheet. "Orate p Anima Ricardi Hatfelde qui obiit peūltio die mens marcii a dm̄ millm̄o ccccxlvi."

On the south wall at the church of St. Giles, South Mims, is a Death's head, with this appropriate inscription:—

Oulde look on why turn awaye thyne eye
This is no strangers face the phesnamey is thine.

13. 1450. *Walter Grene, esq.*, Hayes Church, Middlesex. The pauldrons in this specimen are of very simple construction; the taces, eight in number, are also curious, being worked in broad escalops; the bascinet is entirely omitted, and the bare head of the knight reposes on his vizored tilting helm. There are four shields of arms, one at each angle of the slab, and part of a chamfer inscription: "Hic iacet Walteri Grene, Armigeri qui obiit in ffesto concepcōīs marie virginis videlt Octavo die decembris anno dm̄ mcccc."

14. 1454. *Robert Arthur,* Chartham, Kent. The entire person of this ecclesiastic is enveloped in a long surplice, with large hanging sleeves; over this is the cope, elaborately embroidered with a fylfot cross and flower of four leaves, fastened across the breast by a morse or clasp; about the neck is an almuce having long pendant lappets hanging in front represented by white metal; the head uncovered discloses the tonsure, or shaven crown of Rome. "Hic iacet dn̄s Robertus Arthur,

Digitized by Google

quondm̄ rector isti ecclīē qui obiit xxviii die marcii a dm̄ millō cccclíiii, cui aie p'piciet de am̄e." At each corner is a shield of arms.

15. 1465. *A Priest*, in eucharistic vestments, holding the chalice. Floor of Broxbourne church, Herts. The position of the consecrated vessel here differs from the North Mims and Wensley brasses, where, instead of being grasped in the hands, they are represented as lying on the breast of the deceased, as they were usually placed when the remains were prepared for interment.

On a scroll proceeding from the mouth of this figure is the following:—

Si quis eris qui transiris sta plḡe plora
Sū qe eris fuera qe quod es p' me precor ora.

At the lower corners of the slab are labels with the words, Jhū mercy Lady helpe. About this period inscriptions are more diffuse, and labels bearing some brief sentence issue from the mouth, or are repeated in various parts of the design.

16. 1503. *Christopher Bridgeman*, Thame Church, Oxon. The figure is here attired in a loose open gown, and sleeves guarded with fur; the shoes are very large and round at the toes; to the girdle is appended a gypciere or purse.

17. 1517. *John Spence*, Ewelme Church, Oxon. This priest wears a loose gown, over which is a cape trimmed with ermine; the tonsure is seen, and the hair long and straight, a special characteristic of the period. The habit closely resembles that worn by Thomas Rolf, sergeant at law, 1413, on his brass at Gosfield church, Essex. "Obit Mag'ri Johīs Spence in sacra theologia bachalaru et magri dom Elimosinary de Ewelme qui obiit primo die mensis Aprilis anno dm̄ mccccc and xvii."

At each angle of the slab is a small scroll severally inscribed, "Jhū mercy lady helpe."

The hospital or alms-house to which the deceased was attached, is known by the name bestowed upon it by its founder (God's House), and, with a Grammar school, was founded in the reign of Henry the sixth, by William de la Pole, duke, and Alicia, duchess of Suffolk, daughter of sir Thomas Chaucer, for thirteen poor men and two priests.

18. 1521. *Dr. Christopher Urswick.* This brass, formerly in the old church of St. Augustine, lies on a panelled altar tomb beneath an elegant stone canopy, under which is a long Latin inscription. In the vestibule of the new church of St. John the Baptist, Hackney, Middlesex, the effigy has the head covered, and wears a cope with a richly embroidered border of lozenge work; beneath is the large hanging sleeves of the surplice, and the long lappets of the white fur almuce hang down nearly to the feet; above the shield, the bearings of which are quite effaced, is a scroll inscribed with the word Misericordia. Dr. Urswick was lord almoner to king Henry the seventh, and dean of

Digitized by Google

Windsor; he assisted in superintending the finishing of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where on a stone screen is placed the royal arms and the following inscription: "Praye for the souls of king Henry the seventh and Christopher Urswick," &c. He was frequently employed on important foreign missions, for which faithful services the highest ecclesiastical honours were offered him; preferring a private life, he resigned all his offices in 1505, and retired to the living of Hackney, where he died in the 74th year of his age, on the 24th day of March, 1521.

19. 1576. *Thomas Higgatt, esq.*, Hayes, Middlesex. The armour of this bearded and venerable-looking knight exhibits another change tending towards its final disuse; around the neck is a small ruff, and at the wrists are frilled bands. In this brass, a number of small lines are introduced, apparently as a species of shading, a system adopted during the latter part of the fifteenth century, an attempt diminishing the beauty of brasses then executed.

In tumulo hoc positus Thomas Higattus in armis
Armiger egregius relligione pius
In thalamos conjux venit Elizabetha fidelis
Addidit hisce deus pignora chara novem
Deum vixit Thomas res cunctas ordine gessit
Aequi defensor mortuus astra tenet
Obiit Anno salutis humanæ 1576 mense Augusti.

20. 1600. *Edward Harris*, Thame, Oxon. This small brass is fixed to a mural tablet, a custom frequently met with in late examples; the figure appears in a kneeling attitude, in a long loose dress, and has a ruff about the neck; effigies in brasses during the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries are usually represented as recumbent, but in the 16th and 17th centuries it became customary to place the figures as if standing or kneeling.

Mr. Edward Pretty, of Northampton, forwarded to the Association the following remarks on the *Dumb Borsholder*:—

"Hasted, the historian of the county of Kent, has given a description of this instrument and the practices connected with it in his article on Wateringbury in the hundred of Twyford.[1] He tells us that 'There was till of late years a singular, though *a very antient custom*, kept up, of electing a deputy to the *Dumb Borsholder of Chart*, as it was called, claiming liberty over fifteen houses in the precinct of *Pizein-Well;* every householder of which was formerly obliged to pay the keeper of this Borsholder one penny yearly. This *Dumb Borsholder* was always first called at the court leet holden for the *hundred of Twyford;* when its keeper, who was yearly appointed by that court, held it up to his call, and

[1] Vol. ii, page 284, folio edition; where also will be seen a figure of the instrument.

Digitized by Google

with a neckcloth or handkerchief put through the iron ring fixed at the top, and answered for it. This *Borsholder of Chart*, and the *court leet*, has been discontinued about fifty years; and the Borsholder, who is put in by the quarter sessions for *Wateringbury*, claims over the whole parish.

"'This *Dumb Borsholder* (of Chart) is made of wood, about three feet and a half an inch long, with an iron ring at the top, and four more by the sides, near the bottom, where it has a square iron spike fixed, four inches and a half long, to fix it in the ground, or on occasion to break open doors, etc., which was used to be done, without a warrant of any justice, on suspicion of goods having been unlawfully come by, and concealed in any of these fifteen houses. It is not easy at this distance of time to ascertain the origin of this *dumb officer*. Perhaps it may have been made use of as a badge or ensign, by the officer of the market here. The last person who acted as deputy to it was one Thomas Clampard, a blacksmith, whose heirs have it now in their possession.'

"This was the account published by Hasted in the year 1782, by which it appears to have been nearly a century and a quarter since the *Dumb Borsholder* of Chart ceased to possess any official capacity.

"Mr. Alfred Pryer, of Hollingbourne, obligingly called my attention to a Dumb Borsholder at Eyhorne which had escaped the notice of Hasted. Like to the one of Chart, it appears to have possessed very peculiar privileges. In this instance its power was acknowledged in the Consistory court, which was held every year; and five constables were chosen for the parishes of Hucking, Bredhurst, Hollingbourn, Boughton, Monchelsea, and Bicknor. A recent act of Parliament has, I am informed, superseded all these courts. I cannot from my own knowledge enter into the privileges of these local jurisdictions, and must therefore leave the subject to others whose legal knowledge of the customs of Kent will enable them to enter more fully into the subject. Its power was certainly retained until a late period, and it would be desirable to ascertain the date when this very ancient custom ceased, the extent of its jurisdiction, and any other particulars connected therewith. Hasted supposed the Dumb Borsholder to be a badge or ensign of office. Was it of Saxon origin? In its rude form it appears to partake of the character of the Saxon war club, and when we consider that Athelstane, son of Ethelred, gave the manor of Hollingbourn, in the year 980, to the church of Canterbury, and that the liberty of the dean and chapter extended over this manor, it may possibly have been the cause of this ancient custom being retained for so long a time, as the possessions of the church would be less likely to undergo any change, and in consequence remained until the parliament (probably with their sanction) relieved the church of a custom which may have been of more trouble than profit. We see in corporate bodies the mace, which was a weapon of war originally, and the sword, occasionally granted as badges of authority. Another idea may be sug-

Digitized by Google

gested as to the origin of the Dumb Borsholder. Formerly it was the custom to convey gifts of land by some token, as for instance a knife, particularly when title deeds had not swollen out to the extent they have done with us in the nineteenth century. The present Dumb Borsholder of Eyhorne is of recent manufacture, having been finished only just before the extinction of the court. Its predecessor was of a more venerable aspect; its head was of an octagon shape, and had eight rings, or one on each face, and a four-sided spike at the point. This degenerate scion has not so many rings, and is a round-headed leveller. The rings were used for the purpose of placing cords through, and converting it into a battering-ram in the breaking open doors, where its authority was resisted. It was kept at the sign of the Windmill (?) in Eyhorne street, Hollingbourne, where I saw it a few years since; the landlord of which inn gave me the few particulars respecting its use."

Mr. Francis Turner communicated through the Rev. Beale Poste the following extract of an inedited letter of John Ives, the antiquary, on Dover Harbour:—

"(January,) 1774. I am inclined to think that the Roman harbour of Dubris, was not the present Dover harbour, but that it extended up into the land and ran along the valley, at the mouth of which stands your present town. For I have been told that anchors have been found three miles from Dover on the land side; from which it is probable that the sea retiring on your coast, the town followed it, and is now placed at the very mouth of the ancient harbour; and the appearance of the country due west from Dover seems to confirm my opinion, as also does the distance from it and Canterbury, sixteen miles, which in the *Itinerary of Antoninus* is made to be but fourteen Roman miles, viz: about thirteen of our present ones; so that if we admit this, the ancient Dubris was three miles nearer Canterbury than the now Dover; and the present road seems to run for about two miles at the very bottom of the ancient harbour.

"This, sir, I think deserves your attention as an antiquary, and particularly from your being so immediately upon the spot you have so many opportunities of examining the face of the country around your town. Whether my supposition is vague or otherwise, I cannot determine; but I am very glad I mentioned it, as I hope shortly to have the pleasure of your sentiments upon it, who have not only inclination but ability to judge. "I am, dear sir, your faithful humble servant,

"To James Hammond, esq., Dover. "J. IVES."

Mr. George Naylor, a builder of Rochester, exhibited various antiquities discovered in October 1852, by some workmen who were engaged in digging the foundations for some cottages on Star Hill, at Eastgate. Not less than twenty human skeletons, several of them of large size, and

Digitized by Google

having the teeth in a very perfect state, were obtained. Mixed with these human remains were five spear heads, one of which still retains a portion of its wooden handle. There were also various bronze armillæ, one of which is represented in plate 32, fig. 1; buckles (fig. 2), rings, large and small, some of which were taken out along with a quantity of dirt in one of the skulls. In the removal of these things, several were broken by the labourers, but fortunately two brooches, one of a square, the other of a circular form, were obtained entire, and are represented in figs. 3 and 4. They are of bronze, and have been gilt; their ornamentation is aided by portions of red coloured glass. Several beads were also found, some coloured, and some, one large one in particular, made of amber. A portion of a vase was also stated to have been met with, but it was not exhibited. The nature of the remains clearly belong to the Saxon period, and a burial ground was doubtless here situated.

Mr. Thurston, of Ashford, exhibited the drawing of a tilting helmet, belonging to sir John Fogge (*circa* 1490), in Ashford church, which weighs 24 lbs. It has been referred to Mr. Planché, and will be illustrated with other specimens in a future *Journal.*

Mr. Thurston also exhibited a cast of the dedication stone of Postling church, near Hythe; it is in the chancel wall, and will be given in the next number of the *Journal.*

The evening terminated with the reading of a paper forwarded some time since to the Association by the late Mr. Carlos, upon a brass in St. Margaret's church, Rochester, which had on the previous day been visited by many members of the Association. Rubbings from the brass were exhibited, and it will be found engraved in the Rev. Charles Boutell's *Monumental Brasses of England.* The brass is of Thomas Cod, vicar of St. Margaret's church, 1465, 5 Edward IV, and is now in a perfect state, having been restored with great care and ability, and fixed against the wall of the church on the left of the altar. Its original situation was on the chancel floor. It represents two demi-figures of the same individual, on the front and back of the plate. The height of the half figures is one foot four inches, and it was not discovered to be so engraved until the year 1810. The brass is usually known as a *palimpsest,* this term having, according to Mr. Boutell, been first employed by Mr. Albert Way. The term is one commonly applied to manuscripts written on a surface upon which there had been a previous writing, and by the erasure of which the surface was rendered fit to take another subject. The word is derived from *παλιν,* again, and *ψαω,* to rub or efface, and is therefore improperly applied to this brass, inasmuch as no previous engraving has been effaced; the original is still remaining on one side, whilst a later and amended one has been executed upon the other.

From Mr. Carlos's communication, bearing the date of September 9, 1844, the following remarks are extracted:

Digitized by Google

Fig. 1.

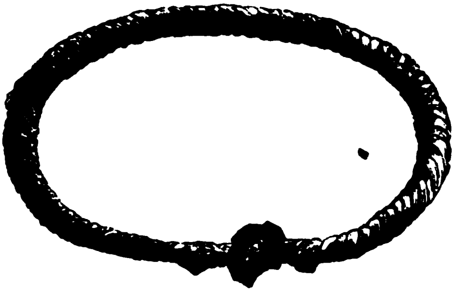


Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 2.

SAXON ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT STAR HILL, ROCHESTER.

Digitized by Google

THE ASTOR LI

Digitized by Google

"The apparel to the cope on the obverse had been destroyed; this has been restored in accordance with the small fragment which existed, and the many apertures filled up. The orphreys to the cope on both sides are coloured red, and the lining of the hood on the reverse has been filled with white metal. This was rendered necessary for securing and covering one of the fractures.

"The initial capitals to the lines in the inscription will be coloured red, the others blue; the remainder of the letters, as well as the lines of the brass, will be filled in black; the brass will then be fixed with steel catches in a sheet of copper, and the whole enclosed in a wooden frame, and by means of hinges both sides may be seen.[1] The corners of the oak panel are to be strengthened by ornamental work, and fixed to the wall of the lower story of the tower now used as a vestry room, and the incription plate below it. The tower, as will be seen by the inscription, was built by the individual here commemorated; and as the removal from the chancel floor was indispensable, this was the best place which could be chosen. It is the only portion of the old church which has been preserved; the body and chancel have been destroyed, and a huge unsightly structure built on their site, with no pretensions to an ecclesiastical character.

"It has been surmised that both sides of the brass represented the same individual, and that the reason for the second engraving was that the first had erroneously pourtrayed the vicar as a canon. I do not think that either surmise has any foundation in reality. The reverse side is evidently of earlier date than the other, and the countenance does not warrant the idea of the two faces belonging to the same individual. But should it be contended that the likeness affords no guide, I should suggest that the second engraving was owing to the circumstance of the vicar having been represented in a hood as a graduate of one of the universities. The other side has no hood, and as no mention is made in the inscription of the vicar having taken a degree, it is probable that this was the error which caused the brass to be recut.[2]

Thursday, July 28.

Early this morning the Association quitted Rochester, and proceeded in the first place to view Kit's Coty house and the neighbouring cromlechs. The examination was conducted under the superintendence of Mr. W. H. Bensted, who, familiar with every portion of the ground, was thereby enabled to point out every object of interest in the vicinity. At Kit's Coty a variety of opinions were expressed by several members of the Association, and these will be embodied in a future communication. The

[1] This has been most judiciously effected.

[2] The brass was minutely examined, and the Association were quite satisfied that both the figures represented the same person.

Digitized by Google

party then proceeded to Allington castle, now in ruins. It was formerly in the Cobham family, afterwards in the reign of Edward IV in that of the Brents, and by them alienated to sir Henry Wyatt, so celebrated for his espousal of the cause of the earl of Richmond against Richard III. It was the birthplace of sir Thomas Wyatt, also renowned in history, and an especial favourite of Henry VIII. He left a son, who being deprived of his life and estates for treason against queen Mary, Allington castle became vested in the crown, and passed by lease to John Astley, master of the jewels to queen Elizabeth, whence it became the property of the Romney family, in which it still remains. The ruins afford evidence of the strength of its former fortified condition, and the ancient entrance gateway, together with the moat, are to be seen. Having partaken of refreshments at Gibraltar, opposite to the castle, the Association proceeded to visit Aylesford church and the Holy Trinity hospital at Aylesford. Mr. Robson obligingly conducted the visitors over the church, which is dedicated to St. Peter, and contains the monuments of the families of Finch, Duke, Colepeper, Sedley, Rycaut, and Banks, which were closely inspected. Proceeding thence to Preston park, the seat of E. L. Betts, esq., a member of the Association, attention was called to the old barn, an outhouse built of stone, and remarkable for a fictitious carved date of 1102, with the initials T. C. This, together with the window and frame, may be seen engraved in Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. ii, p. 175, folio edition. Preston hall is a seat on the manor of Preston, which was formerly in the possession of the Colepepers; and here an interesting paper on the history of this celebrated family was read by Mr. S. I. Tucker, which will be noticed on a future occasion. The day's excursion terminated by a visit to West Malling abbey, founded by bishop Gundulph in 1090 for Benedictine nuns. (See Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, pp. 480-486.) The company were received at the abbey and conducted over it by the rev. Aretas Ackers, the present possessor and inhabitant of the abbey. Time would not permit of a visit intended to have been made to Addington park to view the Druidical remains at that place; the Association therefore returned to Rochester, and arrived at a late hour.

FRIDAY, JULY 29TH.

Leaving Rochester at nine o'clock, the Association proceeded to Boxley Abbey, where they were met by James Whatman, esq., M.P., who conducted them over the remains, which are now insignificant. Some of the members paid a hurried visit to the church, celebrated before the Reformation for its Rood of Grace, the numerous miracles connected with which have been duly recorded. By command of the king it was broken to pieces at St. Paul's Cross, February 24th, 1538, in the presence of the then bishop of Rochester and a large concourse of people. (See *Lambard's Perambulation of Kent*, p. 238.)

The party now hastened on to Maidstone, and were received at the

Digitized by Google

Town Hall by H. W. Joy, esq. the mayor, and corporation. Here were also assembled the principal inhabitants of the town, who gave the Association a most hearty welcome. The party having partaken of an elegant luncheon, the ancient charters and deeds belonging to the borough were exhibited by the mayor and John Monckton, esq., town clerk, and much interest was felt in their examination. All Saints' church was now visited, under the guidance of Mr. Ashpitel and Mr. Whichcord, jun., who kindly explained many peculiarities belonging to this edifice.

Mr. Ashpitel said that there formerly had been a church on the site of the present, dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, near which was a large manor house and castle; these were the property of William de Cornhill, who, in 1207, by an arrangement, conveyed them to Stephen Langton, the then archbishop of Canterbury, and the manor remained the property of the see till the Reformation. In 1348 archbishop Ufford commenced building the palace, but he died in the ensuing year. The state of things in the see seems to have been that of great neglect, for Islip, the next archbishop, is recorded to have recovered no less than £1,100 as dilapidations against his predecessor. In 1486 cardinal Morton repaired, or rather nearly rebuilt, the palace, which was much dilapidated; and shortly after, at the Reformation, the whole was granted by Henry VIII to sir Thomas Wyatt. Whether the old church of St. Mary had become dilapidated, or whether the growing prosperity of the town demanded a larger building and a more important establishment, does not appear. It is clear, however, that about 1384 archbishop Courtenay began to erect the present church, and, as Lambard tells us, it was a college of secular canons. Mr. Ashpitel then alluded to a discussion which took place at Repton, and explained how, at the time of the Conquest, the secular canons were obliged to give way to the monastic orders; and how, subsequently, when there was peace, and when commerce and arts flourished, many colleges of secular priests were again established. The fact is the church had acted with the exigencies of the times. The only known refuge from the violence and rapine of the invaders was the shelter of the sanctuary,—the true antithesis to the baron was the monk. As time progressed, when the wants of the people were not so much personal safety as guidance and education, these colleges were founded; and in the words of a late writer, they were "the receptacles and treasuries of learning and piety, and amply compensated for any charges that might be brought against monastic bodies." Whether in this instance it was at the request of the town, or of the free liberality of the primate, does not appear upon record. In 1395 archbishop Courtenay obtained the royal license for the conversion of the church into a collegiate establishment. In the next year he died, and by his will left the residue of all his property to the construction of the church. It is recorded that the building was completed in 1399 or

Digitized by Google

1400. It does not seem to have been altered or added to in any way, and therefore necessarily the history of the building ends here. It is of perpendicular style, in its earliest and purest form, and is of unusual size. It is the largest parish church in the county, and probably in the kingdom. The aisles are extremely spacious; the piers and arches of the naves light and beautiful; the windows excellent in detail. In fact, if the present flat, hideous ceiling were removed, and the open roof restored, it would be one of the most spacious, open, and beautiful buildings in the country. The situation of the tower is peculiar, and seems to have been determined by the nature of the ground: the west end is so close to the cliff. This position of the tower, however, gives the opportunity of a larger and finer western window, and the lower part forms a handsome south porch. The north-west window of the choir is different in design and much richer than the others. This is by no means an unusual circumstance, but the reason of it is quite unknown. It has been surmised that these may have been presentation windows; but why the north-western window should have been preferred for this purpose seems to be quite in obscurity. In the north aisle of the choir is Vinter's or Gould's chantry, founded in 1366, no doubt in anticipation of the erection of the new church. In the south aisle was Arundel's chantry, founded in 1406. In this is the exquisite Wootton's tomb, described by Mr. Whichcord, jun., in his history of the church, which contains some beautiful illustrations of its design and colouring. It is at the back of the sedilia, which are of the richest workmanship. There are the unusual number of five divisions; but as they have been cut into for the purpose of placing tablets and monuments, it is impossible to describe their use. The probability is, that there were the usual three seats for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, and that the other two contained the piscina and aumbry. At the north end of the nave in both aisles were chapels. The dedication of that on the south side is unknown; the one on the north side was said to be the chapel of St. Mary. This was the dedication of the former church; and although the present was inscribed to All Saints, it would be extremely improbable indeed if there was no altar to the Blessed Virgin in the new one. This chapel appears to have been enclosed by a screen of the same design, and probably coloured like the present. The rood tower and staircase was in a peculiar position, not as is usual ascending in the church pier, but in the north wall of the nave, so that the reader of the *Jube Domine benedicere*, must have had to walk all round the chapel of St. Mary on the top of the rood screen before he could have reached the rood loft itself.

The college founded by archbishop Courtenay, 1327-77, was then visited, and the museum of natural history and antiquities contained within it were ably pointed out and commented upon by Dr. Plomley, whose extensive collection of birds obtained from the locality was much

Digitized by Google

admired. The Association had next the gratification of paying a visit to one of their earliest and most respected associates, Thomas Charles, esq., of Chillington-house, in Saint Faith-street, a mansion of exceeding interest, of the ornamented brick style of the sixteenth century. Chillington was formerly a manor in the parish of Maidstone, situated near St. Faith's Green, and was anciently in possession of the Cobhams. Mr. Charles's house presents a perfect model for Mr. Page's in *Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor*, and Mr. Planché could not resist making some sketches of it for future use. Mr. Charles, though very infirm, did the honours to the Association on the occasion, and received his visitors in his museum, which contains many objects of the greatest archæological interest, several of which have been figured in the volumes of the *Journal* of the Association. The impression made on the minds of Mr. Charles's visitors on this occasion, will not readily be effaced, whether as relating to himself or to his house. The manor on which the latter is situated was forfeited to the crown in 1554; its then possessor, Maplesden, having been concerned in the rebellion of sir Thomas Wyatt, and hanged. Entering by a venerable porch with a massive door, still furnished with its ancient knocker and studded with mediæval nails, the visitors passed into a large apartment, now only occupied by relics of bygone generations, arranged on the floor, and by the walls. Ascending a spacious old-fashioned staircase, they passed into another large wainscoted room, the counterpart of that below, in which the antiquities were of a more valued description. Around the vast fireplace was a semicircle of antique chairs, each of which has a history; and amongst them one from Allington Castle, in a very good state of preservation. Intermingling with mediæval relics, were some large Indian vessels of metal inlaid with silver, cases of Australian birds, and the staff-head of the colours of his regiment, borne by Mr. Charles's brother at the battle of Salamanca. The walls were furnished with several excellent paintings of considerable size. Mr. Charles's museum, the collection of a life, embraces a vast number of very remarkable antiquities, chiefly obtained from the county of Kent. The glass-cases in which they were arranged ran the whole length of the room. At the farther end were two very large amphoræ which had been dug up at Lockham wood. Between them one of the largest Roman tiles ever seen, and which had been found over the top of one of them. In an ebony cabinet close by were some very singular vessels of green glass found within the amphoræ. Near them stood an urn of beautiful shape, discovered at Sutton Valence; and in the cases near were Roman coins found in Maidstone, and a brooch set with garnets. A number of Roman coins and rings found on the summit of the chalk ridge overlooking Kit's Coty, are very curious. Another little box contained a diptych, of an early date, but excellently designed, representing the blessed Virgin and child, and the

Digitized by Google

apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. It was found in or near the site of St. Peter's church, which was founded by Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, uncle to the queen of Henry III. The collection of fossil fish from the chalk formation is perhaps the largest and finest belonging to any private individual. Among the rarer curiosities was the fossil tooth (found at Aylesford) of an extinct species of elephant, similar to that discovered imbedded in a gneiss rock in Siberia.

Having duly acknowledged Mr. Charles's kindness and attention, and expressed a just admiration of his collection, the members and visitors returned to the Town-hall, whence they proceeded to Hollingbourne. Here their attention was first directed to the church dedicated to All Saints, and enriched with monuments of the Colepepers. At the east end of the north aisle is a remarkable chapel, raised up by steps to give room for a vault beneath; square tablets of black marble and black escutcheons are alternately arranged on the sides, and in the middle is a very fine raised marble monument representing Elizabeth, lady of sir Thomas Colepeper, knight, the figure lying at full length in the habit of the time, and being a well-executed piece of sculpture. This church possesses a superb altar cloth and cushion. They are of purple velvet, richly ornamented with different figures of fruits, (pomegranates and grapes), the whole executed in gold, and is the needlework of the daughters of sir John Colepeper, afterwards created lord Colepeper. This work is reported to have been the production of twelve years' labour, and was carried on during their father's absence abroad with Charles II. The president and a few of the members paid a visit to the Rev. Mr. Hasted, vicar of Hollingbourne, who being, it was said, upwards of ninety years of age, was unable to receive the Association in his church. He was much gratified with the attention paid to him, and the visitors were much delighted in paying their respects to the venerable descendant of the historian of Kent. The manor of Hollingbourne was sold by John Spencer Colepeper, of the charter-house, to the hon. Robert Fairfax, of Leeds castle, who afterwards alienated it to Francis Child, esq., a London banker, who dying in 1763 without issue, it became the property of his heir-at-law Robert Child, through whom it has descended to the present possessor, the earl of Jersey.

At Hollingbourne, the manor house presents features of very considerable interest. Here are found several tapestries in good preservation, and a very fine oak-pannelled room with a beautiful gilt pattern in every pannel. At the top of the house there is a remarkable gallery, the plaster of which has been covered with ornamental scroll work and figures.

After an inspection of the remains of Saxon fortifications in the neighbourhood, the Association proceeded to visit Leeds castle, where they were most courteously received by C. Wykeham Martin, esq. and

Digitized by Google

his lady, and conducted over the whole of the interior, and also around the building. Mr. Martin pointed out the several points of interest to archæologists pertaining to the castle, the particulars of which will be found as detailed by Mr. M., pp. 286-295 *ante*. Mr. Wykeham Martin's courtesy was not confined to the inspection of his interesting castle, but extended itself to an excellent dinner, to which not less than 140 members and visitors sat down. Returning thanks to Mr. and Mrs. M. for their great kindness and hospitality, the Association departed for Maidstone to attend a soirée given to them and the principal inhabitants of that borough, by the mayor and corporation. This elegant entertainment was given to nearly 400 persons, and the evening passed off most delightfully. Archæological pursuits were, however, not lost sight of whilst enjoying this festivity, for the large assembly rooms (which had been engaged by the corporation to receive the Association), were hung round with numerous drawings and paintings of antiquarian interest, to which, in particular, Mr. Espinasse, the recorder of Maidstone, had contributed a very large and fine collection of rubbings from the principal brasses in the county; Mr. Whichcord, jun., a series of beautifully coloured drawings of All Saints' church, and its fine tomb; whilst Mr. Britton had sent various views of old buildings in the county,—of Rochester cathedral and castle, Barfreston church, Kit's Coty and other cromlechs. The tables were likewise covered with specimens of antiquities obtained from tumuli in the county; some Anglo-Saxon antiquities found by the Rev. W. Vallence, in 1825, at the ancient burial-ground near Sittingbourne church; impressions in copper of the great seal of England in every reign, from Edward the Confessor to William IV, exhibited by Dr. Plomley; an interesting collection of seals, by Mrs. Harrison; a selection from Mr. Bensted's museum of geological specimens; a stone cannon-ball and one of the tools used in making it, by Mr. Seager, of Boughton; a Roman sword found in the bed of the river at Hunton, by Mr. R. Golding; an amphora from Fant, by Mr. T. Sutton; specimens of natural history, &c., principally appertaining to Kent.

The president having taken the chair, called the attention of the meeting to Mr. Planché, who read his paper on the earls of Kent. (See pp. 361-375, *ante*.) This was followed by the reading of a paper by Mr. Whichcord, jun., "On the antiquities of Maidstone, and on the Polychromy of the Middle Ages, illustrated by reference to the tomb of the founder of All Saints' church, Maidstone," which will appear in a future *Journal*. Mr. Brent, jun., of Canterbury, succeeded Mr. Whichcord, and read a paper on Canterbury, its ancient guilds and fraternities, in which he referred to various notices contained in the records of that city, and of which the following are extracts:—

"Amongst the records of the city of Canterbury there are many

Digitized by Google

decrees of the courts of burghmote, for the institution, encouragement, and regulation of various guilds and incorporations. The greater proportion of these appear to have been issued at the close of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century. At this period a new energy seems to have been imparted to the city authorities. The country in general, recovering from the anarchy and confusion produced by the wars of the Roses, exhibited certain signs of improvement, which could not fail to extend to its municipal institutions. Their progress, however, was not always in the right direction, for the multiplication of guilds and fellowships, and the arbitrary and narrow restrictions they maintained, not only regulated the price of every man's labour, and the mode in which he should perform it, but, by the appointment of wardens and other functionaries, and the contributions required for the performance of their duties, necessarily threw considerable pecuniary burthens upon the poorer brethren of the companies.

"SHOEMAKERS.—By a decree of the 10th Henry VIII, 1518, it was ordained, that 'Every brother shoemaker, cobbeler, or corrior, that will set up and occupy as a maister, within the seide citie and lib'tie of the same, shall pay to the wardeyns of the seide crafts, or ever he sett up and occupye, ℥ to the maintenance of the aforeseide brotherende, upon payne of forfeiture of 6lbs of wax.' The same craft or mystery, as it was called, was enjoined to come in procession to St. Augustine's on the Feast of the Assumption and of St. Crispin and Crispinus, and there make their solemn offering at the mass, under pain of forfeiture of 2lbs. of wax. Also it was ordained, "That if eny brother of the seide fraternite dwelling within the lib'ties of the seide citie intende to be married, then he shall give knowledge of hit to the wardeyns of the seide fraternyte, three daies before the mariage, and then the seide wardens to give in comandemént to the bedill of the same fraternite, to name the bretheren in due tyme, to go with hym from his dwelling place unto the parisshe churche, where the matrimony shall be solemnised, and to offer with him.' The death and burial of a brother likewise occasioned the warning and attendance of the whole fraternity at St. Augustine's. Upon this event, 'the next *ferial* day after his burying there was enjoined a "dirige," of the Austin friars,' whence no doubt the derivation of our word dirge; 'and the next day mass of requiem in the said church, the wardens to be then present, and to offer each of them one penny, upon pain of forfeiture of 2lbs of wax.' The ordinance then further enacts—

"'That the bedill shall see that the dedde body of every brother have four torches to bring him to his grave, and four tapers to be lighted or borne about his herse or corpse, if his body be in the church in the time of dirige or mass, except there be two corpses in one day, then the said torches and tapers to be equally divided between them, upon pain of forfeiting 2lbs. of wax, to be levied and divided in form aforesaid.'

Digitized by Google

"Provision is made with great particularity for the employment of journeymen. Aliens and foreigners, which included both Scotch and Irish, had little chance of employment if any native shoemaker was out of work, for the wardens were strictly enjoined to go to the house of the brother 'having mos journeymen being aliants, those journeymen being englishmen, and comande him to sett the said journeymen to work in the said occupation.'

"The interference of the wardens, and the exercise of their authority, doubtless occasioned more bickerings, and rendered their occupation neither pleasant nor peaceful; accordingly it was enacted—

"'That at quarter day, they nor any of them have any *obproprious* words, nor words of disclaunder, eiche to other, nor to their wardens, but that they shall have their wardens in good honour and maner in speaking to them, without fasyng and brasyng, upon pain of forfeiture of two lbs. of wax.'

"Barbers, Surgeons, and Physicians. The following extract is taken from an ordinance of the barbers and surgeons, in the city of Canterbury, who were reincorporated A.D. 1544.

"'Also we orde̅n, that no man' of forener, whatsoe̅r he be, from hensforth, shall come into the seyd citie, w^t any pott, basen, knyf, or shavyng cloth, or any other thyng belongyng to the seyd crafte and mystery, to th'entent to shave or poll any man, or otherwyse to trym any berd, except he be free of the seyd craft and mystery in the seyd cytie; uppon payne to forfyt, for ev'y tyme doyng the contr'y, iij^s iiij^d. Also we orden, that yf any p'sone or p'sones, whatsoe̅r he or they be, shall from hensforth washe or shave any berd, or polle any hed, or otherwyse trym any berd on the Sonday; except at fower Sondayes, in the tyme of harvest, whiche fower Sondayes shall be appoynted by the master and wardens of the seyd craft and mystery of barbers and surgeons; and also except it be at tymes of necessete, for sum grete man, or for maister maier, or any of his brethren; uppon payne to forfyt, for ev'y default, iij^s. iij^d. Also we orde̅n, that no p'sone or p'sones, of the seyd crafte and mystrey, shall take no less for the washyng of a hed, and shavyng of a berd, than 1^d. o̅b., that is to say, for the washyng of ev'y hed 1^d. and for shavyng of ev'ry berd o̅b; uppon payne of forfettor, for ev'y tyme doyng the contr'y, xii^d. Also we orde̅n, that no p'sone or p'sones, of the seyd crafte and mystery, shall not take no less for polling of a hed than 1^d.; uppon payne of forfettor, for ev'y tyme doyng the contr'y, vii^d.; and shall not poll any hed, and trym a berd, under the price of ij^d. And that, if it shall fortune, any of the seyd craft and mystery to shave any man by the quarter, that then, if he be a tempa̅ll man he shall pay for the shavyng, by ev'y quart^r vj^d. and no lesse; and, if he be a spu̅all, then to pay viij^d. by the quart^r or else the seyd man to pay for ev'y shavyng 1^d.

"In a more ancient ordinance of the Canterbury chamber, 13 Henry

Digitized by Google

seventh, A.D. 1498, the guild was first instituted, when the physicians were also included with the surgeons and barbers, although all allusion to the first profession appears to have been dropped in the last *cited* decree. In the older document, 'Master Stephen Taye, doctor of physic, Master Pasca, physician, Robert Done and William Inglish, with other the whole company of the whole crafte and mystery of physicians, surgeons, and barbers, are *instantly* required, and with most *effectuore* labour desired, to have good rules and orders within their crafte and mystery.' The ordinance then goes on to prescribe the regulations,—the first relating to the appointment of a warden and beadle; the second desiring no one belonging to the said craft of physicians, surgeons and barbers shall *not* shave *no* man on a Sunday upon pain of forfeiting 6s. 8d. It then decrees, That no one of the brotherhood shall set up a shop in the said city or suburbs without he come and agree with the wardens of the said city,—penalties and forfeitures being enacted for the same as well as for enticing away any servant or apprentice from his master, or patient from his brother craftsman. *Sisters* appeared to have been admitted to this company, although in what capacity it does not explain. It is further enacted, 'That if any of the brethren of the said crafte have great works, and if so be that he stand desolate of a man or ii, then he shall *go to one* of his brethren (the which is ——), and shall have of him a servant or two for a day or ii or iii, giving for his labour and workmanship, 4d. a-day, and meat and drink.' The ordinance concludes with a testimonial of the parties, having put their seals with the consent of the whole craft and mystery aforesaid.

"APOTHECARIES. The classification of the professors of the healing art appears to have puzzled our forefathers. They were a sort of supplementary genus, which the learned in the natural history of crafts and professions did not know how to arrange. Accordingly we find at a much later period, namely, A.D. 1690, the apothecaries, grocers, chandlers, and fishmongers, were united in one fraternity, and together address the burgmote, petitioning for the inforcement of penalties against parties violating their rules and ordinances, (which ordinances they affirm were established in the 44th of Elizabeth.)

"Their chief grievance, however, is against the ladies, who, it appears, have set up shops and commenced trading in their crafts and professions.

"The petition to the corporation concludes thus: shewing—'That your petitioners sett at great rents in their houses, and pay taxes to their majesties, the minister, church and poor respectively, and undergo all troublesome offices as borsholders, constables, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor, which women are not taxable to do, and if women be suffered to interlope into the trades of the petitioners, the same will tend to their ruin and undoing. *No* man will *never* put his son to be an apprentice to your petitioners when any woman may set up in the trade.'

Digitized by Google

"Brewers and Bakers. By a decree of the court of burgemote, dated 20th May, 1488, 4th Henry VII, new and more stringent resolutions are adopted for the brewers and bakers who had been previously incorporated in the same company. The decree begins with a common complaint which appears to have haunted the imaginations of men in all ages, that the past times were more prosperous than those in which they lived, and more especially, 'that habitations wherein were kept good and suitable households employed in brewing and baking, had fallen into decay.' The evil in this case, however, appears to have been attributed to the fact that various parties were residents and others came into the city and undersold the craftsmen therein engaged; a circumstance not at all unlikely, considering the dues and expenses and restrictions to which each man's labour was subjected within the municipal liberties. Among the offenders are noted, 'many simple and evil-disposed persons of the same city, as well as Scotch, Irish, and others, which no one will apply themselves to any labour, or other lāful occupations, but only live upon the sale and hokestry of the seid brede, beer, and ale, and for that they have resorting to them many vagabonds and evil-disposed persons.' By an assize of the year 1505, the price of ale was fixed at one penny per gallon, and every boune, cask of 36 gallons of double beer, 3*s*.

"Smiths and Armourers, 21 Henry VII (A.D. 1506)—'Ordeyned and inacted, That the smythez shall take for a courser, or a bere carte horse shoying, xii*d*. That none of the seide smythez shoo no horse, that is parid w^t another man. That ev'y of the seide smythez have a marke uppon the horse shoys. That all such smythez, that sho wheles, shall have for a lib (pound) 1*d*. q^r; for a lĩb of almañe of blacke worke, that is to say, as barris under the brewer's leds, and suche other bouster's worke 1*d*. q^r; also citchis, lachis, porters and heygodays, the lib. ij*d*.; also for all square yron, that is white tynned, the lib: 1*d*. ōb.; Also, a lĩb. of ferment worke, for glasse wyndowes, j*d*. ōb. Also, that none of the seide smythez worke no frenche yron, in eny worke but in barris that is framed in tymber; and they shall have, for a lib. of such yron, wrought and white tynned, j*d*. ōb. Also, that ther shall none make no stok lock, ne spryng lock; but that the stokis be clonge wode, xii monethez olde. Also they shall have, for a stoke-locke-key, ij*d*.; for a holowe key, for a doure, iij*d*.; for all other small holow keys ij*d*.; for squarying of a wat mylle spyndell iij*s*.; for the squarying of an horse myll spyndell xvi*d*.; for a newe matok, to eny of the seide milles, the lib. ij*d*. Also they shall sell a m^l (thousand) of ij*d*. nayle for xviii*d*.; m^l. of iij*d*. nayle for ij*s*. ij*d*.; m^l. of iiij*d*. nayle for iiij*s*. viij*d*; and all other small worke, that is made in nayle, the lib. ij*d*. also crosse charnells, for grete dowres and windowes, the lib. ij*d*.; and they that be white tynned ij*d*. ōb. Also ev'y c. of horse nayle, w^t in the lib'te, att

iijd. Also that ev'y smythe svñte, all alle other, do geve ther attendunce, uppon Seinte Loy's day at masse, and offir ther w^t the brethered of Seinte Loy. Also, that ther shall no forener come in to the cite w^t horse sho and nayles, lock, ne any other jerne works, to sell w^t outen agreme't and a licens of the wardens, but only on the m'kett dayes; uppon the penalte of vis. viij*d.*; the oñ halfe to the chamber, and the other to the cōen box. And, that none armerer sette upp his occupacon w^t in the lib'tie, w^t outen the agremēt of the chamber, and the wardens of the same craft, and that he be tried and an able workeman.'

"The profession of minstrel, which in the early history of our race comprised the poet, the priest, and the prophet, at least amongst the Teutonic and Celtic nations, had fallen in the middle ages to be the occupation of performers, singing the verses of others, or mere musicians, mustering such instruments as were then in use, 'Fidelers,' as 'Pierce Ploughman's Vision' denotes them to be, playing on pipes, tambourines, guitars, tabors, trumpets, and bagpipes.

"'Well could he singe and playe on the note,'

says Chaucer. The same poet also mentions 'the harp, lute, giterne, orgon, and ribible.' In the reign of Edward II, the profession had become so much abused by numbers of idle persons assuming the occupation of minstrels, and demanding with insolence and authority gratuities of the public, travelling about the country in bands, under the pretended title of 'the king's minstrels', that it was deemed expedient to check their impositions by a public edict, a reservation being made in favour of professed minstrels, those in the service of the sovereign, or the nobles, or the members of incorporated fraternities.

"A similar complaint of the irregularity of the members of this profession appears to have called forth restrictive measures in the reign of Edward IV, who, reviving the ancient guild of minstrels under more comprehensive rules, appoints them a marshall, instead of the 'king of the minstrels,' as heretofore, and two wardens. Sisters were also included, professional descendants, doubtless, of the 'glee maidens' of the Anglo-Saxon occupants of this kingdom. The profession nevertheless declined year by year. The minstrel's glory had departed with the days when he could claim admittance at every board, and received an embroidered mantle from the hand of the master of the feast, or a white rose from his wife or daughter, as the reward of his songs. A well-known statute of Elizabeth includes the professors of the musical act among 'rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars,' directed more particularly, however, against the wandering, and not the regularly incorporated waits and minstrels. Puttenham, who wrote in 1589, describes the minstrel as one who then sang 'from benches and barrel heads, to boys and country fellows, giving a fitte of mirth for a groat, reciting the stories of old times, such

Digitized by Google

as Sir Topas, Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke, Adam Bell, Clymme of the Clough, and such other old romances and historicall rhymes made purposely for the recreation of the commonest people at Christmas dinners, and brides ales, in taverns and alehouses, and such other places of base resort.'

"About the 18° Henry VIII (A.D. 1526), these were incorporated into a guild called 'The Fellowship of Waits and Minstrels', and it was 'Ordered, that all wayts and mynstrells, that nowe doo inhabyte, or hereaft' shall inhabyte in the seyd cytye, or the suburbes of the same citie, shalbe one felowshyp, and called by the name of the felowshyp of the craft and mystery of mynstrells, and so shall conteynewe from hensforth for ev'. That yt shall not be lawfull to any freman, usyng or exēcisyng the craft or mystery of mynstrells, to join themsilfs to any foren mynstrells, to th'entent to occupye there instruments, w[t] in the seyd cytye, or lyb'ties of the same, except he be hys app'ntice; uppon payn to forfett, for ev'y suche default, vj*s*. viij*d*.; nor to noo freeman, usyng or practysyng the seyd craft or mystery of mynstrells, in any dedycac'on w[t] in the seyd citye, to pr'vent the wayts in eny alderman or comen cousellor's house, uppon payn to forfett, for ev'y suche default, iij*s*. iiij*d*.; nor to any freman, usyng or p'ctysyng the seid craft or mystery of mynstrells, to take any may-game, garland, chyldale or weddyng out of an-other freman hand; uppon payn to forfett, for ev'y suche default, iij*s*. iiij*d*.; nor to any foren mynstrells to take any suche weddyngs, dedycācons, may-games or garlands from any freman, usyng or p'ctysyng the seyd craft or mystery of mynstrells, w[t] in the seid citie, upon payn to forfett, for ev'y suche default, vj*s*. viij*d*.; nor to any p'sonne or p'sonnes, of the seid craft or mystery of mynstrells, to play of any instrument on the Sonday, in tyme of masse or evynsong, in any inne, tavern or any other place; except it be at a weddyng, or a place where he ys hyred, or at the commandement of master maier of thys citie, for the tyme beyng, or any other wurshippfull man; and also except yt be a freman sytting at his owen house to tune hys instrument, or a foren mynstrell, sytting at hys ost's, tunyng hys instrument; uppon payne to forfett, for ev'y tyme doyng the contr'y, iij*s*. iiij*d*. Also, that if any of the seid craft or mystery, at any tyme hereafter, in sport or in malice, doo call one a-nother knave, or any other vyle words, then ev'y p'sonne of the seid craft or mystery so offendyng, shall lose and forfett, for ev'y tyme that he shall so offend, xii*s*. That yf any mynstrell, yea though he be free admytted w[t] the wayts of this cytie, to be in any inne, or other place, w[t] in the seid cyte, whēr any nobleman shall repayre, and they not havyng entred or begone to play, that then they shall geve place to the wayts of thys cytie; and shall not ex'cise any melody, 'tyll they have begon, or otherwyse have leve of them; uppon payne to forfett, for disobedyens or cont'ry doyng, for ev'y tyme, vi*s*. viij*d*.; p'vyded always,

Digitized by Google

that nothyng in thys ordynñce before rehersyd, shalbe, at any tyme hereafter, any thyng p'ejudiciall or hurtfull to any of the king's mynstrells, the queane's, my lord Prince's, or any honorable or wurshipfull mann's mynstrells of thys realme. That, yf yt shall fortune any p'sonne or p'sonnes, fremen and inhabytants of the seide citie, to hire the wayts of the seid cytie, for any weddyng, may-game, or other suche lyke thynge, by the space of one two or three days, that then ev'y such p'sonne and p'sones that shall so hire the wayts of the seid cytie, shall pay and geve to ev'y of the seid wayts, for evy day, viii*d*. and no more. And yf yt fortune the seid wayts, at any tyme hereafter, be not able or refuse to s've in manner and fourme next before mentioned, that then yt shalbe lawful to any of the 'nhabitants of the seyd citie, that shall fortune to have any such nede, to take any other mynstrell, mete and able for the same; p'vided that thys boke, or any thyng therein conteyned, shall not be, at any time hereafter any thyng p'ejudycyall or hurtfull to the maiere, and other hys bretheren, and ther successors, nor against the comen welth, in any act of graunt, heretofore made and graunted by the kyng o[r] sovei'gne lord and hys p'genytours.'

"In the reign of Elizabeth this fraternity was allowed to bear a colour or escutcheon of arms. The company appears to have been broken up under the Commonwealth, although traces of it may perhaps be detected as 'The City Musicians' in the reigns of the sovereigns who succeeded that period of puritanical authority.

"CORPUS CHRISTI.

"Among the numerous mysteries and musical plays exhibited by our forefathers, more especially during Lent and upon certain festivals, none were more popular or important than the Corpus Christi, or Ludus Coventriæ, so called from its having been first produced at that city. The prologue to this play was delivered by three persons, who spoke alternately and announced the arguments of the several acts or pageants, which often contained forty in number. The subject was the widest possible, its scope extending from creation to the day of judgment.

"For the more efficient performance of this mystery, to which great importance was attached, guilds or societies were founded throughout the country, which were endowed like ecclesiastical communities, and maintained various ministers and officials. Among the Canterbury records is a decree of the court of burghmote, dated 25th Hen. VII, A.D. 1504, for the sustentation and continuance of the play, called Corpus Christi, by the incorporated crafts and fraternities of the city of Canterbury.

"'Be it remembered, that whēr, before this tyme, thēr hath bene, by the most hoñable and worshipfull of the cite of Cant'bury, usid and continuied, w[t] in the same cite, a play called Corpus X'pi play, as well to the hono[r] of the same citie, as to the p'fite of all vitelers and other occupac'ons w[t] in the same; whiche play, before thys tyme, was maynteyned

and plaide att the costs and chārgs of the crafts and mistriers wᵗ in the same cite; And whēras, now of late daies, it hath bene lefte and laide aparte, to the grete hurte and decay of the seide cite, and for lacke of goode orderyng of certeyn crafts wᵗ in the same cite, nott corp'att. Wher'for', it is ennacted, ordeyned and establisshed, that, frome hensforth, ev'y crafte, within the seid cite beyng not corp'at, for thēr non sufficience of thēr crafte, be associatt, incorp'att and adjoynyng to sume other crafte, most nedyng of supporte, yf they wille not laboure to be corp'att within themselfe, as shalbe thought convenient and moste necessary by this courte. And that alle manʳ of crafts and mistriers, wᵗ in the same cite, be so incorp'at, for the sustentacōn and contynuance of the seide play, by the feste of Seint Michel next comyng. And, yf eny suche crafte or crafts be obstynatt or willfulle, and will nott make sute to the burgemote, for the p'formācon of theies p'emissis by the seide feste, to forfett to the seide chamber xxˢ. and theire bodies to be punysshed, furthermore, att the pleasure and by discrescion of this courte.'

"On the 30th of April, 1538, the chamberlain, in his accounts, acknowledged to have received of Mr. William Nutt, alderman, for the discharge and recompence of the goods appertaining to Corpus Christi, beside the chalice, 20*s.*; also a chalice, weighing 11¾ oz., price the ounce 3*s.* 8*d.*, and sold, 40*s.* 9*d.*; and of Robert Lewis, alderman, 6*s.* 8*d.* for certain bricks belonging to the said brethren of Corpus Christi.

"This guild was kept in the church of Holy Cross Westage, in Canterbury. Its original foundation is unknown, but in king Edward VIth's reign was said to have existed from time immemorial; the brotherhood called themselves the fraternity of Jhesus Mass, and maintained a chaplain, termed the Jhesus mass priest; having lands and tenements belonging to them, of the certified yearly value of £11. 9*s.* 8*d.*; (£11. 7*s.* 8*d.* *See Somner*, p. 341); out of which their priest was paid an annual stipend of £7, including the expenses of wax and wine used in the church; and the parish clerk 6*s.* 8*d.*, for ringing to the mass at six o'clock in the morning, and helping to sing the same. All the brethren, whose names, on their admission, were entered on a beadroll, were specially recommended to our Saviour's mercy by the priest at mass. This guild, with all others of a like institution, was dissolved by an act of the legislature, and the property confiscated, in the time of king Edward VI; as is, as I conceive, the brotherhood, who styled themselves the brethren of Corpus Christi, mentioned in these accounts."

Time would not permit of the reading of any further papers; and the president, after offering grateful acknowledgments to the mayor and corporation, and the local committee of Maidstone, for their most friendly and elegant reception, adjourned the meeting.

Digitized by Google

Saturday, July 30.

The Association met together this morning at a public breakfast in Rochester, when the titles of various papers were announced and referred to be read at the public meetings in London. These will, therefore, appear in the accounts of future Proceedings.

Votes of thanks were then moved, seconded, and passed to those who had offered facilities to the Association in the prosecution of their inquiries; and to individuals for the services they had rendered. These included thanks to the earl Cowper, the lord-lieutenant of the county; and the lord bishop of Rochester, the bishop of the diocese. To the president, Ralph Bernal, esq., M.A; to the vice-presidents; T. J. Pettigrew, esq., the treasurer; to the honorary secretaries; to the dean and chapter, and the clergy of Rochester and Maidstone; to the mayors and corporations of Rochester and Maidstone; to the earl Darnley; C. Wykeham Martin, esq., of Leeds castle; — Muston, esq., of Cowling castle; Thos. Charles, esq., of Chillington house, Maidstone; and others who had kindly received the Association; to the town clerks of Rochester and Maidstone, J. Lewis, esq., and J. Monckton, esq., for their assistance; and to the several members of the local committees. A general vote of thanks was also passed to the authors of papers and exhibitors of antiquities during the Congress, after which the meeting was dissolved, and the members departed, highly satisfied with the investigations that had been pursued, and the results obtained by them.

During the Congress the members availed themselves of every possible opportunity to visit the most remarkable places, and some of their investigations will be made the subject of future communications.

The ancient walls of the city of Rochester have been described somewhat in detail, in the fourth volume of the *Journal* of the Association for 1848, pp. 30—37; and on occasion of the present Congress, the President and many members of the Association particularly examined the north-east tower, and expressed themselves much pleased with its state of preservation, and the traces of the ancient arrangements of the interior of it still remaining. It is approached from the High-street by a doorway adjoining the Free School. Thence passing through a narrow passage for a short distance the original eastern wall of the city is ascended, and proceeding along the top, by a species of banquette, for about 60 yards, with the battlements at places still perfect on the right hand, the tower is reached; and the interior is entered by a flight of stone steps descending into an arched passage, and small vestibule communicating with it. In this part a fire-place is still remaining, and also three em. brasures, or loopholes, represented in Plate 33. (For the general arrangements of the interior, see the accompanying plan). Its walls, at this height from the ground, are about 6 feet thick; and besides the approach

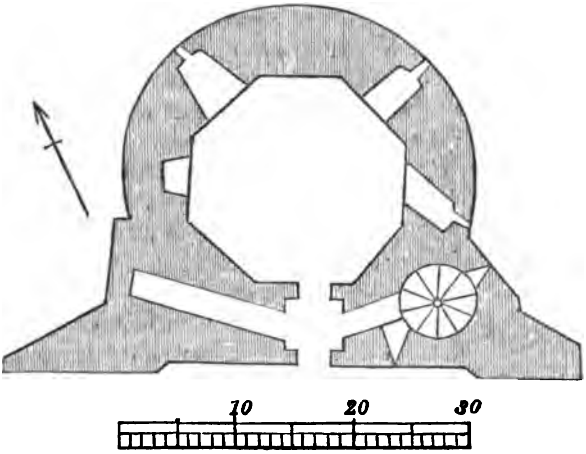
Digitized by Google

NORTH-EAST TOWER OF ROCHESTER WALL.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

from the city walls, there was another entrance to it on the south side, as shewn by the plan, through an exterior door-way and the small vestibule before mentioned. From this another vaulted passage, 3 feet wide, and 14 feet 3 inches long, extends to the left. The door-way just noted communicates at present on the level with a piece of garden ground, but the soil here seems to have been raised about seven or eight feet since ancient times.



On the outside of the tower, towards the river, its present height is about 25 or 26 feet; and here two flank walls unite it to the main city walls, filling up the angle of junction. The space so gained is applied, on one side, to give room for the circular stone steps, and on the other it appears to contain a latima, or sewer. The tower is at present unroofed, and without its battlements; but a slightly built modern wall, about three feet high, surrounds it at this part.

The same party afterwards, under the able superintendence of the rev. Beale Poste, viewed the city walls and ditch, at a place a little to the south of the former east gate, from a spot in Mr. Jacobs' garden, where they can be examined to great advantage (see *Journal*, vol. iv. p. 37). The ditch is seen from this place in nearly its original breadth and depth, which is not the case in any other part of the circuit of the walls; and there are here appearances of breaches, which not improbably may have been made in some attacks on the city in medieval times.

Mr. F. C. Lukis, of Guernsey, whose communications relating to primæval antiquities, printed in the *Journal* of the Association, have excited so much interest, was unfortunately prevented by illness from accompanying the members in their visit to Kit's Coty House, and the cromlechs

in its neighbourhood; but he most kindly forwarded the following paper "On the Maenhir,"[1] as connected with that object of investigation:—

"There are few monuments of ancient days more difficult, and at the same time more instructive to the antiquary than the stone pillar.

"The pillar of memorial was the sacred stone of primitive times, and in later periods it has obtained a variety of appellations in different countries, according to the more *recent use* to which it has been applied, or the *Folk-lore* which has been attached to it from a dark and superstitious period, and which still hangs over it in many places.

"In the countries which form the western boundary of Europe it is known as the *Maenhir*, or '*elevated stone*', '*the high stone*', '*the stone of power*'.

"The Maenhir of the Celtic period is simply an unwrought pillar of stone, any intentionally erected large stone, whether standing alone or associated with others in lines or otherwise. It is found upon plains more or less extensive, it is seen amidst the inhospitable waste of heather, or on the trackless barren sandy desert, as well as near to the haunts of busy man, where it often lends its aid to the *gate of a field* or enclosure, or forms the angle-stone of the cottage.

"The raised pillar of stone is one of the most ancient records we possess. It is that which the patriarch Jacob, after having passed the night alone amidst the pathless desert, raises, and dedicates to the Lord Jehovah, in memorial of that protection he had received, and of the Heavenly vision he had been favoured with. This pillar of stone he raised up in the morning, upon one end, and poured oil upon it, and over it he made a vow, to give a tenth part of all his future gains. This spot was the future Bethel of Holy Writ.

"This ceremony of dedication is peculiarly interesting, from which we may infer the original sacred or ceremonial character it has obtained in many countries. The maenhir in its monolithic character may therefore be called the stone of memorial.

"This early instance of raising pillars of stone, is here cited, whence arose the custom, which has prevailed probably among every tribe and nation of the earth.

[1] See accompanying representation of monolith at St. Peter's in the Wood, Guernsey.

Digitized by Google

"When the maenhir is repeated at certain distances, it is still considered as being a *ceremonial stone*, but it now forms *one* of a *directing series*, and like the track-way, leads towards some sacred spot of greater extent and importance, as might be a *temple* or *cyclolith*. When in double lines, as at *Abury in Wiltshire*, the maenhir forms the chief avenues to the sacred spot.

"It is not here intended to extend these few remarks, and explain the many terms by which this pillar of stone is known; whether the *meer* or *mere-stone*, is really the Mercury of the heathen race; the *hoar-stone* or *heer-stone*, the pillar or stone of convocation, the *boundary-stone* of more recent times; the *bridal* or *wiveling* stone, *that sacred stone*, where the unmarried pair swore eternal love and plighted their faith before it. All and each of these ceremonies are doubtless connected with the maenhir.

"The haran-stan, the wor-stan, and the *shire divisional stone*, are equally *uses* to which the *maenhir* has been applied in various countries and districts.

"The maenhir has now attracted the notice of the antiquary more than formerly, and among numerous instances of its importance in archæology, may be mentioned the following facts connected with it, the more so as the excursions of the society may be directed in the neighbourhood where it occurred:—About twelve years ago, when on an antiquarian tour in Kent, certain indications led the writer toward the seat of the earl of Darnley, when on the north-west side of the church at Cobham, further *disturbed maenhir* appeared tending towards a cottage occupied by a respectable superannuated *domestic of Cobham hall*. On enquiry we were led to this man's little orchard and garden, where we discovered a block of stone on the side of a pond; the section of the bank being examined, no doubts were entertained of our having arrived at the spot where some structure *once existed*. On further questioning the man—whose name, I think, was John Gill—we learnt that many years back he was present when the late lord Darnley destroyed a *stone structure*, which stood upon that very spot to which we had been so faithfully led. The stone which still remained on the side, being found too large for removal, and the team of oxen employed to remove the many masses of the structure, were unable to draw it further from its bed.

"On questioning John Gill, for what purpose the destruction of this *tomb* was made (*for without doubt, we said,* SOME ONE *had been laid there*), he said that the gardener of his lordship was making a *rockery* in the garden *near Cobham Hall;* and further added, that *the lane* which led to his cottage had a strange name, and it was said to lead to the *Warrior's Grave!!!* The rockery was examined, and went greatly to confirm the above.

Digitized by Google

"This is only one instance of the value of the *Maenhir* to the antiquary, in exploring *an unknown country*; many others might be produced, and with similar results. It will be sufficient to mention another, which occurred in the month *of May last*, when examining one of the Channel Islands. A line of stones standing upon a plain, at unequal distances, of five, seven, and even twenty-four feet apart, consisting of sandstone grit, extending in an east and west direction, and at one extremity lay two blocks of granite; these prostrate blocks were called *Les Porceaux* by the peasantry. This name will recall to mind the well-known collection of prostrate stones, lying upon certain parts of North Wiltshire, where they are known by an appellation, probably given by the *herdsmen of that county*, in like manner, '*The Grey Wethers.*' The names derived from the appearances of animals, in the mind of the simple shepherd, when viewed from a distance. The space between the two above-mentioned blocks of granite was dug into, and at about a foot deep a kist was discovered, whence mortal remains, pottery, and stone instruments were soon extracted.

"It is proper to remark, in mentioning the value of the maenhir to the student in archæology, that there are other upright stones, which stand upon their natural bed, but which have been held by the rude occupiers of the land in great reverence, and around which many a tale of the fairy period still hovers—these are termed *needle stones*, *pulpits*, and other names of recent origin. These may, however, have been venerated during the *Megalithic period*, and like the logan stones and the cheese-rings of that day, have contributed to ceremonial rites of a dark and pagan race. They are not, however, pillars of memorial *raised* by the hand of man, as in the former instances, and are not to be called *maenhirs*. They can easily be distinguished from them, and are seldom connected with the megalithic structures of the true Celtic period."

Digitized by Google

Proceedings of the Association.

NOVEMBER 23.

The following associates were reported to have been elected during the recess:

Edward L. Betts, esq., Preston hall, Kent.
David Salomons, esq., alderman, 3, Great Cumberland place.
J. N. Allen, esq., 20, Artillery place.
William Palmer, esq., 3, George street, Euston square.
The Earl Ducie, Totworth.
John Hay, esq., Brewood, Staffordshire.
Jas. Newman Tweedy, esq., 47, Montagu square.
Rev. Edward Hale, Eton college.
James Lewis, esq., Rochester.
B. Eveleigh Winthrop, esq., Dover.
Thomas Godfrey Sambrooke, esq., 32, Eaton place.
William Rutter, esq., Hare court, Temple.
Captain Leicester Vernon, M.P., Ardington house, Berks.
Rev. Robert Whiston, M.A., Rochester.
Henry W. Joy, esq., Maidstone.
John Monckton, esq., Maidstone.
Hon. Francis Villiers, M.P., Berkeley square.
George Augustus Cape, esq., 60, Walcot place.
J. R. Jobbins, esq., Warwick court.
George H. Bascomb, esq., Chiselhurst.
Thomas Sydney Smith, esq., 35, Trinity square, Tower hill.
Michael Meredith, esq., Great Winchester street.

As foreign members:

M. le comte de Laborde, Paris.
M. Coste, rue de Rome, 37, Marseilles.
M. Dassy, Boulevard du Musée, 15, Marseilles.

As corresponding member:

George Henry Adams, esq., Rochester.

The following presents were received:

By the Society of Antiquaries. Archæologia, vol. xxxv. Lond. 1853. 4to.
—— Proceedings of the Society, Nos. 33-36. London, 1852-3. 8vo.
—— Catalogue of the Kerrich Collection of Roman Coins. London, 1852. 8vo.

Digitized by Google

Archæological Institute. The Archæological Journal. Nos. 38 and 39. London, 1853. 8vo.

By the Society. Proceedings and Papers of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Liverpool, 1853. 8vo.

By the Smithsonian Institution. Sixth Annual Report. Washington, 1852. 8vo.

—— Portraits of North-American Indians, painted by J. M. Stanley. Washington, 1852. 8vo.

—— Norton's Literary Register. New York, 1853. 8vo.

—— Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Washington, 1853. 4to.

Commissioners for Indian Affairs, U.S. History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States. By H. R. Schoolcroft. Part III. Philadelphia. 4to.

By the Society. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 1850-53. Three Numbers.

—— Coutumes locales du Bailliage d'Amiens, par M. A. Bouthours, Amiens, 1852. 4to.

—— Introduction à l'Histoire Générale de la Province de Picardie, par D. Grenier. Amiens, 1853. 4to.

By the Society. Sussex Archæological Collections, Vol. VI. London, 1853. 8vo.

By the Author. Appendix to the Lecture on Colchester Castle. By the Rev. Henry Jenkins, B.D. London, 1853. 8vo.

—— A Plea for the Antiquity of Heraldry, by W. S. Ellis. London, 1853. 8vo.

—— Curiosities of Modern Shakesperian Criticism, by J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A. London, 1853. 8vo.

—— Observations on some of the MS. Emendations of the Text of Shakespeare, and are they Copyright? By J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A. London, 1853. 8vo.

—— View of the History and Coinage of the Parthians, &c., by John Lindsay, Esq. Cork, 1852. 4to.

—— Notice des Tableaux et Monuments Antiques exposés dans le Musée de Marseille, par J. Dassy. Marseille, 1851. 8vo.

—— Notice des Emaux, Bijoux et Objets divers exposés dans les Galleries du Musée du Louvre, par M. de la Borde. Paris, 1853. 2 tom. 8vo.

By Dr. Lee. Hebron and the Cave of Machpelah, by the Rev. J. Turnbull. London, 1853. 12mo.

By E. Falkener, Esq. Inscriptiones Græcas in Itinere Asiatico Collectas ab Ed. Falkenero edidit Guil. Henzenius. Romæ, 1852. 8vo.

Mr. Pettigrew exhibited various antiquities obtained by him from Mr. Naylor, of Rochester, for a description of which see pp. 407-8, *ante.*

The Rev. Thomas Hugo exhibited a very fine specimen of the rose

Digitized by Google

noble of Edward II, one of the finest examples of the gold coinage of England, found in September last in the progress of some excavations making in Bury street, in the city.

The Rev. Thomas Rankin, of Huggate rectory, made the following communication: "On a Sacrificial Tumulus on the Yorkshire Wolds."

"In the beginning of June, a young gentleman from Derbyshire and myself, accompanied by three men, opened two tumuli in this parish, which is situated near the summit of the Wolds, and about seven miles from Pocklington. In the same field are five others, some of which had been opened before. We commenced with the largest of the group, which is about 104 yards in circumference at the bottom, about 36 yards in diameter over the crown, and about four yards in height at the centre. The original height must have been about six or seven yards. We commenced in the centre with a shaft of about three yards. Having dug about five feet through a mass consisting of the adjacent soil, mixed occasionally with brown clay, we came to a hollow place, into which the men's spades easily entered. On examining it, we found the bones of a sheep, some of which were much corroded, but the jaw bones and teeth were in a perfect state. It appeared that the entire carcase of a sheep had been buried in a thin stratum of clay. Having dug about a foot deeper, we came to a hard incrustation composed of the adjacent soil, burnt flints, chalk and clay, and a thin stratum of burnt ashes, the produce of animal matter. On digging deeper, we found several sheep bones in a half calcined state. On comparing them with the first found bones, which were in a state of corrosion, we found them much lighter. This arose, I suppose, from the fire having destroyed the gelatinous matter, and rendered them impervious to the moisture. This admixture of bones and ashes and clay we found till we came to the original surface of the soil. We dug about two feet deeper, but nothing besides the original soil appeared.

"As this tumulus was not sepulchral but sacrificial, we are left to conjecture the occasion why the sacrifice had been offered. It is worthy of remark that this tumulus is not two miles distant from the site of a Roman encampment at Millington, which is the only one in this neighbourhood, and was probably made by the advanced cohorts of the Roman army, which had pushed forward by the Ermin street road. Between the tumulus and the Roman camp there are the remains of an ancient British camp, which must have been occupied by ancient British soldiers. As a battle between the two armies was unavoidable, the probability is that a druid or druids from Goodmanham, the last stronghold of druidism in this county, offered a sacrifice to propitiate their gods, and to arouse the courage of their soldiers, when engaged with the enemy, for they could see the light from their camp. Upon this supposition, this sacrifice was propitiatory.

Digitized by Google

"But there are two tumuli about two miles north-east from the sacrificial tumulus, which have been evidently piled by the cremation of bodies slain in battle. From the circumstance of part of a Roman ensign, and the knob of the handle of a Roman scimitar having been found there some years ago, the probability is, that the ancient Britons had obtained a victory over the Romans; and from the fact of a British urn filled with ashes being found in the centre of one of these tumuli, and part of a stag's horn, and some human bones, covered with flints, being found in the centre of the other, it may fairly be inferred that both the tumuli had been reared by the ancient Britons on burning the bodies of their comrades which fell in battle. Supposing this to be the correct opinion, then the sacrifice would be eucharistical on account of the victory. These opinions are submitted with a view to elicit what may be deemed a more correct one.

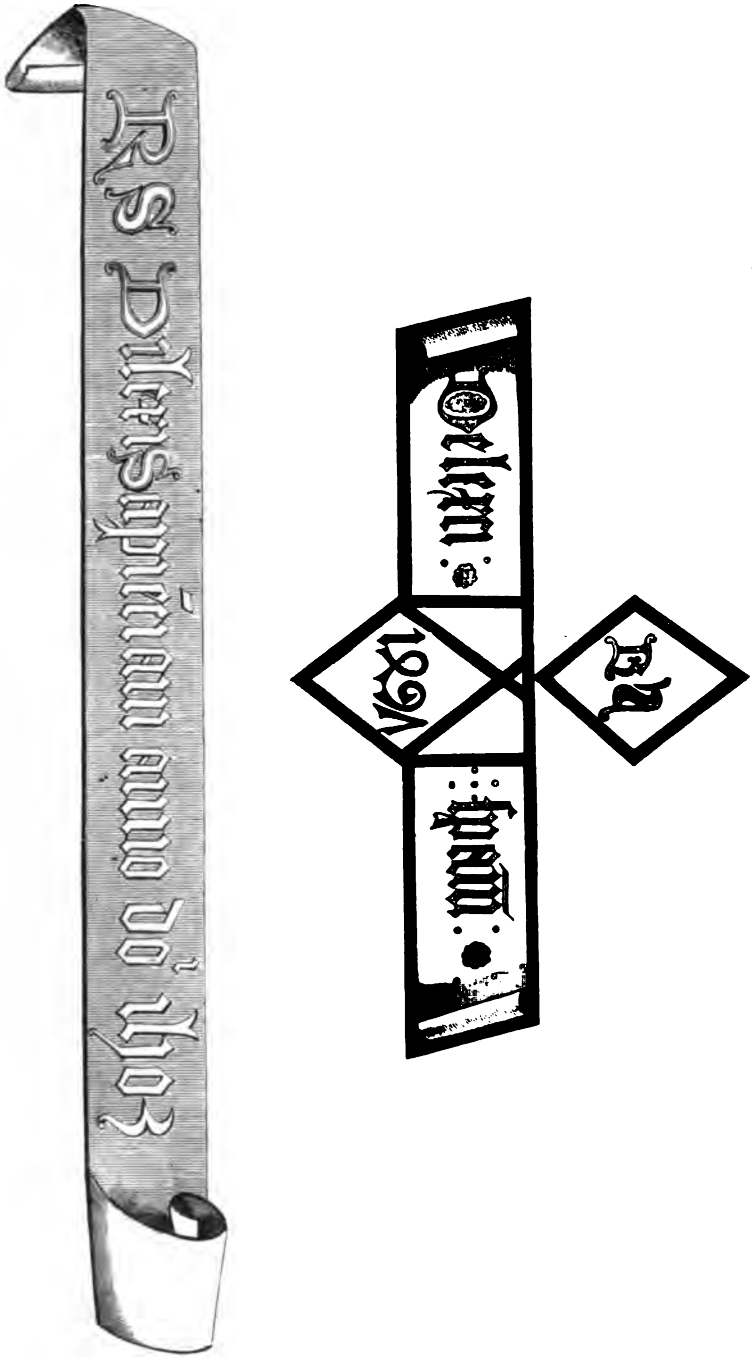
"On the same day, another but smaller tumulus at a short distance was opened. The circumference at the bottom was about thirty-four yards, the diameter over the crown about thirteen yards, and the height about two yards. On digging a shaft perpendicularly from the crown, at the depth of about three feet, large flints were found; these being removed, a few horse bones were found, but nothing else. A few years ago, a tumulus, several miles from this, was opened, when similar flints, but many more of them, were found; no bones, I believe."

Mr. F. J. Baigent forwarded the following remarks on a leaden token found at Winchester, with notices of dates in Arabic numerals:—

"The somewhat curious circular leaden token represented in the annexed cut, was dug up in the month of August last, in a garden situated in Hyde-street, Winchester, formerly a portion of land pertaining to the Mitred Abbey of Hyde, of the order of St. Benedict, founded by St. Grimbauld. On one side of the medal are represented entwined the letters I. S., and on

the other is given, in Arabic numerals, the date 1531. It has been suggested that it might be a religious token, and the I. S. intended as a monogram of the holy name; but I know of no mediæval example of this being represented by those two letters only, *i. e.* without the letter H. I am rather inclined to believe this medal, or token, to have been struck to commemorate (perhaps upon his taking possession of the abbey) John Saultcot, the *last* and *most unworthy time-serving* abbot of the above-named religious community, within whose abbey church rested the bones of Alfred the Great. John Saltcot was elected abbot on the 31st of May,

Digitized by Google



FROM ST. CROSS, WINCHESTER.

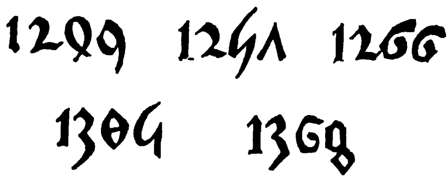
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

1530' and is said by Browne Willis, in his 'Mitred Abbies,' to have been translated from the abbey of Holm, in Norfolk. He was a member of the university of Cambridge, and succeeded in causing his university to comply with the king's divorce, for which service he was promoted to the see of Bangor, April 19, 1534, and obtained leave to hold his abbey *in commendam*. At the dissolution of the monasteries, he readily yielded to the visitors, in April, 1538, and obtained the signatures of his monks, twenty-one in number, to the surrender; for this service he was preferred to the see of Salisbury, July 31st, 1539, which he held for eighteen years, dying on the 5th of October, 1557, and he was buried in the cathedral.

"Two of the numerals represented on this medal are worthy of notice, especially the 5; indeed, each variety of form given in early Arabic numerals deserves attention, and a study of them will enable one to decypher quickly and *accurately* dates given in these characters. This conviction has induced me to lay before the Association a few examples of these characters from my own neighbourhood. In manuscripts, the earliest instances of the use of these numerals occur; but no one has yet, I believe, been met with previous to the reign of Edward II (A.D. 1307 to 1327); whilst the earliest known sculptured representation is the date 1455 (see cut), taken from the church of Heathfield, Sussex.

"The first examples are taken from a manuscript[1] of the time of Richard II, given by the founder, William of Wykeham, to his own 'dear college of St. Marie's, Winton.' These present the dates 1249, 1257, 1266, 1305, and 1368. The figure 4 differs but little from the 0, the ends crossing slightly at the lower part; but these ends became gradually lengthened, and the size of the circle diminished, and then, if the figure was turned sideways, would not be unlike the modern 4. The figure 5



[1] "This manuscript is still preserved in the college library, and perhaps cannot be better described than in the words of the present catalogue :. '*Polychronicon Ranulphi (Higden) Cestrensis: sive Historia ab orbe condito, ad mortem Edwardi tertii, in septem Libris, cum tribus Præfationibus et Indice Rerum Alphabetico. Præfixa est Chronica compendiosa de Regibus Angliæ tantum, a Noe usque ad mortem Edw. III.*' It is entered in the original list of manuscripts compiled soon after the founder's death in 1404, under the head '*Libri Cronici*'. '*Item Policronicon Willi Cestren*' *ex dono dni ffundatoris.* 2 *fo. Tantæ. pret.* xls.' This manuscript contains a curious map of the world, the form given to the earth being the pointed oval, known by the term *Vesica Piscis.*"

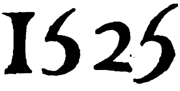
Digitized by Google

appears to have undergone an alteration just the reverse of the last, the upper portion decreasing, and the lower part increasing in importance; the figure 6 has its head turned very low, and resembles the Lombardic letter G; the figure 7 is simply an inverted V, and retained this shape unaltered till near the middle of the sixteenth century, when each character appears to have assumed its modern shape. The figure 8 is depicted by the old English letter g, but is frequently represented under the character of the 4 inverted; and by joining the ends, we get at once its present shape.

"The next engraving (see fig. 1, plate 34) represents a piece of painted glass in the hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, consisting of the initials of Robert Sherburne, and his motto DELEXI SPAM; this is a curious abbreviation for the word SAPIENTIAM; the date given is 1497: the letter 4 well illustrates the previous observations on this figure. Robert Sherburne, or Shyrbern, was for several years master of the hospital; the year of his collation is not known, but he appears to have resigned it on being translated to the see of Chichester, in 1508, if not previously, on his promotion to the see of St. David's, in 1505. He was a great benefactor to the cathedral of Chichester, and adorned the walls of the transept, in 1519, with the paintings which still ornament it, representing two events connected with the see, and portraits of all the bishops and kings of England since the conquest. 'CREDITE OPERIBUS' appears to have been his motto at this period; and Fuller records his using 'DELEXI DECOREM DOMUS TUÆ DOMINE', as his motto likewise. He died August the 21st, 1536, aged ninety-six, and was buried in his cathedral, where still may be seen his effigy in full pontificals, and the chasuble ornamented with a singular-shaped orphrey.

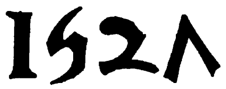
"To this master we are also indebted for another example (see plate 34, fig. 2), which occurs on a stone scroll, six feet in length, over the fireplace in one of the master's rooms, and is again repeated over the fireplace in the porter's lodge, in St. Cross hospital—'R. S. DELEXI SAPIENCIAM, ANNO DNI 1503.' This date is the most remarkable I have yet met with in numerals: the fig. 5 being represented by the old English letter h; and if the lower part of the straight stroke of this letter be taken away it would somewhat approach in appearance to our present 5; the figure of the 3 will form a contrast with the same figure as given on the leaden medal. (See p. 432, *ante.*)

"The date 1525, is sculptured on the screen built on either side of the choir of Winchester cathedral, by bishop Richard Fox, founder of Corpus Christi college, Oxford; on the top of which are placed the ornamental wooden chests, containing the remains of the Saxon kings, princes, &c. The next example, 1527, is from the church of St. Michael, Stoke Charity, Hants, and is engraved on the



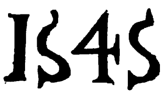
Digitized by Google

cornice of a rich Tudor tomb in the north aisle; erected to the memory of John Waller, Esq. and Johanna his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of Thomas Hampton, esq. and his wife Isabella, the sole heiress of the family of Dodingfield. The inscription is of interest, as presenting to us numerous contractions in the words, and is as follows:—



"Hic jacet corpora Johis Waller & Johñ uxis sue uni' filia & heredē Thome Hāptū armigē nup' dñi isti manerii q'. q'dē Johēs obiit anno dni 1527.

"For the last example, 1545, I am indebted to some scribbler, who took the pains to deface a stone in the choir of Winchester cathedral, with the initials of his name; but not thinking them complete without the date, he has thus left behind him something of interest. The two numbers 5 somewhat resemble the letter S, whilst the 4 has assumed its modern shape. This date shows at how early a period after the reformation, began that national propensity of the English, which has been exhibited, not only on the works of art in their own country, but even on the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt."



Mr. Harland transmitted a copy of an inscription on a leaden plate in the shape of a horn book, being 3¼ inches in length and 3¾ inches in breadth. The letters are in Greek characters, but not legible. The plate was brought from Smyrna.

Mr. Pettigrew exhibited a fine English manuscript of the New Testament, and made the following observations:

"Every circumstance in connexion with, or in relation to, John Wycliffe, the celebrated reformer, is calculated to interest us; and it is therefore with much satisfaction that I lay before the Association one of the many manuscript copies of a translation of the New Testament into the English language.

"Some years since, in a publication entitled *Bibliotheca Sussexiana* (vol. ii, pp. 270-280), being a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts and printed editions of the Holy Scriptures, forming a part of the very extensive and splendid library of his late royal highness the duke of Sussex, I entered upon a consideration of the history of the various English versions of the Old and New Testaments; and therein particularly noticed the translations generally attributed to John Wycliffe.[1] In

[1] "In the collection of H.R.H. the duke of Sussex there was a copy of what has been considered as the later version of the New Testament, obtained from the library of Dr. Barrett, of Trinity College, Dublin. It is now in the possession of the earl of Ashburnham. It has been consulted by the editors of the Oxford edition of the Wycliffe Bible, and it formed the text printed in Mr. Bagster's *Hexapla*, 1841, 4to. This manuscript had not been acquired until after the publication of the first part of vol. i of the *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, containing a description of the manuscripts, which will account for no notice of it being found in that work."

Digitized by Google

illustration of these I gave some curious information communicated to me on the subject by my late friend, the celebrated antiquary, Francis Douce, esq., who was the possessor of two manuscripts of the Bible of Wycliffe's version.

"It is not a little remarkable that vernacular translations of the Scriptures should not have been made in England at an earlier period than appears to have been the case. Portions only were executed as early as the tenth century; of which the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Psalms, etc., are early instances; and the Psalter conjectured to have been made by Richard Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, may be cited as a later example. His version was accompanied by a comment. The first seventy-nine psalms may be seen in the British Museum (Bibl. Reg. 18, D. 1). Rolle was of the order of St. Augustine, lived near Doncaster in the reigns of Edward I, II, and III, and died in 1349. Little was done between the tenth and fourteenth centuries, but there are specimens of translations of portions of the Bible to be found in the Harleian collection, the King's library, and also at Oxford. These have been *generally* attributed to the thirteenth, but in the opinion of the most competent judges they are all of the fourteenth century. Among the most ancient English Bibles I have seen or become acquainted with, was one in the possession of my late friend, Dr. Adam Clarke, a name to be venerated for piety and knowledge. This formed one of his most highly prized treasures, in a collection of which, as a scholar and an antiquary, he was justly proud. I well remember the delight with which he exhibited to me that fine folio manuscript which he erroneously considered to have been once the property of Thomas à Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III and brother to the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, whose arms Dr. C. conjectured to be figured in the border, on the top of the second leaf of the volume. The armorial bearings, however, have been ascertained to be those of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. Dr. Clarke looked upon the version as being older than the time of Wycliffe, or, at all events, the oldest of his time, and he founded this opinion upon the language and the orthography, and construction of the sentences. The rev. J. B. Clarke, who has given a particular account of this MS. among others in his father's collection, regards it as of the time of Wycliffe, and remarks that Edward III highly favoured the reformer, and employed him in various important matters; and John of Gaunt was also his friend, and shielded him from his enemies.[1]

"One of the most important books put forth during our day is unquestionably to be found in the edition of the Holy Bible, translated by

[1] "This manuscript is now arranged in two volumes, and is in the British Museum, *Egerton MSS.*, Nos. 617, 618. It has been consulted by the editors of the Oxford Wycliffe, and is conjectured by them to have been written about the year 1420."

Digitized by Google

Wycliffe and his followers, printed under the care of the Rev. Josiah Forshall and sir Frederic Madden. This was published at Oxford, in 1850, in four volumes, 4to, in the prefatory part of which no less than 170 MSS. either of the whole or parts of the old and new Testaments are referred to as having been examined or collated for the work. Wycliffe had little or no knowledge of either the Hebrew or the Greek languages; his version is, therefore, necessarily made from the *Latin Vulgate*.

"The copy of Wycliffe's translation of the new Testament now submitted to the Association, belongs to Thomas Banister, esq., of the Inner Temple, and offers to us a fine example of the English language in the 14th century. It has been consulted and collated for the edition of the Bible just alluded to, and its particular readings are therein distinguished by the letter S. It is considered as belonging to the earlier version of the new Testament, and forms the text of the prologues to the epistle to the Romans and to the Catholic epistles. It is a small folio on vellum, written in two columns, having 276 pages. According to sir F. Madden, it was written perhaps about 1390. The first three leaves containing the kalendar, with the lessons inserted, are by a different scribe, though not much, if at all, later than the body of the manuscript. At the bottom of the first page, in a hand apparently of the 15th century, as read by sir F. Madden, we find:

"*a uous me ly,*
Gloucestre"

whom he conjectures to have been probably the duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. On the verso of the last leaf there are several names written in a hand of about 1500, and among them—'John Glydd, and John Thomas, of Westfyrle'; and below is the commencement of a writ of the time of Henry VIII, directed to the sheriff of Sussex. A title has been prefixed to the volume by a hand of the latter part of the 17th century, ascribing the translation to John Wycliffe, in 1371. On a fly-sheet before the lessons, in a hand of the 18th century, is a note signed 'E. J.,' stating the apparent agreement of the manuscript with that in Magdalen college, Cambridge, and its variations, from which Lewis published in 1731.

"From the researches of various bibliographical antiquaries, it is generally considered that there exist sufficient variations in the known manuscripts to refer them to different translations; one supposed to be prior to the time of Wycliffe, another by the Reformer, and the third to a period just subsequent to him. Mr. Douce collated his manuscripts with one contained in the Cotton library, and two in the King's library in the British museum, and he found sufficient variations as well from his own manuscripts as in themselves to warrant the opinion of there having been two or three translations. He was, however, perfectly

Digitized by Google

satisfied that they were all made from the Vulgate, and not from the Hebrew or the Septuagint. The subject (as expressed to me in his letter printed in the *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, vol. ii., p. 279), is full of difficulty and obscurity, and so it will probably remain till chance shall supply the place of conjecture. Much has certainly been done for the work in the Oxford edition as regards the peculiarities of the language; but no copy has hitherto been traced immediately to the hand of Wycliffe. This we may hope will some day be effected, and positive evidence thus obtained to establish the title and claims of Wycliffe as a translator of the Scriptures into the English language.

"A careful examination of Mr. Banister's manuscript offers the following peculiarities, according to the editors of the Wycliffe Bible. It consists of the books of the New Testament in the earlier version, with the usual prologues. A second hand has gone over the manuscript and made corrections. The readings very often agree with the manuscript at Christ church, Oxford, E. 4. The orthography is remarkable, the participles present terminate in *ende* or *ande;* it reads *a noen, oen, noen,* for *anon, one, none; coete, coestis, boet,* for *coat, coast, boat; boz, thoz,* for *bough, through; knez* for *knew; seew* for *sowed; sloz* for *slew; saz* for *saw;* often has the two p. pl. imp. terminating in *eth;* retains the *n* of the infinitive; has *k* for *c,* as *kum, kuntree, kumpanyes, kuppe;* and omits the vowel after *w,* as *wrthi, wrd, wrshipen.*

"It remains now to say a few words with regard to the possessors of the manuscript. It has been in Mr. Banister's family from an early period. The doctrines of Wycliffe, Mr. Banister observes, were entertained by a limited number of persons only, none of whom resided in the cloister, and therefore we are to look for an owner amongst the favourers of Wycliffe's opinions, and of sufficient courage and independence to possess a book thus dangerous; or, so closely connected with great power as to be able to defy the danger of such a possession, and of sufficient opulence to purchase so expensive a work. This leads Mr. Banister at once to conjecture the probability of ownership by that 'nobilissimus miles dominus', as he is styled by Walsingham, and valiant and good knight as he is called by Froissart, Thomas Banister. This renowned knight was one of the favourite commanders of the Black Prince; entrusted by him with important negociations with the Spanish king after the famous battle of Nazar in 1367; he was the friend and fellow-soldier of John of Gaunt, the protector and patron of Wycliffe; and was, probably, himself a favourer of the reformer's doctrines; no doubt possessing, in an eminent degree, all the accomplishments of a gentleman of rank and station fitting him both for a commander and a negociator, and a very likely person to possess and appreciate a MS. of this character. Mr. Banister very properly lays great stress upon the writing on the first page, read by sir F. Madden as *A vous me ly Gloucestre,* and observes,

Digitized by Google

that if the noble personage bearing that title could now be ascertained, it would be important. The age of the writing must assist in determining this point. The reason why such a sentence should be written in such a book seems obvious; and the signature would not be that of its owner, but of the person binding himself, in a solemn and sacred manner, on a book held in the greatest reverence by the owner. The signature resembles that of the duke of Gloucester, as seen in the autographs of royal, noble, learned, and remarkable personages conspicuous in English history, published by J. G. Nichols in 1829. (See plate 4A, fig. 10). Sir Frederick Madden thinks the signature likely to be that of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III; but Mr. Banister is disposed to refer it to Gloucester, who was beheaded in 1399, and with whom sir Thomas Banister was knighted, as related by Froissart, on the occasion of the enterprise, under sir Walter Manny, to the gates of Paris in 1360. Again, Mr. Banister asks, Is it the signature of Gloucester, who was at the battle of Agincourt, in October 1415, and with whom John, afterwards sir John, Banister, with followers, is named in the roll; or is the person to whom Gloucester bound himself Ralf Banister, to whom, in the first year of his reign, he granted the manor of Yaldon, in Kent? in which case it might serve to carry on the chain of ownership another link.

"To whatever ownership the MS. may be ascribed it has clearly been treated with reverential respect, and has been carefully preserved. Mr. Banister can trace its existence in his family for at least four generations, and the history attached to it in the family was, that it had always been in the family, and had descended through sir Thos. Banister, or Balaster, as he was called by Froissart in Pynson's edition of the *Chronicles* in 1525."

Mr. Black has inspected the MS. since the preceding remarks were written. He considers it to have been written within the last quarter of the fourteenth century; and notices, in addition to what is stated above, that the Anglo-Saxon þ for *th* occurs, as well as those letters, and is commonly used to represent the harder sound, as in *this* and *that*. There are also numerous glosses, or explanatory words and phrases, inserted in the text, especially in the Gospels, of which the following extract may serve as an example, where the glosses are printed in italics. It is taken from the beginning of Matthew xxvii.

"For soþe þe morn mad, alle þe princes of prestis and eldere men of þe puple token counceil azen ihu [*i.e.* Jesu] þat þei shulden taken hym to deth and þei ledden hym bounden, and bitoken to Pilat of Pounce, meir, *or cheef justise* þanne Judas þat bitrazede hym, seende þat he was dampned, led bi penaunce *or forthenking*, brozte azeen þritti platis of silver to þe princes of prestis and to þe eldere men of þe puple, seinede, I have synned, bitrazende just blod, and þei seiden, what to us? see þu.

and þe plates of silver cast awei in þe temple, he went awei, and goendé away he heeng hym wyᵗ a grane *or snare.*"

"Mr. Black is inclined to think the signature that of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; and hopes to be able to ascertain whether that be the fact, by a comparison of the documents in the Rolls House, when his sight shall enable him so to do."

December 14.

The following presents were received:

From Mr. Bell. A Folio containing a large collection of Engravings illustrative of the City of London.

From the Society. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, tom. ii. Amiens, 1853. 4to.

—— Répertoire Analytique des Textes. Amiens, 1853. 4to.

—— Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, 6 parties. St. Omer, 1852-3. 8vo.

M. Louis Deschamps. Essai sur l'Art des Constructions à St. Omer à la fin du 15ème et au commencement du 16ème Siècle. St. Omer, 1853. 8vo.

The Art Union. Report for the Year 1853. 8vo.

Mr. Edward Cheshire. Results of the Census of Great Britain in 1851. London, 1853. 8vo.

Mr. Brent, jun., exhibited a key of the beginning of the fifteenth century, found on pulling down the priory of St. Gregory at Canterbury in 1848.

Mr. Muston, of Cowling castle, having presented to the Association the half of a stone shot found at that place, Mr. H. Syer Cuming favoured the Association with the following communication "On Stone Shot":—

"A stone hurled by the unaided hand constituted at once the earliest lithic weapon and the first missile, and from this simple origin has sprung every after contrivance which has been adopted for propelling balls either of metal, stone, or earth.[1] At a far remote period were devised *slings*, which projected stones with increased impetus; and this primitive, but most powerful weapon, formed one of the most destructive arms possessed by the early inhabitants of the earth. At a later period were constructed certain engines known by the names of *Lithobolos* or *Balista, Corrobalista, Catapulta,*[2] *Onages* and *Scorpio*, which discharged

[1] "In the collection of T. Blayds, esq., were several examples of *Roman sling bullets of terra-cotta.* And Cæsar (*De Bello Gallico*, v, 42) speaks of the Gauls throwing heated *balls of clay* upon Cicero's camp whilst he was in the province of the Nervians—'*ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes fundis.*'"

[2] "Though stones were sometimes cast from the *catapulta* (*Cæs. B. C.* ii, 9), it was principally employed for projecting heavy spears and darts. In the middle ages short darts, called *carreaux* or *quarrels*, were thrown from an engine termed *bricolle.*"

Digitized by Google

stones of an enormous weight, and which were chiefly used by the Greeks and Romans in besieging cities. To these engines, which were collectively termed *tormenta*, were added in the middle ages others which bore the names of *arbulest, beugles*, or *bibles, couillart, engine-a-verge, espringal, magona, magnel* or *mangonel, matafunda, mate-griffon, petrary, robinet*,[1] *trebuchet, trip-getis* or *trepied*,[2] *was-wolf*, &c.; and the stone balls cast forth from them were called *gogions*. A very loud sound was probably produced by their discharge, for Chaucer in his poem of '*The House of Fame*,' (line 843), likens a certain noise to—

"'The routing of the stone
That fro the engine is letten gone.'

"When gunpowder was made subservient to military purposes in the fourteenth century, the *gogions* of the ancient artillery naturally suggested the adoption of *balls of stone* for ordnance. The first guns employed for the discharge of stone balls were called *bombards* and *culverines*; but mention is afterwards made of *pattereroes* or *pedereros*,[3] *basilisks*, &c. The last-named piece was of such a size that it projected a ball of two hundred pounds weight;[4] and so early as the year 1377, (1 R. II.) we find Thomas Norbury directed to provide from Thomas Restwold, of London, two great and two less engines called *cannons*, six hundred *stone shot* for the same, and salt-petre, charcoal, and other ammunition, for stores to be sent to the castle of Bristol;[5] and in 1418, (5 H. V.) an order was given for *seven thousand cannon balls to be made from the Maidstone quarries for the king's ordnance*.[6]

"In 1843, more than thirty rudely-formed *shot made of Kentish rag*, and varying in diameter from four-and-a-half to ten inches, were found imbedded in the mud of the south ditch of the Tower of London. It is supposed that these were thrown from a battery erected by the Yorkists party in Southwark, when they laid siege to the fortress in 1460, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, lord Cobham, and sir John Wenlock; and there was afterwards discovered a large *stone shot* within the area of the fortress north-east of the White tower, which was probably also propelled from the Southwark battery.[7]

[1] "The *espringal, mate-griffon*, and *robinet*, threw arrows and darts as well as stones. The large darts used with the espringal were called *muchettæ*, the arrows *viretons*."

[2] "This projectile is introduced into the siege of the *château d'amour* exhibited on the ivory casket engraved in the *Journal*, v, p. 272."

[3] "For a description of a *peterero, peterara, pierrier*, or *pedrero*, of the fifteenth century, found at Chale, Isle of Wight, see *Journal*, ii, p. 346."

[4] "Meyrick, ii, 288."

[5] "*Ib.* ii, 89."

[6] "Brayley's *History of Kent*, p. 1278."

[7] "One of the *stone shot* exhumed from the Tower Ditch may be seen in the museum of the United Service Institution."

Digitized by Google

"A considerable number of *stone shot*, about five or six inches in diameter, were found during the formation of a sewer in Church place, near Aldgate church, in April, 1844; and which were also probably relics of the war of the Roses, and made use of when Thomas, the bastard Fawconbridge, assaulted Aldgate with his five thousand rebel followers from Kent and Essex, on May 11th, 1471.[1]

"It is with much pleasure that I have now to notice a present to the Association of the half of a *stone shot* which, in all likelihood, was wrought from the stone obtained from the Maidstone quarries. This specimen was found in the ruins of Cowling castle, Kent, and is believed to have been one of those discharged when the castle was attacked by sir Thomas Wyatt in his insurrection in 1554; and on which occasion the place was so gallantly defended by lord Cobham. The diameter of the ball is four-and-a-quarter inches, a size which would indicate that it was discharged from a *demi-culverin*.

"An interesting discovery of two or three ancient pieces of ordnance and *stone balls* was made in 1829 upon the western shore of the Isle of Walney, in Lancashire. The balls were of different sizes, several were wrought of granite, and one was of sandstone. With them were also found a ball of hammered iron, and some small ones, cast and enveloped in folds of lead, apparently to give them weight, or possibly to make them fit the bore of the piece they were intended for.[2]

"Sixteen cannon balls were exhumed in August, 1831, from the bed of Lochleven, on the south side of the castle, and about two hundred yards from the tower. They were of *free-stone*, averaging about eight inches in diameter and fifteen pounds in weight, and are supposed by some to have been fired at Queen Mary, when she effected her escape on May 2nd, 1568.[3] *Stone shot* were certainly in common use at this period, for in 1846 several were recovered from a vessel of the time of Elizabeth, wrecked on the Girdle Sand off Herne Bay;[4] and Shakespeare makes allusion to them in his play of Henry V, (a. i, s. 2), where the king speaking of the tennis-balls which the Dauphin had sent him in derision, says to the French ambassador:—

"'—— tell the pleasant prince, this mock of his
Hath turn'd his balls to *gun-stones*, and his soul
Shall stand sore charged for the wasteful vengeance
That shall fly with them.'

"A few years back some *stone shot*, varying from three to four inches in diameter, were discovered in a small island in the Medway, known as Bishop's Marsh, and which were conjectured to have been fired from

1 "*Journal*, i, p. 248; and Stow's *Survey of London*, *sub* Aldgate."
2 "*Mirror*, xxxiv, p. 420. 3 *Ib.*, xxii, p. 234. 4 *Journal*, ii, p. 361."

Digitized by Google

Folly Point on the opposite bank, against the Dutch fleet, in June, 1667.[1] If this supposition be correct, it is one of the latest instances of the use of *stone shot* in England that I have met with.

"Both the ordnance and *stone shot* used in Asiatic warfare were of a much larger size than any employed in Europe. Philip Baldæus, in his account of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, which he visited in the latter half of the seventeenth century, states, in describing the city of Changier, that the Naik's palace is well defended, and that they have some cannon here made of very long and broad iron bars, kept together with strong hoops of the same metal, and their bullets are made of *stone* cut round; their cannon are of different sizes, and their bullets formed accordingly.[2] Captain Sykes says, in his account of the city of Bejapoor, that he saw lying near the great gun of Aurungzebe some *stone shot*, which were of such an enormous size that they reached higher than the knee of a tall man.[3]

"*Stone shot* were employed by the Turks when they besieged Byzantium, in 1453; and it is said there are yet preserved upon the summit of the *Top Kapousi*, or 'Gate of the Canon,' at Constantinople, some of the huge *granite balls* which were discharged by the artillery of Mahomed II, against its walls on this memorable occasion. And the Osmanlis still continue to use *stone shot*, breaking up and destroying many a precious relic of classic ages for their fabrication.

"When Admiral Duckworth repassed the Dardanelles, after his attack on Constantinople in 1807, his fleet suffered greatly by the huge *stone shot* thrown from the batteries. The heaviest ball which struck our ships weighed 800lbs.; it was of granite, and measured two feet two inches in diameter.[4] Some of the fortifications along the shores of the Dardanelles are still provided with immense guns for discharging *stone shot*. The quantity of powder which they require is enormous. The largest, which was cast in the reign of Amurath, is charged with 333lbs. of powder, and throws a *stone shot* of 1,100lbs. weight.[5] The firing such large pieces of ordnance is attended with some danger to their own artillerymen, and it is said that, at times, more damage has been done to those within the fortifications than to those beyond the walls.

"The use of *stone shot* is not confined alone to land service, for in Slade's Travels[6] mention is made of one of the Turkish vessels having on the middle deck, four guns carrying granite balls of 75lbs.; and on the lower deck, four others with 110lbs. granite balls.

1 "*Journal*, iv, p. 380."
2 "See Dodsley's *Compendium of Voyages*, London, 1756, v, p. 32."
3 "See *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. iii, p. 62."
4 "See Walsh's *Residence in Constantinople*, 1836."
5 "See baron de Tott's *Memoirs of the Turkish Empire*."
6 "*Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, etc., in* 1829-31.

Digitized by Google

"Thus we see that a stone projected either by the hand alone, or by some mechanical contrivance, or by the combined agency of mechanism and chemistry, has constituted one of the chief and most devastating arms employed by man from the earliest period to the present day, and will doubtlessly continue to be employed by many tribes and races until the strife of war shall cease, and the nations of the earth 'shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks.'"

The rev. Thomas Hugo exhibited some bronze articles lately found in the city, which were directed to be classed with others, and brought forward on a future occasion.

Mr. F. J. Baigent communicated the following account of the discovery of the fragment of a painting at St. Cross church, near Winchester.

"On Saturday, December the 3rd, I visited St. Cross hospital, which for some months past has been undergoing extensive repairs. On entering the church by the north transept I perceived that a portion of the white-wash on the eastern wall had been removed, and by this was exposed to view a surface coloured mostly red, and on which on examination I could distinctly see three naked figures, with hands clasped, placed in or behind a certain object, the whole being smeared over with the red colour which had formed the background to the figures; this I afterwards ascertained was done by some of the workmen rubbing their hands over it. I immediately began removing the whitewash adjoining to the right, and in a few minutes developed the figure of a bishop, which appeared to complete the subject, remains of partitioning lines being visible on either side: while the lower part is concealed (if not destroyed) behind the wainscoting of the pews, which reaches as high as the line running at the bottom of the accompanying drawing. (See plate 35.)

"The drawing is taken from a sketch I made immediately the painting was uncovered, the plaster or ground on which it is painted being in too perishable a condition to allow of its being traced, to say nothing of the risk of leaving it even for a few hours. The figure of the bishop is so gracefully executed as to cause no small degree of disappointment or regret at the concealment or destruction of the lower part. A white nimbus encircles the head of the bishop, who wears an elegantly shaped mitre, though somewhat plain; the amice hangs loosely on his shoulders, and the chasuble is disposed in graceful folds, especially the part raised by the right arm; beneath the chasuble are to be seen the sleeves of the dalmatic, edged with a border as well as the chasuble, and below this the sleeves of the alb and their apparels; the maniple is represented suspended from the left arm. The bishop's right hand is uplifted in the attitude of episcopal benediction, but gloved, and the ring is placed on the second finger; below this hand is the head of the nearest of the three children, who are figured as being in a tub, half of which no doubt is concealed by the boarding, and was perhaps represented placed on a

Digitized by Google

Francis Joseph Baigent del^t   J. Waters & Co Litho. London

MURAL PAINTING DISCOVERED AT S^T CROSS DEC. 1853.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

stool. In his left hand the bishop holds a beautiful and simple pastoral staff, and the back of the glove is shown to be jewelled.

"This painting represents the well-known mediæval legend of St. Nicholas, archbishop of Myra, in Lycia, A. D. 342, raising to life three children, by making over them the sign of the cross. The legend states that the bishop, having occasion to travel during the time of a severe famine, happened to have stopped at an inn, the landlord of which is spoken of as a cruel man, and as having killed several children, and salted or pickled their bodies, intending to place them as meat before his guests. But the good bishop had a foreknowledge of this, and going up to a tub containing three children recently killed, performed the miracle represented by the painting, and the children immediately began singing praises to Almighty God, so they are represented in prayer, holding up their hands.

"Thus this saint has ever ranked high as a patron of children, and as one whose feast day they hailed with joy, and anticipated with pleasure its arrival. He is said to have made their instruction a principal part of his pastoral duty, and was even himself, in infancy, a model of innocence and virtue. He was present at the great council of Nice, and there condemned Arianism. What could have raised this saint higher in the minds of children, than the interesting ceremony of the boy-bishop, which was observed in cathedral, collegiate, and other scholastic establishments in the middle ages? One of the boys being elected bishop by his fellows, on St. Nicholas day, and holding office till the night of the feast of the Holy Innocents, December 28th, wearing the episcopal robes and mitre, and receiving episcopal honours during that period. Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's school, ordered this ceremony to be observed, and his scholars to attend the boy-bishop's sermon on Childermass day (Holy Innocents), and each offered one penny to him at the high mass in the cathedral. In some of the inventories still preserved of ecclesiastical ornaments and robes belonging to some of our old churches, may be mentioned the mitre pretiosa, pastoral staff, and costly episcopal robes for the boy-bishop. The following entries relating to the boy-bishop may not be uninteresting, being extracted from documents belonging to Winchester college, founded by the great and gifted William of Wykeham, who so highly venerated the virgin mother of his Redeemer, as to dedicate both his colleges to her patronage; and to be buried at the spot where in the days of his childhood he was wont to hear her mass daily.

"'*A. D.* 1415. *In dat' diversis hominibus de Ropley,*[1] *venientibus ad coll. die Innoc. et tripudiantibus et cantantibus in aulâ coram Episcopo scholarium,* xx*d.*'

[1] "A village about ten mlies from Winchester."

Digitized by Google

"'*A.D.* 1462. *Dat' Epō. Nicholatensi visitanti Dominum custodem in hospito suo de nocte Sancti Nicholai*, iiij*d*.'

"Among the jewels is mentioned:—

"'A.D. 1421. Crux deaurata de cupro cum baculo pro episcopo puerorum.'

"Many other miracles and legends of St. Nicholas are to be met with, and perhaps the most interesting representation of several acts of this saint, are those sculptured on the celebrated font in Winchester cathedral, an undoubted work of the eleventh century."

The proceedings of this evening terminated with the reading of a paper by Mr. Duesbury, "On the Architecture of Pre-Norman England," upon which an interesting discussion took place. The paper will be printed in a future Journal.

The public meetings of the Association were then adjourned over to the 11th of January, 1854.

ERRATA AND ADDITIONS TO VOL. IX.

Page 24 line 34, for "rev. sir John Kaye", read very rev. sir Richard Kaye, dean of Lincoln.
— „ — 35, for "John", read Richard.
— 80 — 23, for "LOIT", read LOYD.
— „ — 31, for "feet", read inches.
— 82. The seal of Worcester is incorrectly stated to have been obtained in France, by Jabez Allies, esq., then mayor of Worcester, as Mr. A. was neither mayor nor was he travelling in France. It was obtained by Mr. Way, and by him presented to the museum of Worcester.
— 105 — 12, for "Horsham", read Honiton.
— 112 — 11, for "Maidstone", read Aylesford. The charity here alluded to was visited during the late congress: it was founded by John Sedley, esq., and called "Maison Dieu", for six persons, and sir Wm. Sedley, his brother and executor, added one poor person to the former number. The hospital was incorporated and is now known by the name of "The Holy Trinity". To Mr. Robson and the late Mr. Smythe is to be attributed the restoration of the hospital to its original and beneficial purpose.
— 157 — 28, erase "(and it may be even so old as that)".
— 184 — 38, for "cilice", read silice.
— 189 — 3, for "spear head", read knife.
— „ — 13, for "slight", read light.
— 200 — 19, for "1660", read 1600.
— 287 — 32, for "contrived", read continued.
— 291 — 38, for "Roman", read Norman.
— 294 — 10, for "the extremity of each", read each extremity of the.

Digitized by Google

INDEX TO VOL. IX.

A.

ADAMS, H., obituary notice of, 103
——— H. G., on Rochester bridge. 348-357
AINSLIE, C., exhibits some pottery found in London, 74, 75
Alabaster statue exhibited, 196
Allhallows, Honeylane, notices of, 167-174
All Saints, Maidstone, observations on, 411
Allington castle, visit to, 410
Ancient die found at Shrewsbury, 82
Anglo-Saxon fibula exhibited, 88
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, proceedings at, 95-112; auditor's report for 1852, 95; statement of account, 97; members deceased, 98; correspondents deceased, 98; resignations, *ib.*; elections. 98-99; correspondents elected, 99; members erased from the list, *ib.*; thanks to the officers, council, auditors, authors of papers, and exhibitors of antiquities, 99; appointment of additional secretary, 100; election of officers and council for 1853-4; notices of members deceased by Mr. Pettigrew, 100-112
Antiquities found at Cuma, 77-79
——— Whitehaven, 79-80
Armour, on specimens of the sixteenth century, 87-88
ASHPITEL, A., on the architecture of Newstead abbey, 30-39
——— Rochester castle, 346-348
——— Rochester cathedral, 271-285
——— All Saints church, 411
ASSOCIATES elected, 72, 75, 77, 84, 94, 182, 189, 195, 200, 429
Aylesford church, visit to, 410; monuments in, *ib.*
——— Holy Trinity hospital, visit to, 410

B.

BAIGENT, F. J., on paintings discovered at St. John's, 1-14
——— on discoveries at St. Swithin, Winchester, 198
——— exhibits a leaden token found at Winchester, 432
——— on ancient numerals, 433-435
——— on a painting discovered at St. Cross, 444-446
BAILY, C., on the houses of our ancestors in Kent, 348
BAKER, Thomas, obituary notice of, 103
BARTLETT, (W.), exhibits spurs and horse shoes obtained in Berkshire and Wiltshire, 87
BATEMAN, T., exhibits a horn book, 72
——— casts of a fibula, and ivory carved knife handle, and a bronze Hercules, 88
——— on a Roman sepulchral inscription, 199
BEATTIE, W., historical sketch of Rochester castle, 215-230
Bells, rubbings from, 76-77, 80-82
——— in Notts, 197
BENNETT, rev. W., obituary notice of, 101
Berkshire, silver fibula found in, 74
BERNAL, R., address at the Rochester congress, 201-214
BISCHOFF, C., on brasses in Cobham church, 400-401
BLACK, W. H., exhibits charters of the 1 and 2 Humphrey de Bohun, 75
——— on the Textus Roffensis and Custumale Roffense, 358
——— on a manuscript translation of the New Testament, 439-440
BOSWELL, T. A., obituary notice of, 103
Boxley abbey, visit to, 410
——— church, visit to, *ib.*; the Rood of Grace at, *ib.*
Boy-Bishop, extracts relating to, from the Winchester documents, 445-446
Brass discovered at Donnington, 198
——— Newark, 191
——— rubbings from, at Chinnor, 201
——— at Cobham church, 400
Brasses of various kinds exhibited by Mr. T. Gunston, 401-405
BRENT, (J.), on the guilds and fraternities of Canterbury, 415-423
——— exhibits a key found at Canterbury, 440
British coins exhibited, 197
——— gold corslet found in Flintshire, 191
——— and Roman urns, remarks on, 59-62
Bronze antiquities found in the city, 444
——— celts, observations on, 184-188
——— cup found in Kent, 75
——— Hercules found at York, 88
BURKITT, A. H., on tradesmen's signs in London, 40-59

C.

Canterbury, ancient guilds and fraternities of, 415-423
CARLINE, J., on moat gardens, 199
CARLOS, (E. J.), on a brass in St. Margaret's, 408-409
CARLYLE, Thomas, notices on the early history of the family of Carlyle, 174-181
CARRINGTON, F. A., exhibits rubbings from bells, 76-77
——— on an ancient die found at Shrewsbury, 82
——— brass seal found at Worcester, *ib.*
——— on engraved German glass, 88
Celts and their classification, 63-71
——— from Ireland, exhibited, 94
——— observations on, 183-188
Charles II, half-guinea of, exhibited, 73
CHARLES, (T.), his house and museum at Maidstone, 413
Charters exhibited by Mr. Tucker, 85-86
Chinese porcelain stamp, 93
Chillington house, interesting museum of Mr. Charles, 413
Chinnor, rubbings from brasses at, 201
Christ, on an ancient painting of, 190

Digitized by Google

Christian lamps, on, 84
Clarke, J., exhibits a commonwealth sixpence, 73; a testoon found in Essex, *ib.*; a half-guinea of Charles II, *ib*; a penny of Edward II found at Easton, *ib.*; an angelet of Henry VI, *ib.*; a half-penny of Henry VIII, *ib.*
Cliffe church, observations on, 399
Cobham church, brasses in, 400
——— hall, visit to, 400
Cod, Thomas, brass of, 408-409
Coffin and sarcophagus found in Haydon square, 161-167
Coins, a collection of Roman and English, 94
Colfox, T., exhibits a carved alabaster statue, 196
Colepeper, sir W., silver mourning ring of, 74
——— paper on the family of, 410
Commonwealth sixpence exhibited, 73
——— political cards of the time of, 76
Courtney, archbishop, founds college at Maidstone, 412
Cowling castle, visit to, 398
——— discoveries in, by Mr. Muston, 399
——— stone shot found at, 440
——— church, remarks on, 399
Cresswell, — exhibits rubbings from bells in Notts, 197
Cullum, J. exhibits drawings of Roman antiquities found in London, 74
Cuma, on excavations at, 77-9
Cuming, H. S. on Vincula, 74—155-160
——— on Christian lamps, 84
——— on the alleged discoveries of antiquities in London, 89-92
——— on bronze Celts, 183-188
——— on Samian ware, 190
——— on stone shot, 440-46
Curling, Capt., on the Reculver, 391-398

D.

Davis, F. H., exhibits an earthen bottle found near Battersea, 74
——— a miniature of Mary queen of Scots, by Zucchero, 76
Dennett, J., obituary notice of, 111
Dorsetshire, a stencilled panel from, 94
Dover harbour, letter on, by J. Ives, 407
Duesbury, H., observations on Rochester castle, 339-346
——— on the architecture of Pre-Norman England, 446
Duke, Rev. E. J., obituary notice of, 104-5
Dumb Borsholder, observations on, 405
Dunthorne, E., on the discovery of a brass at Donnington, 198
——— a rebus ring, 199
Dutch expedition to the Medway in 1667, 295-307

E.

Earthen bottle found near Battersea, 74
Eastgate, Rochester, Saxon antiquities found at, 407-8
Edgehill, dagger found at, 74
Edward II, a penny of, found at Easton, 73
——— rose noble of, found in the city, exhibited, 430
Encaustic tile found at Haydon-square, 202
Engraved glass from Germany, 83
Essex, testoon found in, 73
Etruscan mirror exhibited, 85

F.

Feoffment, deed of, *temp.* John, 86-7
Fibula, on a gilt one, 88
Fogge, Sir John, tilting helmet of, 408
Foreign Members elected, 94

G.

Gavelkind, observations on, 386-391
Geographical cards presented by Mr. Wakeman, 196
Gerard's hall, on the crypt of, 113-120
Glass found in London, 74, 75
—— German engraved, 83
—— painted with a rebus, from Canterbury, 75
Gourrier, F. B., on the study of paleography, 191-195
Griffith, —, exhibits an ancient painting of Christ, 190
Gundulf, bishop, memoir of, 231-270
Gunston, T., exhibits rubbings from bells, 80-2
——— Roman lamps found in London, 83
——— on frauds connected with the discovery of antiquities in London, 84-5
——— exhibits various bronze Hiberno-Celtic antiquities, 196
——— illuminated letters from church books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 197
——— various British coins, 198
——— a specimen of Venetian glass, 200
——— various brasses, 401-5

H.

Halliwell, J. O., on Horn-books, 72
Harland, J., exhibits an inscription from Smyrna, 435
Hauberk of chain mail exhibited, 74
Haydon square, sarcophagus and coffin found in, 161-167
Haywood, J., exhibits Roman pottery found in London, 75
Helmet of the twelfth century exhibited, 191
Helmets of temp. Henry III and of the fourteenth century exhibited, 191
Helston church, observations on, 398
Henry VI, an angelet of, exhibited, 73
Henry VIII, a halfpenny of, exhibited, 73
——— a rare gold noble of, 85
——— a York groat of, 182
Hiberno-Celtic antiquities exhibited, 196
Hobler, F., exhibits a deed of feoffment of the time of John, 86-7
Hollingbourne church, visit to, 414; its monuments, *ib.*
——— manor-house, interesting pannels and tapestries in, *ib.*
——— visit to the rev. Mr. Hasted at, *ib.*
Holloway, W., on Romney marsh, 376-385
Horn books, remarks on, 72
Horse muzzle with German inscriptions, 1561, 87
——— shoes found in Berkshire and Wiltshire, 87
Hour glass stand in Cliffe church, 400
Hugo, T., exhibits tessellated pavement, tiles, pottery, &c., found at Tiverton, 74
——— Roman remains found at Thetford, 76
——— an Etruscan mirror, 85
——— various Irish celts, 94
——— two ancient rings found at Taunton, 188
——— a portion of a British gold corslet, 191
——— a tryptich found in Spitalfields, 197
——— an encaustic tile from Haydon square, 202
——— a Rose noble of Edward II, 430
——— bronze antiquities found in the city, 444
——— on celts and their classification, 63-71
——— frauds connected with the discovery of antiquities in London, 84
——— a sarcophagus and coffin found in Haydon square, 161-167

Digitized by Google

Hugo, T., memoir of bishop Gundulf, 231-270
Humphrey de Bohun, charters of, 75

I.

Illuminated letters exhibited, 197
Inscription on a leaden plate from Smyrna, 435
Irving, G. V., on ancient camps in Lanarkshire, 87
——— on the ancient standard weights and measures of Scotland, 202
Ives, J., on Dover harbour, 407
Ivory knife handle, carved temp. Charles II, 88

J.

James II, a gun money piece of, found at Heavitree, 182
James, J., on a solloret of the fifteenth century, 84
——— exhibits a collection of spurs, 87
——— horse muzzle with German inscriptions, 1561, *ib.*
Jenkyns, Walter, inscription on, 183
Jerdan, W., on documents relating to the Spanish Armada, etc., 330-336
Jewitt, L., exhibits an oriental hauberk, 74; a silver fibula found in Berkshire, *ib.*
John, deed of feoffment of the time of, 86-7
Just, John, obituary notice of, 105-111

K.

Kendrick, Dr. J., exhibits pottery found at Mote hill, Lancashire, 75; at Widdespool, *ib.*
Kent, on the earls of, 362-375
Key found at Canterbury, 440
Kit's Coty house and cromlechs, visit to, 409

L.

Lanarkshire, ancient camps in, 87
Langattock juxta Usk, monumental cross found at, 80
Leaden token found at Winchester, 432
Lectern, a rubbing from, at Yeovil, 75
Lee, J., exhibits various antiquities, 188
Leeds castle, on the portions of old work still remaining at, 286-295
——— visit to, and examination of, 414
Leper house at Exeter, 182
——— houses in Kent, and their establishment in England, 359
Londesborough, Lord, exhibits an ancient helmet, 191
London, Roman antiquities found in, 74; pottery, 75
——— Pottery found in, 74, 75
——— Roman lamps found in, 83
——— on frauds connected with the discovery of antiquities in, 84; observations on, by Mr. Hugo, *ib.*; Mr. Gunston on, 85, 89-92; Mr. H. S. Cuming on, 89-92
——— Tradesmen's signs in, 40-59
Lott, T., notices on Allhallows, Honey lane, 167-174
——— exhibits various antiquities, 200
Lukis, F. C., on the maenhir, 425-8
Lynch, C., exhibits a rare gold noble of Henry VIII, 85
——— some needlework, said to be by Mary, queen of Scots, *ib.*

M.

Maidstone, visit to, 410; reception by the mayor and corporation, 411; exhibition of their charters, *ib.*; soirée given by, 415; exhibition of antiquities at, *ib.*
——— college, visit to, 412
Maenhir, observations on the, 425-8
Martin, C. Wykeham, on the portions of old work still remaining at Leeds castle, 286-295
——— reception by, at Leeds castle, 415
Mary, queen of Scots, miniature of, by Zucchero, 76
——— needlework by her, 85
Medway, Dutch expedition to the, in 1667, 295-307
Meyrick, W., exhibits specimens of ancient armour, 87-8
Milner, Geo., obituary notice of, 103-4
Milo, facsimile of the matrix of the seal of, 201
Moat gardens in Flintshire, 199
Monckton, J., on gavelkind, 386-391
Monumental cross found at Langattock juxta Usk, 80
Moore, J., exhibits a rubbing from a lectern at Yeovil, 75
——— brass seal found in Somersetshire, 93
Mourning ring of sir W. Colepeper, 74
Mousley, W. E., obituary notice of, 111
Murton, —, presents half a stone shot found at Cowling castle, 440

N.

Nayler, G., exhibits Saxon antiquities and remains found at Eastgate, 407-408
Newcomen of Saltfletby, pedigree of, 94
Newstead abbey, on the history of, 14-30
——— architecture of, 30-39
Newton, W., on a brass found at Newark, 191
Numerals, observations on, 433-435

O.

Oliver, L., presents medallion of Dr. Sacheverell, 77
Original Documents, 167-181, 330-336

P.

Paintings discovered at St. John's, Winchester, 1-14
Paleography, on the study of, 191-195
Pettigrew, T. J., on Newstead abbey, 14-30
——— the origin and antiquity of playing cards, 121-154, 308-329
——— leper houses, 359
——— notices of deceased members during 1852, 100-112
——— exhibits Saxon antiquities found at Rochester, 430
——— a manuscript translation of the New Testament, supposed to be by Wycliffe, 435-440
Pettigrew, W. V., exhibits a dagger found at Edgehill, 74
Pewter pot, temp. Anne, exhibited, 92
Planche, J. R., on the earls of Kent, 362-375
Playing cards, on the origin and antiquity of, 121-154, 308-329
——— of the time of the commonwealth, 129-154, 308-329
Poste, rev. Beale, on the Dutch expedition to the Medway in 1667, 295-307
Pottery found in London, 74-75
——— at Mote Hill, and at Widdespool, 75
Presents received, 72, 75, 77, 84, 87, 94, 132, 189, 196, 200, 429, 430, 440
Preston hall, visit to, 410
Pretty, E., on the dumb borsholder, 405
Price, E. B., obituary notice of, 101-102

Q.

Quakers burial-ground, inscription in, 183

Digitized by Google

R.

RANKIN, rev. Thomas, on a sacrificial tumulus on the Yorkshire Wolds, 431-432
RAWLENCE, G. C., obituary notice of, 102-103
Rebus painted on glass from Canterbury, 75
——— ring exhibited, 199
Reculver, observations on the, 391-398
RENDLESHAM, lord, obituary notice of, 101
REPTON, J. A., on British and Roman urns, 59-62
Rings, ancient silver and bronze, found at Taunton, 188
Rochester bridge, history of, 348-357
——— castle, historical sketch of, 215-230
——— ——— observations on, 339-348
——— cathedral, remarks on, 271-285; visit to, 358
ROCHESTER CONGRESS, PROCEEDINGS AT: Officers and committees, 337-388; meeting of the general committee, 339; opening meeting, inaugural address of the president, ib.; paper on the history of Rochester castle, by Dr. W. Beattie, ib.; examination of the ruins of the castle, ib.; Mr. Duesbury's observations, 339; evening meeting, 339; reading of rev. T. Hugo's memoir on bishop Gundulf, with notices of other ecclesiastical founders of Rochester cathedral, 348; Mr. Bailey's paper on the houses of our ancestors in Kent, ib.; Mr. Adams on Rochester bridge, 348-357; rev. Beale Poste on the attack of the Dutch on the defences of the Medway, 358; attendance at Rochester cathedral, ib.; meeting in the Chapter house, ib.; examination of the Textus Roffensis and the Custumale Roffense; Mr. Black's remarks thereon, ib.; evening meeting—Mr. Pettigrew's paper on the leper houses of Kent, and their establishment in England, 359; Mr. Jerdan on documents relating to the Spanish armada and defence of the Medway, ib.; Mr. Steele on the discovery of a Roman burial-ground at Strood, 359-360; Mr. Monckton's paper on Gavelkind, 386-391; captain Curling and Mr. G. Wright's notices of the Reculver, 391-398; excursion to Helston and inspection of the church, 398; visit to Cowling castle, 399; discoveries there by Mr. Murton, ib.; Cowling church, ib.; Cliffe church, its condition, 399—its paintings, 400; the hour-glass stand, ib.; Cobham hall, inspection of the pictures, &c., in, ib.; public dinner and conversazione at Rochester, ib.; Mr. C. Bischoff's exhibition of rubbings of some of the Cobham brasses, 400-401; Mr. Gunston's brasses, 401; Mr. Pretty on the dumb borsholder, 405; Mr. Turner's communication of a letter from J. Ives, esq., concerning Dover harbour, 407; Mr. Naylor's exhibition of Saxon antiquities found at Eastgate, ib.; Mr. Thurston's drawing of the tilting helmet of sir John Fogge, 408; also of a cast of the dedication stone of Postling church, ib.; Mr. Carlos's paper on the brass of Thomas Cod, of St. Margaret's church, 409; visit to Kit's Coty House and the Cromlechs, ib.; to Allington castle, 410; to Aylesford church and the Holy Trinity hospital, ib.; to Preston park, ib.; Mr. Tucker's paper on the history of the Colepepers, ib.; West Malling abbey, ib.; visit to Boxley abbey and church, ib.; thence to Maidstone, 411; reception by the mayor and corporation, ib.: visit to All Saints church, and Mr. Ashpitel and Mr. Whichcord's remarks upon, ib.; the tomb of Wootton, 412; the college, museum of natural history, ib; Mr. Charles's house and museum, 413; its valuable contents, ib.; departure for Hollingbourne, and visit to the church and manorhouse, 414; Saxon fortifications, ib.; visit to Leeds castle, 415; elegant reception by Mr. and Mrs. Martin, ib.; description of the castle, ib; soirée at Maidstone, ib.; exhibition of antiquities and drawings, ib.; Mr. Planché's paper on the earls of Kent, ib.; Mr. Whichcord, jun., on the antiquities of Maidstone, and on the polychromy of the middle ages, ib.; Mr. Brent. jun., on the ancient guilds and fraternities of Canterbury, 415-423; concluding meeting, 424; thanks to patrons, president, officers, committees, &c., ib.; examination of north-east tower of Rochester wall, 424-5; Mr. Lukis on the maenhir, 425-8
Rochester wall, examination of the north-east tower of, 424-5
ROLFE, rev. E. N., obituary notice of, 105
——— H. W., exhibits a bronze cup found in Kent, 75
Roman antiquities found in London, 74; pottery, 75
——— burial ground at Strood, 359-60
——— lamps found in London, 83
——— pottery and glass found in Philpot-lane, 190
——— remains found at Tiverton, 74
——— ——— at Thetford, 76
——— sepulchral inscription, 199
Romney marsh, observations on, 376-385
ROOK, J., on antiquities found at Whitehaven, 79, 80

S.

Sacheverell, Dr., medallion of, 77
Samian ware, observations on, 190
Sarcophagus and coffin found in Haydon-square, 161-167
Saultoot, John, leaden token of, 432
Saxon antiquities found at Eastgate, 407-8
Scotland, ancient standard weights and measures of, 202
Seal, ancient brass one of Worcester, 82
——— found in Somersetshire, 98
SHEPPARD, Major, exhibits a silver seal, 85
SHERRATT, J., exhibits a Chinese porcelain stamp, 93
SHORTT, W. J. P., on the leper house at Exeter, 182
——— a York groat of Henry VIII, ib.
Shrewsbury, ancient die found at, 82
SILBURN, J., obituary notice of, 111
Silver fibula found in Berkshire, 74
——— gilt ring exhibited, 79
——— ring found at Thetford, 73
——— seal exhibited, 85
SMYTHE, C. T., obitnary notice of, 111-12
Solloret of the fifteenth century exhibited, 84
Spanish armada, documents relating to, 330, 336
SPENCE, C., exhibits a fac-simile of the matrix of the seal of Milo, 201
Spurs exhibited, 87; obtained from Berkshire, ib.
——— and other antiquities exhibited, 200
St. Cross, ancient numerals at the hospital of, 433-5
——— painting discovered at, 444-446
St. John, Winchester, paintings discovered at, 1-14
St. Nicholas, figure of, found at St. Cross, 444-46
St. Swithin, Winchester, on discoveries at, 198
STEELE, S., on a Roman burial ground at Strood, 359-60
Stencilled pannel from Dorsetshire, 94
STOCK, Edw., obituary notice of, 101
Stone shot, Mr. H. Syer Cuming's paper on, 440
Sweden, antiquities from, exhibited, 189

T.

Taunton, ancient rings found at, 188
Testoon found in Essex, 73
Textus Roffensis and Custumale Roffense, examination of, 358
——— Mr. Black's observations on, ib.
Thetford, silver ring found at, 73
——— Roman remains found at, 76
THURSTON, Thos, exhibits tilting helmet of Sir John Fogge, 408
——— cast of dedication stone of Postling church, ib.
Tiverton, Roman remains found at, 74
TODD, J. R., obituary notice of, 105
Tournois discovered at Exeter, 182
Tradesmen's signs in London, 40-59
Tryptich found in Spitalfields exhibited, 197

Digitized by Google

Tucker, S. I., exhibits a silver mourning ring of Sir W. Colepeper, 74
—— a pack of political cards, 76
—— a silver gilt ring, 79
—— various charters, 85-6
—— a pewter pot found at the removal of old London bridge, 92
—— the pedigree of the Newcomens, of Salt-Fletby, 94
—— Roman pottery and glass found in Philpot-lane, 190
—— a receipt signed by Sir J. Vanbrugh, for expenses at Woodstock park, 198
—— on the Colepeper family, 410
Tumulus, on a sacrificial one on the Yorkshire wolds, 431-2
Turner, F., communicates letter of J. Ives, on Dover harbour, 407

U.

Urns, British and Roman, remarks on, 59-62

V.

Vanbrugh, sir J., receipt of, for expenses at Woodstock park, 198
Venetian glass exhibited, 200
Vincula, remarks on, 74, 155-60
Vint, H., obituary notice of, 103

W.

Wakeman, T., on a monumental cross, 80
—— on an inscription in a Quakers' burial ground, 183
—— presents a pack of geographical cards, 196
Walbrook, alleged discoveries in, 89
Wansey, W., on excavations at Cuma, 77-9
Warne, C., on a stencilled pannel from Dorsetshire, 94
Warren, J., exhibits a silver ring found at Thetford, 78
West Malling Abbey, visit to, 410
Whichcord, J., on the antiquities of Maidstone, and the polychromy of the middle ages, 415
White, A., on the crypt of Gerard's hall, 113-120
Whitehaven, antiquities found at, 79-80
Winchester, leaden token found at, 432
—— paintings discovered at St. John's, 1-14
Woods, A., exhibits a collection of Roman and English coins, 94
Worcester, ancient brass seal of, 82
Wright, G. N., on the Reculver, 391-398
Wycliffe manuscript of English translation of the New Testament, 435-440

Y.

York, bronze Hercules found at, 88
Yorkshire wolds, tumulus on, 431-2.

LIST OF ENGRAVINGS.

PLATES.

1. Entrance to rood screen of St. John's, Winchester, 1
2. Plan of St. John's, Winchester, 3
3, 4, 5, 6. Paintings discovered on the north wall of St. John, at Winchester, 5-10
7. Seals of Newstead abbey, 18
8. Plan of Newstead abbey, 30
9. British and Roman urns, 60
10, 11, 12. Illustrations of celts, 68-71
13, 14. Horn book, 73
15. Gerard's hall crypt, 113
16. Sections, details, etc., of the same, 117
17. Section illustrative of the same, *ib.*
18. The original entrance of the same, 120
19, 20. Political cards of the time of the Commonwealth, 130
21. Fetterlock found at Cuerdale, 156
22. Ditto found in the Thames, *ib.*
23, 24, 25, 26, 27. Illustrations of the stone sarcophagus and leaden coffin found in Haydon square, Minories, 161
28. View of Rochester castle, 215
29. Bishop Gundulf in Rochester cathedral, 231
29-2. Norman buildings in ditto, 271
30. Plan of crypt in ditto, *ib.*
31. Plan of the cathedral, *ib.*
32. Saxon antiquities found at Rochester, 408
33. North-east tower of Rochester wall, 424
34. Numerals and inscriptions from St. Cross, 432
35. Mural painting of St. Nicholas found at St. Cross, 444

WOOD-CUTS.

Scroll pattern border found at St. John, 13
Fragment of a castle in the same, *ib.*
Silver fibula, 74
Monumental cross, 80
Chinese stamp, 93
Window in Gerard's hall, 119
Seal of Hubert de Burgh, 371
Plan of north-east tower of Rochester wall, 425
Maenhir at Guernsey, 426
Leaden token of John Saultcot, 432
Nine specimens of ancient numerals, 433-5.

Digitized by Google

British Archæological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1853.

The letter L *denotes Life Subscribers.*

Sir Windham C. Anstruther, Bart., 9 Sussex-gardens
George Ade, Esq., 12 Manchester-square
Charles Ainslie, Esq., 13 Park-street, Westminster
W. F. Ainsworth, Esq., F.S.A., Thames Villa, Hammersmith
W. H. Ainsworth, Esq., Kensal Manor House, Harrow-road
Benedetto Albano, Esq., North Bank, Regent's-park
J. L. Allen, Esq., 20 Artillery-place
Andrew Arcedeckne, Esq., 32 Maddox-street
L. Joseph Arden, Esq., F.S.A., 27 Cavendish-square
Thos. F. Armistead, Esq., 5 St. George's-terrace, Liverpool-road
Capt. Armstrong, Claremont Lodge, Cobham
Arthur Ashpitel, Esq., F.S.A., 2 Poets' Corner
George Atherley, Esq., Southampton
Edmund Aubertin, Esq., Clipstead, Surrey
George Austin, Esq., Precincts, Canterbury

Rear-Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Memb. Institute of France, 11 Gloucester-place
F. J. Baigent, Esq., Winchester
Charles Baily, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 72 Gracechurch-street
Charles Baily, Esq., Newark
Thomas Farmer Baily, Esq., Hall-place, Tonbridge
A. St. John Baker, Esq., Mount Calverley Lodge, Tonbridge Wells
William Banting, Jun., Esq., 4 Terrace, Kensington
Samuel Barker, Esq., 9 St. James's-square, Manchester
John Barrow, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., 7 New-street, Spring-gardens
Wm. Hodgson Barrow, Esq., M.P., Southwell
John Bartlett, Esq., 12 Bolton's, West Brompton
Geo. H. Baskcomb, Esq., Chiselhurst
Thomas Bateman, Esq., Yolgrave, Bakewell
T. Osborne Bateman, Esq., Chaddesden Moor, Derby
William Beattie, M.D., Member of the Hist. Inst. of France, *Hon. Sec. For. Corr.*, 18 Tavistock-street, Bedford-square
Miss Emily Beaumont, Gloucester-terrace, Hyde-park
Thomas Beesley, Esq., Banbury
J. Pearson Bell, M.D., Hull
J. B. Bergne, Esq., F.S.A., 19 Hans-place
Ralph Bernal, Esq., President, 93 Eaton-square
L. Edw. L. Betts, Esq., Preston Hall, Kent

Digitized by Google

ASSOCIATES.

Miss Bicknell, 97 Sydney-place, Bath
Wm. Carr Birdsworth, Esq., Lytham, Preston
Charles Bischoff, Esq., 21 Torrington-square
Wm. Henry Black, Esq., Mill Yard, Goodman's Fields
George F. Blandford, Esq., 7 Lower Grove, Brompton
Rev. Henry Blane, M.A., Wormley, Herts
Henry G. Bohn, Esq., 4 York-street, Covent-garden
Rev. Leeds Comyn Booth, M.A., 6 South-square, Gray's Inn
Michael Andrew Borthwick, Esq., 26 Charles-street, St. James's-square
L. Beriah Botfield, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., Norton Hall, Daventry
Anthony Boucher, Esq., 5 Guildhall-chambers
Charles Bradbury, Esq., 23 Crescent, Salford
The Hon. and Rev. C. E. Bradley, United States
L. J. Bramley-Moore, Esq., Liverpool
E. W. Brayley, Esq., F.S.A., Russell Institution
Cecil Brent, Esq., 70 Albert-street, Gloucester Gate
John Brent, jun., Esq., F.S.A., Canterbury
Thomas Brewer, Esq., City of London School
Orlando Bridgeman, Esq.
Charles Bridger, Esq., 3 Keppel-street
John W. Bridges, Esq., 29 Tavistock-square
J. Joseph Briggs, Esq., King's Newton, Swarkeston, Derby
Thomas Brigstocke, Esq., 8 Sackville-street
Rev. T. Clement Broughton, M.A., Norbury
John Brown, Esq., Barnard's Inn
Thomas C. Brown, Esq., Cirencester
Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, M.A., F.S.A., Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Thomas N. Brushfield, Esq., Chester
J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Stanhope Lodge, Upper Avenue-road
Capt. Frederic Bullock, R.N., *Hydrographical Secretary*, Woolwich
Alfred Burgess, Esq., F.S.A., 23 George-street, Westminster
J. Bernard Burke, Esq., *Ulster*, 11 Alfred-place West
Alex. H. Burkitt, Esq., F.S.A., Clapham Rise
Lawrence Burleigh, Esq., 7 Devonshire-street, Bishopsgate
Joshua W. Butterworth, Esq., F.S.A., Upper Tooting

L. Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Chester, Palace, Chester
Hon. Hugh Cholmondeley, M.P., 12 Hereford-street
L. Sir John Harpur Crewe, Bart., Calke Abbey, Derbyshire
L. Benj. Bond Cabbell, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., Portland-place
H. W. Caird, Esq., 50 Chester-square, and Aldbury-park, Surrey
Geo. A. Cape, Esq., 60 Walcot-place
John Carline, Esq., Lincoln
Rev. D. Carson, M.A., 12 Chesterfield-street
Samuel Cartwright, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., 32 Old Burlington-street
Rev. W. J. Spring Casborne, New House, Pakenham, Bury St. Edmund's
Jno. Young Caw, Esq., Compsall-terrace, Cheetham-hill, Manchester
Patrick Chalmers, Esq., F.S.A., Aldbar, Brechin
George Smith Chapman, Esq., 1 Birchin-lane
Thomas Charles, Esq., Chillington House, Maidstone
E. S. Clarke, Esq., for Bishopsgate Book Club
James Clarke, Esq., Easton, near Woodbridge
J. N. Clarke, Esq., Librarian, Hull Library
Thomas Close, Esq., Nottingham
Owen Clutton, Esq., 367 High-street, Southwark
Colchester Archæological Society

Digitized by Google

Thomas Colfox, Esq., Bridport
John Payne Collier, Esq., V.P.S.A., Geys House, near Maidenhead
Joseph Sidney Cooper, Esq., Warrior-square, St. Leonard's-on-Sea
William Mansfield Cooper, Esq., Derby
James Copland, M.D., F.R.S., Old Burlington-street
George Rd. Corner, Esq., F.S.A., Eltham
John Joseph Cotman, Esq., Thorpe, near Norwich
J. Ross Coulthart, Esq., Croft House, Ashton-under-Lyne
Harry Criddle, Esq., 1 Hill-road, Abbey-road
Francis Crossley, Esq., 8 Old Montague-street, Whitechapel
James Crossley, Esq., F.S.A., Manchester
George Cruikshank, Esq., 48 Mornington-place
Richard Henry Cullum, Esq., Oak Hill, Tonbridge
H. Syer Cuming, Esq., 1 A Newington-place
J. C. Cumming, M.D., 1 Cadogan-place
Henry Curling, Esq., Westbourne Lodge, Harrow-road
Charles John Curtis, Esq., 23 Ely-place

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., Devonshire House
The Earl Ducie, Tortworth, Wotton-under-Edge
Vice-Admiral Sir W. Henry Dillon, K.C.H., Burton-crescent
Sir Charles E. Douglass, C.M.G., 27 Wilton-crescent
Sir Fortunatus Dwarris, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Eccleston-square
F. H. Davis, Esq., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Registrar's Office, Chancery-lane
Charles Edward Davis, Esq., Bath
John Davis, Esq., Kilburn
Joseph B. Davis, Esq., F.S.A., Shelton, Staffordshire
L. Pudsey Dawson, Esq., Hornby Castle, Lancashire
Augustus Oakley Deacon, Esq., London-road, Derby
James Dearden, Esq., F.S.A., Rochdale
Henry Dearsley, Esq., 21 Pudding-lane
Cobbett Derby, Esq., 2 George-street, Portman-square
Thomas Dickson, Esq., Manchester
Thomas Dillow, Esq., Mastr. Wingfield's Office, Chancery-lane
James Drew, Esq., Strangeways, Manchester
Henry Duesbury, Esq., 13 Euston-square
Henry Durden, Esq., Blandford, Dorset

The Earl of Ellesmere, F.S.A., Belgrave-square
The Earl of Effingham, 57 Eaton-place
Charles Egan, Esq., 16 Chester-street
Frederick T. Elgie, Esq., Worcester
C. A. Elliott, Esq., Munster House, Fulham
James Elliott, Esq., New Hall, Dymchurch, New Romney
Robert Elliott, Esq., Chichester
George Ellis, Esq., F.S.A., Dartmouth-terrace, Blackheath
Rev. J. J. Ellis, M.A., F.S.A., St. Martin's Outwich, Bishopsgate-street
John Ellis, Esq., Martin's-lane, City
Rev. J. R. Errington, M.A., Ashburne, Derbyshire
William Euing, Esq., Brandon place, 209 West George-st., Glasgow
Anthony Evans, Esq., 12 St. Mary's-road, Canonbury
Alfred Eyre, Esq., 10 Norland square, Bayswater

Thomas Faulkner, Esq., F.S.A., 9 Royal-crescent, Weymouth

Digitized by Google

ASSOCIATES.

T. F. Fearnside, Esq., Auditor's Revenue Office, Spring-gardens
William Fennell, Esq., Wakefield, York
W. S. Fitch, Esq., Ipswich
Robert R. Forman, Esq., Ordnance Office
Richard Fort, Esq., Read Hall, Whalley
John K. Fowler, Esq., Aylesbury
L. Patrick Allan Fraser, Esq., Hospital-field, Arbroath, N.B.
Charles Freeman, Esq., 21 Montague-street, Russell-square
Gilbert J. French, Esq., Bolton
William Edward Frost, Esq., A.R.A., 8 Southampton-street, Fitzroy-square

Edwin M. Gibbs, Esq., 8 White's-row, Whitechapel-road
G. Godwin, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., 24 Alexander-square, Brompton
George Goldsmith, Esq., M.A., 5 New-square, Lincoln's-inn
Nathaniel Gould, Esq., F.S.A., Tavistock-square
George M. Gray, Esq., 7 Upper Bedford-place
John Edgar Gregan, Esq., Manchester
W. P. Griffith, Esq., F.S.A., St. John's-square
Henry Gunston, Esq., 110 Goswell-street
Thomas Gunston, Esq., 84 Upper-street, Islington
Miss Anna Gurney, Cromer
L. Hudson Gurney, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., St. James's-square
John M. Gutch, Esq., F.S.A., Worcester
George Gwilt, Esq., F.S.A., Union-street, Southwark
L Joseph Gwilt, Esq., F.S.A., 20 Abingdon-street

Lord Hastings, F.S.A., 7 Cavendish-square
L. Lord Howden, K.H., 13 Hereford-street
Lord A. Edwin Hill, Norwood-park, Southwell
Sir Benjamin Heywood, Bart., F.R.S., 9 Hyde park-gardens
Wm. D. Haggard, Esq., F.S.A., Bank of England
Rev. Edward Hale, Eton College
L. Rev. Thomas Halford, M.A., Hanover-square
Charles Hall, Esq., Ansty, Blandford
John Rose Hall, Esq.,The Lydiates, Ludlow
James O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Avenue Lodge, Brixton-hill
Robert Hannah, Esq., 2 Alfred-place West, Thurloe-square
John Harland, Esq., Manchester
W. Harvey, Esq., F.S.A., Lewes
Henry Hatton, Esq., Chinnor, Oxon
Walter Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A., 5 Leonard-place, Kensington
John Hay, Esq., Brewood, Staffordshire
Peter Healey, Esq., 17 Clapham Road-place
John Henry Hearn, Esq., Newport, Isle of Wight
Charles Augustus Helm, Esq., Worcester
Auguste Hervieu, Esq., 10 Portugal-street
W. Smith Hesleden, Esq., Barton-upon-Humber
L. James Heywood, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 5 Eaton-place
Samuel Heywood, Esq., Walsham Hall, Bury, Lancashire
Lawrance Heyworth, Esq., M.P., Yewtree, Liverpool
Thomas D. Hibbert, Esq., 2 Elm-court, Temple
William Hirst, Esq., Agard-street, Derby
Charles H. Hingeston, Esq., 1 Alfred-place, New-road, Camberwell
Francis Hobler, Esq., Bucklersbury
George Hopcroft, Esq., 15 Billiter-street

Digitized by Google

L. Rev. W. F. Hope, M.A., F.R.S., 56 Upper Seymour-street
John Baker Hopkins, Esq., 15 Mark-lane
Mr. W. Horley, Toddington, Bedfordshire
L. Roger S. Horman-Fisher, Esq., 16 James-street, Buckingham-gate
Rev. Robert Hornby, M.A., Lythwood Hall, Shrewsbury
Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 57 Bishopsgate-street, Within
J. Huxtable, Esq., South Villa, Albion-road, Stoke Newington
George Hyde, Esq., Halkin-street West

George Vere Irving, Esq., 10 Ampthill-square
George Isaacs, Esq.

Rev. Stephen Jackson, Ipswich
George P. R. James, Esq., Willy House, Farnham, Surrey
Jas. James, Esq., F.S.A., Aylesbury; and 16 Parliament-street
E. Janson, Esq., Clapham-common
Rev. Henry Jenkins, Stanway, Essex
Rev. J. Horner Jenkins, B.D., Hazlewood, Derbyshire
Charles Moore Jessop, Esq., Ringwood, Hants
Rev. T. Jessop, D.D., Bilton Hall, York
Llewellynn Jewitt, Esq., F.S.A., Derby
J. R. Jobbins, Esq., Warwick-court
Richard Johnson, Esq., Hereford
John Jones, Esq., 6 Regent-street
Alfred A. Jones, Esq., Paragon, New Kent-road
Henry W. Joy, Esq., Maidstone

Charles Kean, Esq., 3 Torrington-square
Thomas Reginald Kemp, Esq., 7 Nicholas-lane
James Kendrick, M.D., Warrington
Thomas W. King, Esq., F.S.A., College of Arms, Doctors' Commons
Henry Kingsford, Esq., Littleborne, near Wingham
G. S. Kingston, Esq., Adelaide, South Australia
G. G. Kirby, Esq., 13 Great Cumberland-place
A. C. Kirkman, Esq., 89 Chancery-lane
J. P. Knight, Esq., Hibernia-chambers, Borough

Lord Londesborough, F.R.S., F.S.A., 8 Carlton House-terrace
Lord Leigh, 30 Portman-square
Alexander Lamond, Esq., 7 Gloucester-road, Regent's-park
William Okey Lamond, Esq., 7 Gloucester-road, Regent's-park
William Langton, Esq., Manchester
Henry Lake, Esq., 10 New-square, Lincoln's-inn
J. A. Latham, Esq., 34 Castle-street, Leicester-square
Eleazer Laurence, Esq., St. James's Cottage, Ipswich
George Lawton, Esq., Nunthorpe, Yorkshire
J. F. Ledsam, Esq., Chad Hill, Birmingham
John Lee, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Doctors' Commons
John Edward Lee, Esq., Priory, Caerleon
Charles Lee, Esq., 20 Golden-square
T. J. Leeson, Esq., 3 Guildhall-chambers
Alex. Lemonnier, Esq., Sanvie, près le Hâvre
Samuel Lepard, Esq., 31 Newington-place
James Lewis, Esq., Rochester
James Lewis, Esq., 1 Church-court, Clement's-lane
Charles Robert Lindley, Esq., 9 Great George-street, Westminster

Digitized by Google

Mrs. Herbert Rice, Western Lodge, Hammersmith-road
Edward Priest Richards, Esq., Cardiff
Thomas Richards, Esq., 37 Great Queen-street
William Rickards, Esq., Portland-place, Clapton
David Roberts, Esq., R.A., 7 Fitzroy-street, Fitzroy-square
William Henry Robinson, Esq., 11 Air-street, Piccadilly
W. Harry Rogers, Esq., Carlisle-street, Soho-square
Henry William Rolfe, Esq., 3 Pendersen-place, Bethnal-green
L. W. H. Rolfe, Esq., Sandwich
John Rooke, Esq., Akehead, Wigton
W. J. Duff Roper, Esq., Vane House Hampstead
F. W. L. Ross, Esq., Broadway House, Topsham, Devon
Jesse Watts Russell, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Islam Hall, Staffordshire
William Rutter, Esq., 5 Hare Court, Temple

The Earl of Scarborough, Rufford Abbey, Notts
Right Hon. Lord Skelmersdale, 55 Portland-place
Sir John E. Swinburne, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., Grosvenor-place
Robert Sadd, jun., Esq., King's Parade, Cambridge
Frederick Salmon, Esq., F.S.A., 18 Lower Berkeley-street
David Salomons, Esq., Alderman, 3 Great Cumberland-place
Edward Salomons, Esq., Plymouth Grove, Manchester
L. William Salt, Esq., F.S.A., 9 Russell-square
T. G. Sambrooke, Esq., 32 Eaton-place
Frederick Sandys, Esq., 2 Osnaburg-street
W. D. Saull, Esq., F.S.A., 15 Aldersgate-street
Thomas Saunders, Esq., F.S.A., Guildhall
Henry Neale Scaife, Esq., R.N., Royal Yacht, Portsmouth
J. B. Scott, Esq., Chelsea
Samuel Seawell, Esq., 2 Mountford-terrace, Barnsbury Park
Edmund Sharpe, Esq., M.A., Lancaster
Major Edmund Sheppard, Parsons Green
Thomas Sherratt, jun., Esq., 12 South-square, Gray's Inn
W. T. P. Shortt, Esq., Heavitree, Exeter
Edmund C. Sidebotham, Esq., St. Mary's Gate, Manchester
Miss Georgina L. Smith, Weymouth-street
J. R. Smith, Esq., 36 Soho-square
R. J. Smith, Esq., 7 Strand
Thomas Smith, Esq., Bow-lane
Thomas Sydney Smith, Esq., 35 Trinity-square
Edward Solly, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., 15 Tavistock-square
Samuel R. Solly, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Abbot's Langley
Henry Spurr, Esq., Scarborough
Rev. Thomas Stacey, St. John's Vicarage, Cardiff
John William Stanbridge, Esq., Hoxton
J. Stelfox, Esq., Upper Moss-lane, Manchester
Robert Stevenson, Esq., M.P., 34 Gloucester-square, Hyde Park
L. Henry J. Stevens, Esq., Derby
S. W. Stevenson, Esq., F.S.A., Surrey-street, Norwich
A. Stubbs, Esq , Boulogne-sur-Mer
J. H. Manners Sutton, Esq., M.P., Albany
Clement Tudway Swanston, Esq., Q.C., F.R.S., F.S.A., 52 Chancery-lane
Samuel Blore Swindell, Esq., Ashburne
George Swindells, Esq., Pott Hall, Shrigley, near Macclesfield

L. Lord Thurlow, Ashfield Lodge, Suffolk

Digitized by Google

Godfrey Tallents, Esq., Newark
W. J. Taylor, Esq., 33 Little Queen-street, Holborn
Alfred Thompson, Esq., 44 Lower Belgrave-place
Robert Thorburn, Esq., A.R.A., 2 Gloucester-square, Hyde Park
John Thurnam, M.D., F.S.A., Devizes
Rev. J. M. Traherne, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Coedriglan, Cardiff
Thomas Thurston, Esq., Ashford
Richard Tress, Esq., St. Thomas Apostle Chambers
Stephen Isaacson Tucker, Esq., 4 Birchin-lane
Martin F. Tupper, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., Aldbury, Guildford
Gladwin Turbutt, Esq., Ogston Hall, Alfreston
Dawson Turner, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Athenæum
John Turner, Esq., 4 Lower Belgrave-street
John N. Tweedy, Esq., Esq., 47 Montagu-square

David Urquhart, Esq., 9 Bennett-street, St. James's

Hon. Francis Villiers, M.P., 38 Berkeley-square
Frederick Vallé, Esq., 21 Haymarket
Josiah Varey, Esq., Bank-place, Stamford-road, Bowdon, Cheshire
G. E. Harcourt Vernon, Esq., M.P., Grove Hall, East Retford
Captain Leicester Vernon, M.P., Ardington Hall, Berks

The Earl of Warwick, 1 Stable Yard, St. James's
L. Sir Edward Walker, Berry Hill, Mansfield
Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., F.R.S., *Vice-President*, 33 York-street, Portman-square
Thomas Wakeman, Esq., Graig House, Monmouth
Joshua Walker, jun., Esq., 40 Upper Harley-street
John Green Waller, Esq., 13 Howland-street
William Wansey, Esq., F.S.A., 63 Jermyn-street
E. M. Ward, Esq., A.R.A., 5 Inverness-road, Bayswater
Rev. J. C. Ward, 43 Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury
Charles Warne, Esq., 42 Upper Seymour-street
Mr. Joseph Warren, Ixworth, Suffolk
Francis Watts, Esq., F.S.A., Warwick-square, Pimlico
John Webb, Esq., 2 Lawrence Pountney-hill
William Webster, Esq., Russell-street, Covent Garden
Rev. C. Wellbeloved, York
John Wertheimer, Esq., Finsbury Circus
Wykeman Wheeler, Esq., Shelton, Staffordshire
William Curteis Whelan, Esq., Herondon Hall, Tenterden
John Whichcord, jun., Esq., F.S.A., 27 Bloomsbury-square
Rev. Robert Whiston, M.A., Rochester
Alfred White, Esq., *Registrar, Curator, and Librarian*, West Drayton
Rev. John White, Grayingham Rectory, Kirton, in Lindsey
John Charles White, Esq., 32 Mortimer-street
Charles Fenton Whiting, Esq., Beaufort House, Strand
Wolrych Whitmore, Esq., Dudmestone, Bridgenorth
Rev. J. W. Whittaker, D.D., Blackburn
Charles Wickes, Esq., Leicester
George J. de Wilde, Esq., Northampton
Colonel Wildman, Newstead Abbey, Notts
Rev. John J. Wilkinson, Erith, Kent
Evan Williams, Esq., Knighton, Radnorshire
Thomas Williams, Esq., 2 Verulam-place, Hastings
William Wills, Esq., Edgbaston, near Birmingham
James Wilson, Esq., F.S.A., Belmont House, Bath

Digitized by Google

John Lindsay, Esq., Maryville, Blackrock, Cork
Edward Lichfield, Esq., All Saints' Passage, Cambridge
Robert Logan, Esq., Chapel-staircase, Lincoln's-inn
Robert Lockhart, Esq., 4 Moore-place, Glasgow
Henry Lawes Long, Esq., Hampton Lodge, Farnham, Surrey
Thomas Lott, Esq., F.S.A., 43 Bow-lane
John Lound, Esq., 60 Chancery-lane
Richard Grove Lowe, Esq., St. Peter's-street, St. Alban's
Frederic C. Lukis, Esq., Guernsey
Harry Lupton, Esq., Thame, Oxfordshire
Coryndon H. Luxmoore, Esq., 21 Keppel-street
Christopher Lynch, Esq., Forest Hill, Sydenham

L. The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Manchester, F.R.S., Sedgley Hill, Manchester
L. Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., D.C.L., Rolleston Hall, Staffordshire
Rev. Henry Mackarness, Dymchurch, Kent
Rev. Roseingrave Macklin, Derby
Mrs. Stuart Macnaughten, 2 Portman-square
J. C. Mansell, Esq., Smedmore House, Corfe Castle, Dorsetshire
Rev. Benjamin Mardon, 1 Boxworth Grove, Barnsbury-road
Charles Marshall, Esq., 7 Whitehall-place
William Calder Marshall, Esq., R.A., 47 Ebury-street
John Mather, Esq., Mount Pleasant, Liverpool
John Mathewes, Esq., 23 Cloudesley-terrace, Islington
W. T. Maunsell, Esq., 1 Pump-court, Temple
Frederick E. Mawe, Esq., 5 Carlton Villas, Maida Hill
Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., 68 Lord-street, Liverpool
John McIntosh, Esq., 5 Middle-street, Taunton
Michael Meredith, Esq., Great Winchester-street
Captain Augustus William H. Meyrick, Goodrich Court, Ross
William Meyrick, Esq., 39 Eastbourne-terrace, Hyde Park
James Middleton, Esq., St. Anne's Hatton, near Liverpool
R. Monckton Milnes, Esq., M.P., 16 Upper Brook-street
John B. Millington, Esq., Boston
Richard Milward, Esq., Thurgarton Priory, Notts
John Monckton, Esq., Maidstone
Francis G. Moon, Esq., Alderman, 28 Portman-square
Major J. A. Moore, F.R.S., 19 Portland-place
John Moore, Esq., West Coker, Yeovil
Thomas Morgan, jun., Esq., 24 Savage-gardens
Robert Morrish, Esq., City Wharf, New North-road, Hoxton
John James Moss, Esq., Otterspool, Liverpool
Stephen Moulton, Esq., Bradford, Wilts
Richard Mullings, Esq., Stratton, near Cirencester
Peter Murray, M.D., Scarborough

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Portman-square
Hon. R. C. Neville, F.S.A., 18 Hertford-street
Benjamin D. Naylor, Esq., Manchester
W. Needham, Esq., Batterley, near Alfreton
Rev. Wm. Jephson Newman, Badsworth Rectory, near Pontefract
William Newton, Esq., 42 Queen-square
William Newton, Esq., Newark
Rev. G. C. Nicholay, M.A., King's College
William N. Nicholson, Esq., Newark
Hilary Nicholas Nissen, Esq., 36 Trinity-square, Tower
John Nicholl, Esq., F.S.A., Cross-street, Islington
George Ward Norman, Esq., Bromley

Digitized by Google

ASSOCIATES.

HON. COLONEL ONSLOW, Woodbridge House, Guildford
L. Capt. George Oakes, 22 Gloucester-crescent, Regent's-park
Michael O'Connor, Esq., Berners-street
Benjamin Oliveira, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., 8 Upper Hyde Park-street
Harry Oliver, Esq., 39 Gower-street
Lionel Oliver, Esq., 9 Fitzroy-square
G. Ormerod, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Sedbury Park, Chepstow
John Owen, Esq., 45 Princess-street, Manchester

THE EARL OF PORTARLINGTON, Earns Park, Queen's Co., Ireland
THE VERY REV. JOHN PEEL, Dean of Worcester, Worcester
SIR JOSEPH PAXTON, Chatsworth, Derby
John Pace, Esq., 50 Pall Mall
W. H. Palin, Esq., 12 Grove-terrace, Loughborough-road, Brixton
Wm. Palmer, Esq., 3 George-street, Euston-square
Rev. J. Papillon, Rectory, Colchester
George Phillips Parker, Esq., 43 Mark-lane
John George Patrick, Esq., 15 Park-road, Stockwell
Thomas Pease, Esq., Henbury Hill, Bristol
Thomas Peet, Esq., Manchester
Rev. Edmund Peel, Compton-Dando, Pensford, Bristol
Rev. Thomas W. Peile, D.D., Repton
Apsley Pellatt, Esq., M.P., Holland-street, Blackfriars
Henry Pemberton, Esq., 10 William-street, Lowndes-square
Samuel M. Peto, Esq., M.P., 47 Russell-square
L. Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President and Treasurer*, 8 Saville-row
Rev. Augustus F. Pettigrew, M.A., 27 Onslow-square, Brompton
Rev. Samuel T. Pettigrew, M.A., St. Augustine's College, Canterbury
William V. Pettigrew, M.D., 7 Chester-street
L. Mark Philips, Esq., Manchester
L. Robert Philips, Esq., Manchester
L. Frederick R. Pickersgill, Esq., A.R.A., 36 Mornington-crescent
Thomas W. Pickthall, Esq., 5 Wyndham-place, Plymouth
Charles Pidgeon, Esq., Reading
Henry Clarke Pidgeon, Esq., *Draughtsman*, 2 Russell-place, Fitzroy-square
Jonathan Sills Pidgeon, Esq., 8 Chepstow Villas, Bayswater
Thomas Pitt, Esq., Huddersfield
James Robinson Planché, Esq., *Honorary Secretary*, 60 Pall Mall
Plymouth Public Library, per Ll. Jewitt, Esq.
Lewis W. Pocock, Esq., F.S.A., Gloucester-road, Gloucester-gate
E. S. Chandos Pole, Esq., Radbourne Hall, Derbyshire
Rev. M. Poole, St. Werburgh's, Derby
Edward Porter, Esq., 43 Pall Mall
Rev. Beale Poste, M.A., Bydews-place, Maidstone
E. J. Powell, Esq., Trinity Chambers, Whitehall
Mrs. Prest, 33 Spring Gardens
Edward Pretty, Esq., 1 Adelaide-terrace, Northampton
James Prior, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., 20 Norfolk-crescent
Rev. Mervyn Prower, Purton, Swindon, Wilts
Alfred Pryer, Esq., Hollingbourne, Kent
James Puttock, Esq., 1 Holford-street, Holford-square

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RUTLAND, K.G., Belvoir Castle
BARON MAYER AMSABEL DE ROTHSCHILD, Montmore, Bucks
Rev. T. Rankin, Huggate Rectory, Pocklington, Yorkshire
J. Adey Repton, Esq., F.S.A., Springfield, Essex

Digitized by Google

Local Members of the Council.

(HAVING THE PRIVILEGE OF ATTENDING MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL.)

BUCKS	James James, Esq., F.S.A., Aylesbury
CUMBERLAND	John Rook, Esq., Wigton
DERBYSHIRE	Thomas Bateman, Esq., Yolgrave, Bakewell; Henry J. Stevens, Esq., Derby
DEVONSHIRE	W. Taylor Peter Shortt, Esq., Exeter
DORSET	Charles Hall, Esq., Blandford
GLOUCESTERSH.	Richard Mullings, Esq., Cirencester
HANTS	George Atherley, Esq., Southampton
HEREFORDSHIRE	Richard Johnson, Esq., Hereford
HERTFORDSHIRE	Richard Grove Lowe, Esq., St. Alban's
KENT	Rev. Beale Poste, M.A., Maidstone
LANCASHIRE	Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., Liverpool
MONMOUTHSHIRE	Thos. Wakeman, Esq., Graig House, Monmouth
NORTHAMPTONSH.	Edward Pretty, Esq., Northampton
SOMERSETSHIRE	James Wilson, Esq., F.S.A., Bath
SURRY	Martin Farquhar Tupper, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., Aldbury, Guildford
WORCESTERSHIRE	John Matthew Gutch, Esq., F.S.A., Worcester
YORKSHIRE	P. Murray, M.D., Scarborough; the Rev. C. Wellbeloved, York
SOUTH WALES	The Rev. J. Montgomery Traherne, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Cardiff
IRELAND	John Lindsay, Esq., Cork
SCOTLAND	William Euing, Esq., Glasgow
CHAN. ISLANDS	Frederick C. Lukis, Esq., Guernsey

Digitized by Google

Foreign Members.

Professor Joseph Arneth, Vienna
Le Comte Auguste de Bastard, Paris
Don Joachim Maria Bover, Minorca
Signor Gaetano Cara, Cagliari
Monsieur de Caumont, Hon. F.S.A., Caen
Professor Carrara, Spelatro
Le Sieur Poncin Casaquay, Seraigny, near Liège
Monsieur A. Charma, Caen
L'Abbé Cochet, Dieppe
Monsieur le Dr. A. Comarmond, Lyons
Monsieur Coste, Marseilles
Le Viscomte de Courval, Château de Pinon, near Chavignon
Monsieur Dassy, Marseilles
Monsieur Leopold Delisle, Hon. F.S.A., Valognes, Normandy
Monsieur Antoine Durand, Calais
Monsieur D'Avezac, rue de Bac, No. 38, Paris
M. le Comte Leon de la Borde, Hon. F.S.A., Paris
Don Antonio Delgado, Madrid
Monsieur Didron, rue d'Ulm, No. 1, Paris
Monsieur Dubose, St. Lo, Normandy
Monsieur Gustave Dupont, Caen
Monsieur Lecointre-Dupont, Hon. F.S.A., Poitiers
Monsieur Benj. Fillon, Fontenay
Monsieur H. de Formeville, Caen
Monsieur Guizot, Hon. F.S.A., Val Richer, Normandy
Herr Habel, Schierstein, Biberich
Monsieur Alexandre Hermand, St. Omer
Monsieur Achille Jubinal, Paris
Professor Klein, Mentz
Doctor Bernhard Köhne, Berlin
Monsieur Edouard Lambert, Bayeux
Monsieur Lassus, Paris
Professor Joachim Lelewel, Brussels
Monsieur Albert Lenoir, Paris
Monsieur Charles Lenormant, Hon. F.S.A., Paris
Monsieur George Mancel, Caen
Monsieur du Méril, Caen
Monsieur le Dr. Pellerin, Caen
Monsieur Jacques Boucher de Perthes, Abbeville
Monsieur August le Prevost, Hon. F.S.A., Bernay (Eure)
Monsieur A. Reichensperger, Treves
Monsieur Ad. Ricard, Montpellier
Monsieur le Docteur Rigollot, Amiens
Le Viscomte Santarem, Paris
The Canon Giovanni Spano, Cagliari
E. G. Squier, Esq., Hon. F.S.A., New York
Henry Stevens, Esq., New York
Le Baron Taylor, Paris
Dr. Cesare Vassallo, Malta
Counsellor Thompson, Hon. F.S.A., Copenhagen
Le Baron Walckanaer, Paris
Herr J. J. A. Worsaae, Hon. F.S.A., Copenhagen
Giles Fulda Yates, Esq., Albany, New York

Digitized by Google

Matthew Wilson, Esq., Eshton Hall, Skipton, Yorkshire
Cornwall Baron Wilson, Esq., 13 Furnival's Inn Chambers
Thomas James Wiltshire, Esq., Reform Club
John Wimbridge, Esq., F.S.A., 10 York-street, St. James's
Richard Windle, Esq., Bank of England
Drummond B. Wingrove, Esq., 30 Wood-street, Cheapside
William Winkley, jun., Esq., Harrow-on-the-Hill
Charles Winn, Esq., Nostal Priory, near Wakefield
Samuel T. Winstanley, Esq., Church-street, Liverpool
B. Eveleigh Winthrop, Esq., Dover
John Wood, Esq., 22 Watling-street
John Wood, Esq., Falcon-square
Robert Woodcock, Esq., Clapton-square
George Woodhouse, Esq., 28 Gordon-square
George Thomas Woodrooffe, Esq., 1 New-square, Lincoln's Inn
Albert Woods, Esq., F.S.A., Lancaster Herald, Herald's College
F. W. Wolley, Esq., Camden House, Kensington
A. W. Woolley, Esq., 28 Carlton-terrace, Manchester
Rev. H. F. Woolrych, M.A., South Hetton, Fence Houses
G. R. Wright, Esq., 60 Pall Mall
Rev. J. H. C. Wright, Stockport, Cheshire
Benjamin Wyon, Esq., 287 Regent Street

L. Richard Yates, Esq., F.S.A., Beddington, Surrey
William Yewd, Esq., 30 East-street, Red Lion-square
Henry Youens, Esq., 2 Newby-place, Poplar

CORRESPONDENTS.

Henry George Adams, Esq., Rochester
Charles Ade, Esq., Alfreston, Sussex
Thomas Coates Archer, Esq., Chelmsford
J. Adkins Barton, Esq., Newport, Isle of Wight
John Bell, Esq., Gateshead
Mr. George K. Blyth, North Walsham, Norfolk
Mr. William Bowman, York
John Brown, Esq., F.G.S., Stanway, Essex
Captain Thomas Brown, Manchester
Mr. Thomas Brown, Banff Castle
John Brown, Esq., Blake-street, York
Frederick Chancellor, Esq., Chelmsford
Rev. J. F. Dimock, M.A., Southwell
Edward Dunthorn, Esq., Framlingham, Suffolk
Joseph Fairless, Esq., Hexham
Thomas Frye, Esq., Saffron Walden
G. W. Fulcher, Esq., Sudbury, Suffolk

Digitized by Google

CORRESPONDENTS.

W. H. Gomonde, Esq., 30 Boulevard du Régent, Bruxelles
W. Gregory, Esq., Cirencester
W. Hills, Esq., Chichester
Rev. R. J. Hodgkinson, Newark
Christopher Hodgson, Esq., Old Carlisle
W. P. Hunt, Esq., Ipswich
Joseph Jackson, Esq., Settle, Yorkshire
Rev. John Jones, Tegid, Vicar of Neverne, Wales
T. Rupert Jones, Esq., Newbury, Berks
Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., F.S.A., Newport, Isle of Wight
James Henry Kent, Esq., Stanton, Bury St. Edmunds
Charles Lawrence, Esq., Cirencester
H. Messenden Leathes, Esq., Thorpe
Monsieur Raphael Lejoindre, 40 Parrock-street, Gravesend
John Walter Lukis, Esq., Guernsey
Rev. W. H. Massie, M.A., Chester
George Meggie, Esq., Chelmsford
Henry Moody, Esq., Nottingham
Edward Moore, M.D., Plymouth
T. C. Neale, Esq., Chelmsford
W. A. Nicholson, Esq., Lincoln
J. Walker Ord, M.D., Cleveland, Yorkshire
J. S. Padley, Esq., Lincoln
Rev. Harry Pemble, M.A., Sandwich
G. B. Richardson, Esq., Newcastle-upon-Tyne
John Rook, Esq., Akebank, Wigton
T. Wake Smart, M.D., Warwick Castle
Richard John Smith, Esq., Cowes, Isle of Wight
James Thompson, Esq., Leicester
R. H. C. Ubsdell, Esq., Portsmouth
Rev. E. Gibbs Walford, Chipping Warden
Miss Warne, Yeovil
J. Whincopp, Esq., Woodbridge
Ernest P. Wilkins, Esq., Newport, Isle of Wight
Daniel Wilson, Esq., Toronto

Digitized by Google